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ANNALS

OF

THE REFORMATION

AND

ESTABLISHMENT OF RELIGION,

AND OTHER VARIOUS OCCURRENCES

IN THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

DURING

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S HAPPY REIGN:

TOGETHER WITH

AN APPENDIX

OF ORIGINAL PAPERS OF STATE, RECORDS, AND LETTERS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

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ANNALS;

BEING AN

HISTORY

OF THE

AFFAIRS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

TOGETHER WITH

VARIOUS OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE STATE AND KINGDOM COINCIDENT; CHIEFLY WITH RELATION THEREUNTO: CONTINUED.

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A motion for peace with Spain. Deliberation thereupon. The lord treasurer delivers his judgment. A treaty begun with the duke of Parma's commissioners. The articles propounded to Parma: broke off. The Spanish invasion. Consultation thereupon. Intelligence of the fleet from Spain. The queen's preparations. Public prayers appointed. The Spanish forces. La felicissime armada, *so termed. Account of the Spanish forces in their books. The defeat of this fleet. News printed of the overthrow of the English. Friars aboard the Spanish fleet. Litanies used for the success of their fleet. The English nation at first in a dreadful consternation. A pasquil concerning the Spanish fleet set up at Rome. Their defeat and miseries in Ireland. Sir Francis Drake's letter from aboard of the Victory. Killigrew, ambassador, his letter to the States at this juncture. Rogers, ambassador in Denmark, his service there. King Philip's words when the bad news was brought him.*

BOOK II.

Public thanksgivings. The queen comes in triumph to St. Paul's. A thanksgiving prayer used. Exhortation to the people of England to be upon their guard. The cause of the queen's taking up arms.

Anno 1588. Annus mirabilis.

WE now proceed to the next year, viz. 1588, the wonderful year, as it was commonly and deservedly called, with respect to this nation especially.

Two weighty matters now lay upon the queen to be managed. The one was a treaty propounded to the queen by the duke of Parma, governor of the Netherlands, for a truce, in order to a peace between her and the king of Spain. And the other, the preserving herself and kingdoms from the intended invasion of the Spaniard.

Motion of a peace with Spain.

Concerning the former, when it came into mature deliberation before the queen and council, in December the year before, and suspecting the motion was not sound at bottom, the greater care was taken how they proceeded, to go upon
509 sure grounds; and particularly, not to leave those of the Netherlands, whom she had taken into her protection, to the Spaniard's mercy. And in this weighty case the lord treasurer gave his judgment: which I find among his papers, written by himself; therein shewing what he thought advisable and safe to be done in the managing of this business. This paper, writ by so wise and ancient a statesman, will deserve to be here transcribed, sent to the council (as it seems) in his absence by reason of his gout or some other cause. And was thus endorsed by his own pen:

" *To be considered what were meet to be done to procure*
" *a good peace. December* 14.

" First, That a peace is most necessary, no man can
" deny.

" Secondly, That the obtaining of it cannot be without
" a treaty.

" Thirdly, There are requisite to that treaty these cir-
" cumstances:

" First, A place convenient with surety. Secondly, a

" cessation of arms during the treaty, as well in Spain as " in the Low Countries. Thirdly, An assent for commis- " sioners for the States, either to treat for themselves, or " that the queen's majesty may treat for them. Fourthly, " That articles between the queen and the king of Spain to " be such as may make a clear and an assured peace; " without leaving such scruples and occasion of quarrels as " hath been, for the queen's subjects to be free from the " inquisition. Fifthly, That the people of the Low Coun- " tries, whom her majesty hath defended, may not be im- " peached hereafter for any thing done; but that they may " enjoy their liberties and freedoms, and have the use of " their religion, openly now professed in their churches: for " the enjoying whereof they have all this time stand to their " defence. Sixthly, That her majesty may be duly an- " swered of such sums of money as by contract with the " States she ought to have. Seventhly, That this may be " contracted with the king of Spain, as hath been heretofore " for the Low Countries with the duke of Burgundy: that " is, to have the towns both of England and Low Coun- " tries bound to keep the peace, as in former times hath " been.

" *Observations upon the points afore remembered.*

" First, If it might be treated on in England, it were " convenient and reasonable to be demanded for these " causes.

" England is without men of war and hostility. And so " meeter to treat of peace. That reputation also requireth, " that considering the queen's commissioners to come from " her person, *ut a latere principis*. The other come not so " directly from the king; but are named by the duke of " Parma, who is but a subject to the king of Spain. The " commissioners of the Low Countries may come as safe " from Dunkirk to Sandwich, Dover, or Canterbury, as they " of England may to any place of the Low Countries.

" Secondly, The cessation of arms cannot be so soon in " Spain as in the Low Countries; yet if the duke will avow

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" that he hath power to covenant for it, and will send to " Spain by post for it, it may be hoped to follow.

" Thirdly, It is requisite to hasten the answer from the " States. And if they will obstinately refuse, yet her ma- " jesty may treat for herself. And in the mean time it may " be hoped the States will assent. Her majesty also may " by indirect means see how the States may be provided for, " for their religion: which, if it cannot be obtained with " surety, her majesty may protest to the world the just " cause of breach. And so in like manner provide how the " States may become more able to defend themselves. And " her majesty also may percase make herself stronger; espe- " cially by procuring surety of Scotland; and by procuring " further means to help her majesty to maintain her wars.

" Fourthly, If such covenants may be made betwixt the " towns of both parts as hath been in former times, where- " by may more assurance be hoped for of continuance of " the liberties of the Low Countries, and conservation of " peace with England.

" Fifthly, If the people whom the queen hath defended, " and who also themselves have always persisted to have " the use of their religion, for that purpose continued their " defensible wars, may not enjoy that liberty for which " they have continued their wars; then may her majesty " justly refuse the peace; and wanting that special matter " for which she hath attempted to defend them. And well " may it be avowed to the world, that if the king shall re- " fuse that, and so dispeople those countries of such sub- " jects, her majesty may certainly look for the like peril " from the king of Spain out of the Low Countries, that in " her protestation published she did notify to the world to " be the cause of her yielding to them her defence.

" Sixthly, Her majesty's contract with the States may be " avowed lawful, as a contract for a debt, whereunto they " may lawfully bind themselves.

" Seventhly, That examples are extant of like contracts " and bonds between the kings of England and the dukes " of Burgundy, and of the abilities and towns of both sides.

" Which at this time is as necessary as ever was in any for-
" mer time."

Anno 1588.

Commissioners on the English side for a truce with Spain.

For the treaty, commissioners were afterwards sent by both parties, and met at a place near Ostend. Those on the English side were divers honourable persons, as the earl of Darby, lord Cobham, sir James a Crofts, comptroller of the queen's household, Valentine Dale, a learned civilian, and master of requests, and some others. They began their treaty in April, and continued arguing all the summer; in show rather than in reality on Parma's side.

Camd. Eliz. p. 407.

Crofts repairs to the duke of Parma.

And after long delays and little done, Crofts, one of the queen's commissioners, (who was very desirous to compass so good a purpose as peace, and to reduce all former quarrels to an amicable conclusion,) went privately of his own accord to the duke himself at Brussels: and there shewed him the terms required on the queen's part, the sooner to have his answers. Which terms he drew up himself, and comprised in divers brief articles. And because these articles give light into the purport of this commission, and do not appear in our historian, this is the sum of them, as I transcribed them from a volume in the Cotton library.

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Articuli a Jacobo Crofto milite, Parmensi propositi, in pacis tractatione.

Shews him the articles to be treated on. Julius, F. 6.

" I. That the king [of Spain] his commission [by whose
" authority the duke had set on foot this commission]
" might be seen.

" II. For a cessation of arms.

" III. Treaties and intercourses to be restored.

" IV. Correspondency for mutual traffic, [in the king-
" doms and dominions of both princes.]

" V. How the English travelling in the king of Spain's
" dominions should be used in case of religion.

" VI. To make an ἀμνηστία of things done by the Eng-
" lish.

" VII. A concurrence to be put in action concerning
" Holland and Zealand; by what means to bring them to
" the obedience of the king.

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"VIII. A particular and general pardon.

"IX. Toleration in religion as far as the king of Spain

Anno 1588. "may grant with a safe conscience."

The treaty breaks off.

But in fine, the treaty was broke off; intended in truth only for show, on Parma's and Spain's part, to hold the English in hand till the Spanish fleet was ready. So that in August, when both fleets were upon the seas, the queen's commissioners came home, being conducted safe by Parma's order to Callais: but Crofts was called into question for that journey of his to the duke of Parma, and his business there; and not having sufficient order for so doing, by the earl of Leicester's accusation, (perhaps upon some private displeasure,) he was cast into prison, though the articles were approved by the other commissioners, and agreeable to the tenor of the matters to be treated on.

The Spanish invasion.

Now next we come to see what great cause there was for the queen and her council and parliament to be watchful against the malice of papists: who had stirred up the pope and the king of Spain against her in the invasion with their (supposed) *invincible armada*, as they vainly called it. The vast preparations for this grand expedition, the number of ships, seamen, soldiers, ammunition, the histories published in other countries, as well as our own, will tell us. Some further particulars whereof, with other matters of remark relating thereunto, I shall add, to illustrate this critical emergence of this queen's reign, as I have met with them, both in more public as well as more private papers of state, concerning this formidable armada, with the absolute defeat of it: which I shall here communicate, the rather, to shew the signal providence of God to this kingdom in this notable juncture.

512 But before this enterprise against England was actually undertaken, the fleet now ready, the king of Spain entered into a deep consultation with his counsellors, whether it were more expedient to invade England or Holland. And the resolution was for England first. This notable argument, with the reasons thereof, afterwards came abroad, and was published in a book *Politicarum Dissertationum*. Be-

Spain's consultation about this enterprise.

Printed anno 1613.

ginning thus; *Anno* 1588, *quando stupenda illa classis regis catholici in procinctu stabat, in qua disputatur, quonam ejus convertend. sit impetus;* i. e. That in the year 1588, when that amazing fleet of the king of Spain was in a readiness, it was concerted whither the force of it should be turned. Anno 1588.

The discourse; *Tanta hodie est Hispaniarum regis potentia,* &c. " Such at this day is the power of the king of " Spain, so strong his armies, so prepared for war, so fresh " his glory newly added to his empire by Portugal; that " nothing but what is signal, and worthy the grandeur of " so great a majesty, seasonable to the present time and oc- " casion, is expected from him."

The resolution was, That England was the country that should be invaded rather than Holland first. And for this divers political reasons were urged. The heads whereof were these that follow. 1. That it was easier to conquer England than Belgium, that is, Holland. 2. The Dutch being malecontents were not to be provoked. 3. England, how powerful heretofore, and how at this day. 4. The weakness of England in comparison of Spain. 5. England wanted ships and forts; and also horses, and all other warlike preparations. 6. The English desirous of novelty. 7. The English hate the queen. 8. The English want only to offend, [i. e. to rebel in other terms.] 9. England began to decline. 10. England destitute of captains for war: needy of money. 11. The power of king Philip. The naval strength of the catholic king. 12. Assistance of French and Scots. 13. The honour and glory of this expedition. 14. In England many catholics favouring the king. 15. England, as inclinable to the catholic religion. All these reasons were discoursed upon at large. The result whereof, to invade England. Political Disertation. Tom. iv.

As to that head particularly, viz. *The honour and glory of the expedition*, thus the argument was managed: " That " which in this deliberation must be considered in the first " place, that respect is to be had in this matter, of honour " and just cause of it. Since it is first the part of the ca- " tholic king to defend catholic faith and religion. That he The honour and glory of this expedition.

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" be certainly persuaded in this confidence, that there will " be no impediment that can retard this attempt of his, that " is *Divino præsidio subnixum*, i. e. underpropped with the " Divine safeguard: for weak and vain are human coun- " sels and aids which oppose themselves to the will of that " Supreme Arbiter. But besides these pretensions that the " catholic king hath to this kingdom, the account of his " duty and office, that he can undertake no worthier expe- " dition in his own or ancestors' name, who are called *catho-* " *lic*; for this reason he shall not only on most just causes " obtain the possession of the kingdom due to him, but
513 " shall gain to himself the immortal glory of his name " above all other kings that ever were; namely, so ancient " and famous a kingdom joined to Spain."

Catholics in England favour the king of Spain,

Another argument, in relation to the catholics in England that favoured the catholic king; it was said, " There " were very many of that sort that were on his side. And " who knows not of what concern it is to have friends and " favourers among very enemies? The destruction of Cauna " sufficiently shewed this, whereby the Roman army was al- " most quite overthrown. Nor indeed is any place so forti- " fied which may not easily be subdued, if within by the " citizens, and without by the enemy, the fight must be " managed. But in England are many who are addicted to " king Philip; and in his cause will do what they can. And " that was proved by three reasons. 1. King Philip's cle- " mency. 2. The English as yet inclinable to the catholic " religion. 3. The mighty hopes of gain. For the confirma- " tion of this, it was said, that the catholic king doth not " only himself abound in wealth, but in all his empire hath " numberless gainful offices, as well secular as ecclesiastical. " And that he hath most ample opportunities to be grateful " to those that deserve well of him. And that it will be " easy for him to draw the minds of the English to him; " and to catch others with the prospect of some rich re- " wards."

And to prove the inclination of the English to the catholic religion, thus this politician proceeded: " We know that

" England at this day is torn away from the bosom of the " holy church, not by any inveterate or natural infection, " but by the error rather, and blindness of Henry VIII. Anno 1588. " who suffered himself to be carried away by his lusts; so " that he made no account *omnia miscere*, i. e. to put all in " confusion. But if we look upon the nation of England " itself, it is indeed evident, that from the most ancient " times it hath been the most observant of the catholic reli- " gion. But if we consider the present state, we shall find it " driven into this precipice, not by their own will and de- " sire, but by the madness of the said king. Now if a view " of the time be truly taken, this plague of infidelity may " be looked upon as yet fresh, and the wound not yet skin- " ned over. Nor are there many years since Mary obtaining " the crown, the English were returned to the ancient ca- " tholic faith; and so openly shewed, that their minds were " blinded with no other thing than by the drowsy lethargy " that held the minds of kings bound and oppressed. And " how can it be possible that the English should not be catho- " lics for a great part, since either they or their fathers cer- " tainly were born and educated in this most holy faith?"

Then for the argument, *Angli novarum rerum cupidi*, thus it was argued; " That certain it was, that the study of " novelties was inserted, as it were, by nature in the Eng- " lish. For that if any read the history of that people, he " should find seditions, conspiracies, treasons, and the like, " had fixed, as it were, a dwelling-place for themselves in " that island." And then examples were produced; adding, " It would be infinite to relate all such matters. Whence " it appeared, how easy some confusions or disturbances " might arise in that kingdom; especially, if men, of them- " selves desirous of novelty, and given to tumults, do see an " armed adversary before their doors. To whom they (if " for no other reason, at least out of fear of punishment for " rebellion) will undoubtedly join themselves of their own " accord."

The English affect disturbances.

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To that argument, *Angli reginam oderunt*, thus the same zealous statesman enlarged; " That since all, for the

That the English people

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Anno 1588. hated the queen.

" most part, of the English bore heavily the queen's rigorous " rule; as who, not only ruling with small prudence and " moderation, but also *inhoneste vivendo*, raised up against " herself the hatred and indignation of her subjects daily " more and more; why is it, that we should not believe they " will willingly cast off such a yoke, occasion offering? For " though the people shew a certain singular observance to- " wards that queen in their outward gesture and counte- " nance; yet if any look inward, he shall find a bitter poison " of hatred towards her, in the inmost recesses of their " hearts. So that such words openly often, not only among " the great ones, but among the common people, are tossed " about, that since the queen was born in unlawful wedlock, " she cannot hold the kingdom in prejudice of the true heirs, " and against the statutes of the kingdom. Wherefore there " is great hope, if the catholic king do arm against the " queen, that the subjects will attempt somewhat remark- " able for her destruction. Since so commonly it is seen to " fall out, that the people, pricked forward by hatred, or " some other affection, will snatch at any occasion of de- " stroying whom they hate. So the Tarentines, weary of " the rule of Caius Liber, their prefect, received the Car- " thaginians into their city in his very sight."

These were the deliberations of the Spanish council, as full of falsehood as malice, to stir up the king, forward enough of himself, to determine this ambitious purpose. But now to see how it succeeded.

In the beginning of July, news was sent to the court by a gentleman, who had it from a captain named Gilbert Lee, lately come from the coast of Spain, and arrived at Portsmouth; and gave this information.

Intelligence of the fleet at Lisbon. MSS. Burg.

" That upon the 25th of May, after their computation, " there departed out of Lixbon for England an 160 sail of " small and great ships, viz. 4 galleys, 4 galliasses, 30 hulks, " 30 small ships, the rest armadoes and gallions. In the " same fleet there are 30,000 footmen, beside mariners. " Which fleet arrived in the Groine, all, saving the 30 hulks. " Which hulks are yet missing. The vice-admiral of the

" whole fleet is dead. And the sickness increaseth in the " fleet. The general, being the duke of Medina, hath written to the king, to know his pleasure for the proceeding " in his voyage. The fleet lieth within the Groyne in three " several roads, three leagues from one another. And he " said, that if there had come but fifty sail of ships, by " reason of the sickness, and being so dispersed, they might " have burnt them all. There is a preparing for a second " fleet in Lisbone; which shall likewise come for England.

" The king of Spain and the Turk have concluded a " league for a certain time. This news he learned from " three several ships, which he stayed; and that upon the 515 " coast of Biskay. In one of them this news was confirmed " by several Spanish letters, directed from Antwerp. One " that is part merchant and passenger in a ship that is here " now, saith, that he will affirm, upon the loss of his life, " that all this is true. This ship came from Bayon about " twenty days past, and saith, he left all this whole fleet in " the Groyne, saving the 30 hulks that are missing, wherein " all his horses be. Since which time, he saith, they have " had no southernly wind, whereby the fleet could well " come out of the Groyne, until these three or four days. " And upon the receipt of the king's answer, they were " presently determined to come for England. He saith also, " that his soldiers and gentlemen that come in this voyage " are very richly appointed; assuring themselves of good " success. Insomuch as they might take up any wares, to " repay it upon the booty they would take in England.

" The duke of Parma did send a ship from Dunkirk to " Lisbon, wherein there was an ambassador and fourscore " gentlemen. Upon whose arrival the fleet departed presently. There was a report there, that the duke of Parma " was come with his forces out of Flanders, and entered the " Thames, and had taken London without any resistance, " whereupon they were about to make bonfires.

" The Englishmen that be in Spain do report very foul " speeches of her majesty; and they and the Spaniards de-

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" sire but to set foot on land, and all shall be theirs. He " said, they made a just account to be received in Scotland. " He saith also, that he met with 25 sail of Frenchmen " upon the coast of Biskay, which came from Lisbon. And " after some conflict between them, and hurt done on both " parts, they departed; and whither they went, he knoweth " not.

" I asked captain Lee, whether he saw my lord admiral " at sea, or no, and he saith, he saw none of the fleet." To this paper the lord treasurer set the date, viz. 5 *Julii*, 1588.

The queen's preparations.

The state saw well the mighty preparations of arms and shipping that were ready to come down upon them. And the active queen made the best provision she could to receive them. And in order thereunto, one of her first cares was to get the nation in arms; especially those countries that bordered upon the sea. I have seen the queen's letters to this purpose to the marquis of Winchester and the earl of Sussex, for Hampshire, writ in the month of June; now when already the Spanish fleet appeared upon the seas.

Her letter to the lords lieutenants of Hampshire.

" She first took notice to them of their former diligence in " their lieutenancies, that her subjects in those parts might be " ready in arms to defend themselves and her kingdom " against any such attempts. And the directions she gave " she found so well performed by them, that she could not " but receive great contentment thereby; and likewise for " the great willingness of the people, generally shewing " thereby their great love and loyalty. That she accepted " it most thankfully; and acknowledged herself most bound " to Almighty God, that it had pleased him to bless her " with such loving and dutiful subjects.

516 " And that finding the same intention now of invading " and making a conquest of the realm, now more and more " detected and confirmed; and an army being put to sea " for that purpose, which she doubted not nevertheless, " through God's goodness, should prove frustrate; she " thought good therefore to require them forthwith, with " all the speed they conveniently could, to call together the

" best sort of gentlemen under their lieutenancy, and to de-
" clare unto them these great preparations and arrogant
" threatenings, now burst forth in action upon the seas: Anno 1588.
" wherein every man's particular state in the highest degree
" would be touched, in respect of country, liberty, wives,
" children, lands, lives, and (which was especially to be re-
" garded) the profession of the true and sincere religion of
" Christ. And to lay before them the infinite and unspeak-
" able miseries that would fall out upon any such accident
" and change. Which miseries were evidently seen by the
" fruits of that hard and cruel government holden, where
" such change happened, &c.

" That she expected therefore, on this extraordinary oc-
" casion, a larger proportion of furniture, both for horsemen
" and footmen; thereby to be in their best strength against
" any attempt whatsoever: to be employed, whether about
" her own person, or otherwise. And the number she re-
" quired them to signify to her privy-council. Assuring
" herself that Almighty God would bless their loyal hearts
" borne towards their sovereign." The whole letter, whereof these are but some short minutes, deserves to be preserved; and so it may be found in the Appendix. No. L.

The nobility required to repair to the queen in their arms.

Nor was this all the strength she expected from her subjects in the several counties, but she required moreover the highest rank of them, her nobility, to provide themselves, and their servants and dependants in like manner, with horses and armour, to be ready to repair, upon summons, to the queen, for defence of her person. And to this purpose letters were addressed to them from the lords of the council by her command. The minutes whereof, as I transcribed them from the lord treasurer's own pen, were as follow.

The council's letters to them.

" Although we doubt not but your lordship heareth daily
" the reports made from the parts beyond the seas, what
" great preparations of forces are made, as well in Spain as
" in the Low Countries; and that in common judgment of
" men the same may be intended against the estate of this
" realm; yet because in the directions given these late years
" through the whole realm, for mustering, arming, and

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" training of all persons for to bear armour, there hath been
" no special directions given, to require any nobleman to
" prepare himself with any furniture for the war for him-
" self, his servants, and tenants; but that her majesty did
" certainly suppose that it was the natural disposition of the
" nobility without direction, to be armed, both for them-
" selves, and for furniture of horsemen and footmen, accord-
" ing to their ability:

" Therefore we, that have cause, by our calling in the
" service of her majesty, to have a more certain knowledge,
517 " than by common reports, what preparations are already
" made in the parts beyond the seas, very likely to the of-
" fence of this realm; for the defence whereof, considering
" that her majesty hath very providently ordered that her
" people in all parts of her realm should be in readiness
" under captains and leaders; and that it is the part of wis-
" dom that her majesty's person should have, in such a time
" of danger, a special army to resort to her person; to be
" directed by her majesty where cause shall require; in
" which service none are more meet to be trusted than her
" nobility: we have thought it not impertinent to this pur-
" pose, to impart thus much to your lordship, as one whom
" we know her majesty doth trust. And therewith do re-
" quire your lordship to take it for an argument of special
" love to your lordship in advertising you of the premises.
" And in regard thereof we do not doubt, but that your
" lordship, with all the speed you can possible, will be fur-
" nished with armour and weapon meet for your calling,
" and of your servants and able tenants, that are not already
" enrolled in the general musters of the county, as special
" trained persons, to make as many horsemen as you can,
" both for lances and light horsemen. And for the more
" increase of horsemen, for want of sufficient number of
" great horse or geldings, we think your lordship may do
" well to increase your number, if you shall provide able
" men with petronels upon horse of smaller stature.

" And your lordship being thus furnished, (as we hope
" you will,) we think her majesty will make good account of

" you among other noblemen, to repair to her person, when " you shall be called. And your lordship shall singularly " content us, to let us know by your letter, as soon as you " may, what shall be the numbers which your lordship shall " account to have furnished; and of what condition for this " service. Whereupon we may, according to the good-will " we bear you, impart the same unto her majesty."

A loan to the queen from the city of London.

The queen also, to strengthen herself in this emergence, took up great sums of money of her city of London, which they lent her readily; each merchant and citizen according to his ability. And so did the strangers also, both merchants and tradesmen, that came to inhabit there for their business or liberty of the protestant religion. In all to the sum of 4900*l.* Whereof, among the strangers, John Houblon was one; (of whose pedigree, no question, is the present worshipful spreading family of that name;) who lent for his part 100*l.*

Joh. Houblon.

Prayers and fastings enjoined.

And together with all other human means, orders were issued throughout the nation for public prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, in all parish-churches, to be used, for deliverance and good success. And an *office* was composed for that purpose. And a citation went forth to summon the clergy of the city of London to meet: when a strict charge was given them for the due observation thereof. For so I find in a diary of one of the city ministers, viz. " That " being called together, they were required to be zealous in " prayers and almsgiving; namely, on Wednesdays and " Fridays; and to stir up the people thereunto. And pro- " per homilies to be read for fasting, praying, and almsgiv- " ing." Other particulars concerning prayers enjoined on this occasion may be read in the History of Archbishop Whitgift's Life.

MSS. D. Joh. nuper episc. Elien. 518.

Book iii. c. 19.

A prayer on this occasion.

One of these prayers deserve to be recorded, in eternal memory of this imminent national danger; entitled, *A prayer, to be delivered from our enemies;* which I take out of the book then set forth, called, *A form of prayer, necessary for the present time and state.* It ran as follows:

" O Lord God of hosts, most loving and merciful Fa-

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" ther, we thy humble servants prostrate ourselves before " thy Divine Majesty, most heartily beseeching thee to " grant unto us true repentance for our sins past; namely, " for our unthankfulness, contempt of thy word, lack of " compassion toward the afflicted, envy, malice, strife, and " contention among ourselves, and for all other our iniqui- " ties. Lord, deal not with us as we have deserved; but of " thy great goodness and mercy do away our offences; and " give us grace to confess and acknowledge, O Lord, with " all humble and hearty thanks, thy wonderful and great be- " nefits, which thou hast bestowed upon this thy church and " people of England, in giving unto us, without all desert on " our part, not only peace and quietness, but also in pre- " serving our most gracious queen, thine handmaid, so mi- " raculously from so many conspiracies, perils, and dangers; " and in granting her good success against the attempts of " our enemies. For the which so wonderful and great be- " nefits, we humbly beseech thee to stir up our dull minds " to such thankfulness, and acknowledging of thy mercies, " as becomes us, and as may be acceptable unto thee.

" We do instantly beseech thee of thy gracious goodness, " to be merciful to thy church militant here upon earth, " many ways vexed and tormented by the malice of Satan " and his members; and as at this time, as it were, com- " passed about with most strong and subtle adversaries. " And especially, O Lord, let thine enemies know, and " make them confess, that thou hast received England " (which they, most of all for thy gospel's sake, do malign) " into thine own protection. Set, we pray thee, O Lord, a " wall about it, and evermore mightily defend it. Let it be " a comfort to the afflicted, an help to the oppressed, a de- " fence to thy church and people persecuted abroad.

" And forasmuch as thy cause is now in hand, we beseech " thee to direct and go before our armies, both by sea and " land. Bless and prosper them; and grant unto them, O " Lord, thy good and honourable success and victory; as " thou didst to Abraham and his company against the four " mighty kings; to Joshua against the five kings, and against

" Amalek; to David against the strong and mighty armed " Goliah: and as thou usest to do to thy children, when " they please thee. We acknowledge all power, strength, " and victory to come from thee. Some put their trust in " chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember thy " name, O Lord our God. Thou bringest the counsel of " the heathen to nought, and makest the devices of the peo- " ple to be of none effect. There is no king that can be 519 " saved by the multitude of an host; neither is any mighty " man delivered by much strength. An horse is but " a vain thing to save a man. Therefore we pray unto thee, " O Lord; thou art our help and our shield.

" O Lord, give good and prosperous success to all those " that fight thy battle against the enemies of thy gospel. " Shew some token continually for our good. That they " who hate us may see it, and be confounded. And that we, " thy little and despised flock, may say with good king Da- " vid, *Blessed is the people whose God is the Lord Jehovah,* " *and blessed are the folk whom he hath chosen to be his in-* " *heritance.* These, and all graces necessary for us, grant, " O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Me- " diator and Redeemer." This we may call a prayer of faith, in regard of the strong hopes of success to be granted to this kingdom professing the gospel; which accordingly happened.

And the queen had good reason to make all the provision that possibly she could against this mighty force, both by land and sea, that was coming with so much fierceness against this land; and reckoning themselves sure of a conquest by reason of their vast and (supposed) *invincible* strength. Which the Spaniard, the more to advance his glory and terrify his enemies, had caused to be known abroad in all languages, not only in Spanish, but in Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch, excepting English. That written and printed in Spanish shewed distinctly all the preparations of ships, their burdens, and men belonging to them: written, as it seemed, in a bravado, and confidence of victory. For they called it, *The most happy armada;* bearing this

A book of the armada set forth in Spanish.

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title; *La felicissima armada, que el rey Felipe nuestro senior mando juntar en el puerto de la Ciudad de Lisboa en el reyno de Portugal; en anno de mil e quinientos y ocenta y ocha. Hecha por Pedro de Pas Salas.* Which book nevertheless soon came into the hands of the lord treasurer Burghley. In which book, in divers places, I have seen notes added by the pen of that nobleman, soon after the defeat: as, what captains were taken or slain, or what ships were sunk, or taken, &c. Another copy of this Spanish book J. Stow, the historian, saw in the hands of the worshipful Mr. Anthony Radcliff, alderman of London, as he writ in his Annals, under that year, upon occasion of sir Francis Drake's taking the great galleon, being of 1150 tons. Wherein was don Pedro de Valdes, one of their generals, as he found in that book.

The Spanish book put into English.

But this book soon came out in English, translated from the French, and printed this year by J. Wolf, a noted London printer. Whence it may not be amiss to take some notes, that we may the better observe and wonder at a superior power interposing and overruling, on England's behalf, at that perilous time.

The book translated bore this title; *A discourse of that armada which the king of Spain caused to be assembled in the haven of Lisbon, in the kingdom of Portugal, in the year* 88, *against England. The which began to go out of the haven the* 29*th and* 30*th of May.* The translator was one Daniel Archdeacon. Where, in the preface, the translator observed, "How that Spain had published his pre- "parations, not to the queen, but to all besides ourselves, "in Italian, Spanish, Dutch, French; and still by them "thereby to discourage us." For thus he tells the world: "He hath many huge ships, so many thousands of armed "men, such multitudes of munition, as no man could de- "liver us out of his hand. As if he cried out, (with Rab- "shakeh to the Jews,) Let not England deceive you: for "it cannot deliver you out of my hand. Nor let Elizabeth "persuade you to trust in the Lord; saying, Doubtless the "Lord will deliver us, and not give us over into the hands

" of the king of Spain:" as the writer aptly useth the words of Rab-shakeh sent by Sennacherib to good king Hezekiah, and his people, in such a strait as England and queen Elizabeth now was in. CHAP. XV. Anno 1588.

In this book thus translated is set down (according to the Spanish copy) " the number of galleons, ships, pinnaces, zabres, galliasses, galleys, and other vessels, which " were assembled in the river of Lisbon; whereof was chief " and general the duke of Medina Sidonia; together with " the burdens of them, the land soldiers, mariners, munitions, weapons, artillery, powder, and other furnitures for " war which they brought, and for what time the said munitions shall serve." It would be too prolix to enter the particulars here, but too remarkable to be wholly omitted, as it is, I think, by our historians. And therefore I have comprised the sum of it shortly from the Spaniards themselves in their said book: see the Appendix. Hence it appears that fleet consisted of 130 ships, of 57,868 tons, 19,295 soldiers, 8450 mariners, and 2088 slaves; besides many other lesser vessels of attendance. The contents thereof. N°. LI.

And further, for their surer success, their ships were furnished with abundance of friars, and religious men of the several orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic, &c. and of the society of Jesus, to the number of 180. And there was a Latin litany, called *Litaniæ*, composed and printed for the prosperous issue of this expedition, to be used for a week together; each day having its distinct office. And moreover, for further good fortune, and to speed the better, their ships had each their tutelary saints and guardians; as St. Martin, (in which ship the captain general was,) St. Philip, St. James, St. Anne, St. Mary, St. Christopher, &c. By whose names all their ships were called. Friars of the religious orders in the fleet.

But concerning the foresaid Litany, (which I found among some authentic papers of that time, brought over hither, or found perhaps in some of their ships,) I cannot but take some particular notice. It bare this title; *Litaniæ et preces pro felici successu classis catholici regis nostri Philippi adversus Angliæ hæreticos, veræ fidei impugnato-* A Litany for their fleet.

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res. I will give some brief account of it, and the prayers there framed against us, as heretics; as being the pretended grand cause of our threatened destruction. See the Appendix.

N°. LII.

A conquest of Great Britain intended.

The mighty intent of this fleet (and so it was published in some of their books, and that not improbable) was, not to make a conquest of England only, but of the whole isle of Great Britain. And that from the Spaniards printed

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Copy of a letter from Mendoza.

description of that armada. Wherein were specially named such a number of noblemen, princes, marquises, *condes*, and *dons*, that were called *adventurers*, without any office or pass. And that such another number of men also, named captains and *alferez*, without office, and called *entertenedos*. As all those being in no service in the armada might be well presumed to have come with intention to have possessed the rooms of all the noblemen in England and Scotland; and those preparations for invasion, as shewn in their said books printed, were so grand and extraordinary, containing the particular long description and catalogue of their armada, together with a mass of all kind of provisions, beyond measure, as sufficient in estimation to be able to make a conquest of many kingdoms and countries; as a catholic, unknown here, wrote to the Spanish ambassador at Paris.

In what a dreadful consternation the whole nation was now, upon this hostile appearance on our seas, and our weak strength and opposition, in comparison with them, is lively set forth in a book of one of our bishops soon after.

Admonition to the people of England. By bishop Cooper.

" Oh! my good brethren and loving countrymen,——the " view of that mighty navy of the Spaniards is scarce passed " out of our sight; the very terrible sound of their shot " rings as it were still in our ears: when the certain pur- " pose of most cruel and bloody conquest of this realm is " confessed by themselves, and blazed before our eyes, [in " their books printed and dispersed;] when our sighs and " groans, with our fasting and prayers, in show of our re- " pentance, are fresh in our memory; and the tears not " washed from the eyes of many good men."

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But upon that grand defeat, the bishop represents England in another view: "When the mighty work of God, "and his marvellous mercies in delivering us, and in scattering and confounding our enemies, is bruited over all "the world, and with humble thanks renounced by all that "love the gospel, our Christian duty requires, for joy and "thanksgiving, that we should be seen yet lifting up our "hands to heaven, with thanking minds, setting forth the "glory of God, and, with Moses and the Israelites, singing "praises unto his name, and saying, The Lord hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider, the ships and the "sailors, the soldiers and their captains, he hath overthrown in the sea. The Lord is our strength; the Lord "is become our salvation."

Joy for the overthrow of that army.

For notwithstanding the prodigious strength of this Spanish army, consisting of such vast numbers of galleons and galleasses, and ships of great burden, replenished with such crowds of armed men, for landing and invading this country; all was but an arm of flesh: and in short, after divers engagements by sea, were utterly overthrown, and glad to fly away by the Orcades, on the north of Scotland, in their shattered ships that were left; till, after infinite hazards, shipwrecks, and losses in those seas, some of them landed on the north parts of Ireland.

Shipwreck of the fleet in Ireland.

Our historians are very brief and defective in their relations of the said ill success and dreadful shipwrecks and miseries of that fleet, that happened to them in those northern parts. Which may deserve to be supplied. Which therefore I shall do from the epilogue of a letter sent from one in England to De Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris; a copy whereof was printed in English soon after. It related, "How that famous fleet was driven out of our "seas to the further north parts of Scotland, and driven "by tempests beyond the isles of Orkney, a place above "60 degrees from the north pole; an unacquainted place "for the young gallants of Spain, that never had felt storms "on the seas, or cold weather in August. And about those "north islands their mariners and soldiers died daily, by

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" multitudes, as by their bodies cast on land did appear." But I leave the whole relation of these their miseries to be read in the Appendix.

Upon the scattering and disappearance of this mighty fleet, this writing was fastened up to pasquil in the city of Rome, to be read by all; as though the pope were in great concern (as no doubt he was) for the fleet's flight: *Pontificem mille annorum indulgentias largiturum esse de plenitudine potestatis suæ, siquis certo sibi indicaverit, quid sit factum de classe Hispanica; quo abierit; in cœlumne sublata; an ad tartara detrusa; vel in aëra alicubi pendeat; an in aliquo mari fluctuet.*

A pasquil set up at Rome. Cott. libr. Titus, B. 2.

They land in Ireland.

The forces that got on shore in Ireland, after some brisk skirmishes, were defeated, and beat by a much less force of the queen's there. A particular account whereof I do not find in our historians; and therefore I shall also give some relation of it, sent to the queen by the governor and her officers there, in the month of September, soon after the action: which was to this tenor:

Many of them land; but are beaten.

" By other advertisements of the 14th of September, it " is certified to the lord deputy of Ireland, from the earl " of Tyron, being at his castle at Dungannon, that upon " intelligence brought to him of the landing of certain " Spaniards in the north of Ireland, he sent two English " captains, with their bands, towards them, to the number " of an hundred and fifty; who found them at sir John " Odognerty's town, called Illagh; and there, discovering " their number to be about six hundred, did that night " encamp within a musket-shot of them; and about mid- " night did skirmish with them for the space of two hours. " In which skirmish the Spanish lieutenant of the field " and twenty more of the Spaniards were slain, besides " many that were hurt.

" The next day following they did offer skirmish again " to the Spaniards. Whereupon they all yielded. And so, " as prisoners, were carried to Dungannon to the earl: who " meant to send them to the lord deputy; being judged to " be men of good value; and one thought to be a man that

"had some great charge and conduct of men for many "years. Whereof the lord deputy will give knowledge, as "soon as they shall be brought to Dublin." Then follow a list of the ships and men sunk, drowned, and taken upon the coast of Ireland; namely, 17 ships, and 5394 men. For the particulars I refer the reader to the Appendix. To which I shall add from the same paper Spain's loss of ships and men in the coast of England; namely, 15 ships, and above 10,000 men, in a particular list: that we may, as it were, in one view, see England's never to be forgotten deliverance, by the signal hand of God against that insulting, cruel prince, king Philip.

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Many of these Spaniards, thus distressed, and taken in Ireland, were brought over prisoners into England; and committed under custody to Bridewell in London: where we find them in September the next year. Concerning one of these I make a remark by the way. One Giles Corit, of Brittany in France by birth, belonging to the sea, putting in at Lisbon when the Spanish navy was there ready to sail for England, was compelled to leave his ship, and to go with them in that unhappy expedition; (on this occasion getting up all the seamen they could possibly lay their hands on.) This man at this time endeavouring to obtain his liberty, got a testimonial from Cyprian de Valera, a great Spanish officer, (now, as it seems, in custody,) who testified concerning this man as is aforesaid: and withal, that he was a poor sailor, an old man, and had a wife and three children, and was sick: and that all this account he [the said Cyprian] had from the relation of all the Spaniards that were with him. And this he testified the 13th of September, 1589, under his hand, *Cyprianus de Valero.*

Spanish prisoners in Bridewell.

In this grand decisive action, some particular information two letters will communicate, written at that very juncture by two men of eminence, the one sir Fra. Drake, from on board his ship the Revenge, and the other sir Henry Killigrew, the queen's ambassador, then with the states of Holland. In Drake's letter, which was written to the lord

Letter from sir Francis Drake to the lord treasurer from aboard.

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treasurer, dated June 6, he shewed how the queen's fleet then at Plymouth was in every moment's expectation of the Spaniard; and that when they were in sight, what courage and bravery appeared in the English, however prodigiously great the enemy's navy appeared: that a skipper of an hulk, that gave them the first notice of them, could not number them, but supposed them to amount to 150 or 200 sail: and that the lord admiral stood so well affected for all honourable service, as assured his followers of good success, and hope of victory. And so ending with his prayers, not doubting of the enemy. But take the letter, as I offer it from the very original. See the Appendix. Concluding piously, "That he daily prayed to God to bless her ma-"jesty, and to give them grace to fear him. For so should "they not need to doubt the enemy, although they were "many."

N°. LIV.

Letter of sir H. Killigrew, ambassador to the States.

When the fleets were in face of one another on our seas, and some engagements passed between them, (wherein one of the enemy's great ships was destroyed near Calice,) Killigrew, the queen's ambassador in Holland, thought it necessary to excite the States now to assist, and particularly to be ready, and to watch the duke of Parma, who with his forces was going to carry aid from Dunkirk, and to join the Spanish fleet: and when he returned was like to attack some of their towns. For this purpose Killigrew, being now at Leyden, despatched a letter, dated Aug. 3, to Vander-Myle, president of the States at the Hague, wherein (with the preface of *Illustrissime Domine*) he acquainted him, "that coming to Leyden, *narratum est a quodam,* "*qui se intra biduum Caletis profectum, &c.* it was told "him by one [probably his spy,] who but two days past "came from Calice, that the Monday before, there was a "terrible fight between her majesty's fleet and that of Spain; "when, he said, he saw one great galliass taken, although he "thought the ship itself perished, but all the goods carried "off:" [this was the vessel wherein don Hugo de Moncada was slain, and 686 men besides perished.] "And that it "was done within a gun-shot of Calice: that the same per-

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" son further informed him, that on Wednesday following, CHAP. XV.
" her majesty's commissioners [who were the earl of Derby and others, that had been sent to treat with Parma about Anno 1588.
terms of peace in show] " came all safe to Calice, in order
" to their coming home. On which account, that now all
" treaty of peace being broke off, the ambassador be-
" seeched Vander Myle, that the States would hasten with
" all diligence the sending away the letters to her majesty
" which were that morning read in their council. And
" added, that all those forces which went aboard at Dun-
" kirk, in order to strengthen the Spanish army, were landed
" again by order of the duke, as reckoning it not safe to go
" from shore, the English fleet being so near. And that
" this was matter, the ambassador said, he doubted not,
" sufficient to admonish him [the said president] how ne-
" cessary it was, that Ostend and Berghen [two strong
" places, being garrisons held by the English] should be
" provided for. Wherefore he earnestly entreated his ex-
" cellency, that he would persuade count Maurice to solicit
" the states of Zealand, that there be sent in time to those
" cities provisions, and other necessaries for their aid."

Concluding in these words: " In which things, as I re-
" quire, most confident in your pains and industry; so I
" would you should be persuaded, that in the like case I
" shall never be wanting to serve you. Farewell. Dated
" from Leyden, Aug. 3, 1588."

And this warning of the ambassador was not without ground: for the duke of Parma, soon after his departure from Dunkirk, made use of his forces, and set upon Bergen, and laid close siege to it; but was several times beat by the English garrison there. Insomuch that he brake up the siege after the loss of 400 men, as our historian tells.

Rogers, ambassador in Denmark.

The queen had another ambassador now at the court of Denmark, viz. Daniel Rogers; who, by his prudence, stopped an hired fleet of ships going from that kingdom to advance the power of the Spanish navy with greater numbers; for as it had joined with it ships from Naples, Sicily, Venice, so more strength was endeavoured to be procured from this

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country. But the said English ambassador, upon knowledge thereof, seasonably applied to that court to forbid the departure of those ships for that purpose, as being a violation of the good friendship between the two kingdoms. This transaction I choose to give in the words of the said ambassador, in his letter writ in August to the lord treasurer.

His letter to the lord treasurer thence.

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"There were certain who had received commission from "the king of Spain to serve him with certain ships, mariners, "and soldiers upon the seas: which being invited with great "stipends, thought they might so do. But being advertised "of this matter, as they were ready to depart, I complained "unto the governors [of the king, now a minor], declaring, "how far the attempt of such men was against the leagues "which were between the crowns of England and Denmark, "and nothing conformable unto the sincere friendship which "had been between her majesty and the king their master. "Upon this complaint of mine, although the parties pleaded "their privileges, the governors took severe order, that nei- "ther they, nor any other of the subjects of the crown of "Denmark or Norway, or appertaining to the dominions "of the king, should, either at this present or hereafter, "serve against her majesty."

News of the defeat brought to king Philip. Camd. Eliz. p. 418.

It would be worth knowing how this haughty king Philip took the first news of the English conquest of his *invincible armada*. Our historian, in the Life of Queen Elizabeth, writes, that he bore it patiently, and thanked God it was no worse. But it is otherwise more probably told in a paper, written by a fugitive gentleman that lived in those times, namely, Anthony Coppley; being his *Declaration of practices against her majesty's person and government*. "That "he saw it writ in a letter out of Spain to a Spaniard in "Flanders to this effect: that when news of the disgrace "of the king's late armada, or fleet, was brought unto him, "being at mass at that very time in his chapel, he sware "(after mass was done) a great oath, that he would waste "and consume his crown, even to the value of a candle- "stick, (which he pointed unto, standing upon the altar,) "but either he would utterly ruin her majesty and England,

" or else himself and all Spain become tributary to her. CHAP. XV.
" Whereby, as he gathered, it was most evident, that his
" desire of revenge was extreme and implacable towards Anno 1588.
" England."

But his priests could have told him the reason why he was no more successful in that expedition against the heretics in England. " That it was a visible judgment on the " Spaniard, for not expelling the Moors out of his country. " For God would never make use of the Spaniard to reduce " heretics to the bosom of the church, so long as they suf- " fered so many Mahometans apostates to live among them:" as it is told us in the History of the Expulsion of the Moriscoes out of Spain. The priests' reason why the king succeeded not. P. 90.

Upon the first news of this wonderful deliverance and victory, the kingdom was filled with joy, and a sense of gratitude to God; and that expressed by special offices to be used in all the churches of the nation. The first notice given of it in public was, as I find, on the 20th of August, when Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, preached at the Cross a sermon of thanksgiving, the lord mayor and aldermen present: moving them and all the auditory to give praise and thanks to God for the great mercy. Again, Sept. 8, being another and chief day of thanksgiving, the preacher at St. Paul's Cross moved the people to give God thanks for the late wonderful overthrow of their enemies, the Spaniards. There was then openly shewed eleven ensigns, being the banners taken in the Spanish navy; and particularly one streamer, wherein was an image of our Lady, with her son 526 in her arms: which was held in a man's hand over the pulpit. The same banners the next day were hanged on London-bridge towards Southwark. Again, November 17, was another day of joy celebrated, as well for the queen's accession to the throne, as also for the said victory: when Cooper, a very learned and worthy bishop of Winchester, was appointed then the preacher at the Cross. At which assembly her majesty was to have been present; but, upon some occasion, she came not: and so her coming was deferred till the Sunday following. The 19th day, being Tuesday, was kept Thanksgiving sermons.

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holyday throughout the realm, with sermons, singing of psalms, bonfires, &c. for joy, and thanksgiving unto God for the overthrow of the Spaniards: and the citizens of London then appearing in their liveries, and had another sermon at St. Paul's Cross.

The queen comes in triumph to St. Paul's.

But November 24, being the Sunday following, the queen, (attended upon by her privy-council, the nobility, the French ambassador, the judges, the heralds, with noise of trumpets,) sitting in a chariot like a throne, made with four pillars, drawn with four white horses, came to the cathedral church of St. Paul's; and joined in the thanksgivings there made, and heard the sermon, made by Pierse, bishop of Sarum, her lord almoner: and then returned through the church to the bishop's palace, and there dined.

There was a prayer and psalm, appointed to be used duly in the parish-churches on this joyful occasion: and as there was a prayer to be said for God's assistance of the queen's forces, and their good success when they went out, and to be continued while they were abroad, which was set down before; so the prayer and thanksgiving for the happy issue may deserve to be repeated and preserved here, as an eternal record of God's goodness and England's gratitude. It was as follows:

The thanksgiving used in the churches after deliverance from the armada.

"We cannot but confess, O Lord God, that the late ter-
"rible intended invasion of most cruel enemies was sent
"from thee, to the punishment of our sins, our pride, our
"covetousness, our excess in meat and drink, our security,
"our ingratitude, and our unthankfulness towards thee
"for so long peace, and other thine infinite blessings con-
"tinually poured upon us; and to the punishment of other
"our innumerable and most grievous offences, continually
"committed against thy Divine Majesty: and indeed our
"guilty consciences looked for, even at that time, the exe-
"cution of that terrible justice upon us, so by us deserved.
"But thou, O Lord God, who knowest all things, knowing
"that our enemies came not of justice to punish us for our
"sins committed against thy Divine Majesty, (whom they by
"their excessive wickedness have offended, and continually

" do offend, as much or more than we,) but that they came
" with most cruel intent and purpose to destroy us, our ci-
" ties, towns, countries, and people; and utterly to root out Anno 1588.
" the memory of our nation from off the earth for ever.
" And withal wholly to suppress thy holy word and blessed
" gospel of thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Which
" they, being drowned in idolatry and superstition, do
" hate most deadly; and as likely only for the profession 527
" of the same, and not for any offences against thy Divine
" Majesty, or injuries done to themselves.

" Wherefore it hath pleased thee, O heavenly Father, in
" thy justice to remember thy mercy towards us; turning
" our enemies from us, and that dreadful execution which
" they intended towards us, into a fatherly and most mer-
" ciful admonition of us, to the amendment of our lives,
" and to execute justice upon our cruel enemies; turning
" the destruction that they intended against us upon their
" own heads. For the which the same thy most gracious
" protection, and all other thy graces, without our deserts,
" continually and most plentifully poured upon our church,
" our queen and realm, and people of the whole land, we
" beseech thee, add and pour also the grace of gratitude
" and thankfulness into our hearts; that we never forget-
" ting, but bearing in perpetual memory this thy merciful
" protection and deliverance of us, from the malice, force,
" fraud, and cruelty of our enemies," &c.

Soon after this notable exploit of the English arms, and deliverance from their late danger, the kingdom was still upon their guard, for fear of their implacable enemy, the ensuing year. And for this purpose a well-disposed gentleman of the queen's household set forth, *An earnest exhortation to the queen's majesty's subjects: to stir up the minds of all faithful subjects, to defend their country in this dangerous time from the invasion of enemies.* And as it is added, *faithfully and zealously compiled by Anthony Marten, sewer of her majesty's most honourable chamber.* I take notice of it here as a notable discourse, shewing and justifying the queen's proceedings in her making war with

An earnest Exhortation to the People of England.

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Spain, soon after the defeat of their armada. "Wherein, "as the author writ, they would not seem to war with a "woman, but to prepare so invincible a force against her, "as might devour her and her whole kingdom in a day, "without any war at all. But He, as he proceeded, that "sitteth above casteth out the counsel of princes, and bring-"eth their devices to none effect: he hath destroyed "their forces, and sunk into the sea their huge and strong "vessels."

The cause of the invasion.

And then going on, he gave some particular and remarkable relation of this fortunate expedition. "When the "greatest princes in Christendom had with one consent "conspired with the see of Rome to make war upon all the "professors of the gospel, and to reduce them again to their "abominable idolatry, or else to destroy them, that their "name should be no more remembered upon earth; but "especially perceiving the queen's majesty to be most zealous "of the truth, and the principal pillar on whom the church "of Christ did depend; they devised many ways to deprive "her of her life and kingdom. *Come*, say they, *this is the* "*heir; let us slay her, and the inheritance shall be ours.* "Then her majesty, knowing from whence the chief cause "of their malice proceeded, and that the matter most of "all claimed the glory of God, and next unto that the life "of her own self, and of infinite thousands of her subjects;
528 "she hath since that time taken into her possession (though "not the hundredth part of that which she might, and hath "been offered her) [viz. by the oppressed in the Low Coun-"tries,] yet some part of her enemies' weapons, as was "lawful for her to do, for the better defence of her king-"dom, and more safety of the church of Christ: since with-"out those helps she had no safe way to defend herself.

The queen's cause for taking up arms.

"[That is, taking the government of those countries upon "her.] Yet have these things been done of her majesty "with such deliberation, advisement, and long protracting "of time, as it might be evident unto all the world, that she "sought nothing more, than to have her enemies, by some "means or other, reconciled unto her, before she would

" enter into any new occasion for her own defence. And un- " doubtedly, but that it so much concerned the cause of " God, and the kingdom of her ancient allies; all which Anno 1588. " she was bound to defend, when she took upon her the " imperial crown; and that she saw, that if she did take " whole kingdoms from her enemies by violence, they could " never have been enraged more against her than before: " she would rather have lost a thousand lives in her own " person, than have touched any thing that should offend " her neighbours, or might seem to belong to another. But " when she saw that no other means would prevail: when " her highness saw the Turks, Jews, and infidels were suf- " fered to live quietly among them, without compulsion of " conscience, but her poor subjects brought into servitude, " unless they would submit their souls to the power of An- " tichrist: when for a most courteous entertainment of all " their subjects within her dominions, all hers among them " were either made galley-slaves, or else brought within the " compass of their cruel inquisition: when neither her own " friendly letters might be received as they should, nor her " messengers of account regarded as they ought: finally, " when they had decreed, that no faith was to be kept with " us, and made us worse than infidels, because we have fled " from their superstition, and followed the sincere faith of " Jesus Christ:

" Then her majesty, with all princely courage and mag- " nanimity, began to stretch forth her power, to defend the " cause of God and her own right. And these be the " strong causes of their tragical dealings with us. Awake " now therefore, my countrymen; pluck up your spirits, " &c."

This pious and well disposed writer, with his exhortation, had composed a suitable prayer to be used on this occasion; which was read, during this dangerous season, at the queen's chapel, and elsewhere. Which I have thought not unworthy to be preserved among our records in the Appendix. [No. LIV.]

A prayer used in the queen's chapel.

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The Spaniards, after their overthrow, spread lying reports of their victory. Books thereof printed in Spanish. One entitled, Advice from London. Sir Francis Drake's narrative of this engagement. Don Pedro de Valdes taken prisoner by Drake. His examination: and ransom. His letter from Brussels sent to the queen. His complaint to her concerning his ransom to be paid to sir Francis Drake: the lords answer in the queen's name. The queen's preparations against the next year. Requires a loan of her subjects. The council's letters to the lords lieutenants of the counties for that purpose. Don Antonio offers articles to the queen. Reports at Rome, that the queen was taken, and to be sent to the pope. Triumphs there for this false victory. Intelligence from Rome, and other places abroad, of the king of Spain; and his purposes against the kings of Scotland and Navarr. A sessions of parliament. Bills brought in. Speeches made for and against them. Declaration of the house of lords to her majesty, to assist her.

BUT now let us look on the other hand, and see how the enemy behaved himself after this mighty disappointment, and what course was thought fit to be taken, upon this their miserable overthrow and defeat.

Spanish news printed of the overthrow of the English fleet.

Their next care was to impose lies upon the world, to conceal their shame, and the disgrace of their proud king. For they studiously gave out nothing but glory and victory in their news. Such a relation was written and printed in Spanish, of their great success against the English fleet, and against the lord Howard of Effingham, lord admiral, and sir Fra. Drake, rear-admiral. And this news was pretended to be sent from the chief city in England, viz. London, soon after the action, to the Spanish ambassador, resident at Paris.

This pamphlet was brought from Flanders to England by a Spaniard, who had removed himself and family, about

this time, hither: and being soon translated into English, was as followeth, with this title;

" *Advices from London, which our ambassador, resident for* " *our king in Paris, received.* 530

" By news from London of the 26th of August, it is " certainly known by persons of credit, that the queen's " admiral general was arrived in the river of London with " 25 or 26 ships, without his admiral [ship] that he went " forth in: the which was taken by our admiral St. John. " And it is public in England, that to cover the loss of " his said ship, he gave out, that he had changed shipping " for one that was swifter of sail, the better to follow our " armada: being notwithstanding certainly proved, that he " saved himself in a boat, when he lost his ship; and that " Drake was either taken or slain. The very same was con- " firmed by the way of Holland by a pinnace of theirs. " And from Amsterdam, that the queen had commanded, " upon pain of death, that there should be no speech of her " navy: and that there was great sorrow in her king- " dom. And that she had 30,000 men in field, between " Dover and Margate, very raw soldiers. And that the " catholics, perceiving her navy to be spoiled, had made " a mutiny. Which caused the queen to go in person into " the field. And they affirm for most true, that there is " no ship or boat of ours carried into England, more than " the ship of don Pedro de Valdes. And that our armada " was gone for Scotland; where they had taken a port, " called Trepena Euxaten."

Pretended intelligence from London.

There were also other Spanish letters stuffed full of lying intelligence, writ in September and December: which were brought into England by the foresaid Spaniard, and put into English. Which may be found in the Appendix. N°. LV.

The chief instrument of these vain and false reports, and the studious spreader of them in print, was don Bernardine de Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in France; and who particularly was the publisher of the victory of Spain. Of whom one of our writers at that very time thus charged him: " That he was so impudent, or at least so blindly

Mendoza the spreader of the pretended Spanish victory.

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" rash, as to disperse in print, both in French, Italian, and " Spanish, most false reports of a victory had by the Span- " iards, even when the victory was notable on the part of " England, and the Spanish vanquished. Warning him " henceforth to beware, not to be so hasty of himself, nor " yet to permit one Capella, who was his common sower of " reports, to write these false things for truths."

Sir Francis Drake's report of this engagement.

But a truer and brief relation of this engagement, and the success on the English side, sir Francis Drake, who himself was a great captain in this fleet, gave soon after, being penned by himself, upon the vainglorious, false reports of the Spaniards. " That they were not ashamed to " publish in sundry languages, in print, great victories in " words, which they pretended to have obtained against " this realm; and spread the same in a most false sort over " all parts of France, Italy, and elsewhere, when shortly " after it was happily manifested, in very deed, to all na-

Voyages of the Engl. p. 169.

531 " tions, how their navy, which they termed *invincible*, con- " sisting of 140 sail of ships, not only of their own king- " dom, but strengthened with the greatest argosies, Portugal " caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other countries, " were by 30 of her majesty's own ships of war, and a few " of our own merchants, by the wise, valiant, and advan- " tageous conduct of the lord Charles Howard, high ad- " miral of England, beaten and shuffled together, even from " the Lizard in Cornwall, first to Portland; where they " shamefully left don Pedro de Valdez, with his mighty " ship, from Portland to Calice; where they lost Hugo de " Moncado, with the galleass, of which he was captain: and " from Calice, driven with squibs from their anchors, were " chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland " and Ireland; where for the sympathy of their religion, " hoping to find succour and assistance, a great part of them " were crushed against the rocks; and those other that land- " ed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding " broken, slain, and taken. And so sent from village to vil- " lage, coupled in halters, to be shipped into England, " where her majesty, of her princely and invincible dispo-

" sition, disdaining to put them to death, and scorning CHAP. XVI.
" either to retain or entertain them, they were all sent back
" again to their countries, to witness and recount the worthy Anno 1588.
" achievements of their *invincible* and dreadful navy. Of
" which the number of soldiers, the fearful burden of their
" ships, the commanders' names of every squadron, with all
" other their magazines of provisions, were put in print, as
" an army and navy irresistible, and disdaining prevention.
" With all which their great, terrible ostentation, they did
" not in all their sailing round about England so much as
" sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cockboat of ours:
" or ever burnt so much as one sheepcote of this land."

That don Pedro de Valdez, spoken of before, was sir Francis Drake's prisoner; and after some years' imprisonment here in England, paid a round ransom to him, before he had deliverance, and liberty granted him by the queen to return into his own country. While he was detained here, he was often under examination concerning the Spanish fleet, and the king's purpose and design, &c. And in order thereunto a great number of articles were drawn up, (which I believe were done by the lord treasurer,) containing questions, whereunto he was demanded his answers. As, who had the king's commission? How many were counsellors to the general by that commission? If the general should miscarry, who should succeed in his place? Who the admiral general was? Concerning the king's sending a commission to the duke of Parma, to treat and conclude a peace with England? What opinion was had of the king of Scots, or any of his realm, to join with this enterprise, or to favour it? What opinion was had of landing in Ireland? How many places they had information of to land in England; and what succours promised to be had here? Whether any promise was made to have rebellion stirred in England, and in what places? Several questions concerning the duke of Parma: as, what power was thought to come with him; and upon what occasion the king writ a particular letter to him? But I had rather transfer this whole paper, both questions and don Pedro's answers, to the Appendix. Examination of don Pedro, prisoner. 532 No. LVI.

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I shall only set down the last questions, (whence we may gather what was designed in this invasion.)

Anno 1588. "What determination was there for the proceeding "against the queen, and the nation of England? To which "don Pedro only answered warily, That *he would not touch* "*that string.*

"How would they have known the catholics from the "protestants?

"To whom in the land should favour have been shewed?

"Who should have had the title to this crown?

"Whether should the nation have been ruled by the "rulers of the English nation, or the government changed?"

What would follow had the Spaniard succeeded.

By which state questions, it may appear evidently what was to be looked for from Spain, had their fleet prospered, and their army landed in this kingdom: as, that a fearful massacre would have followed of protestants every where; only catholics secured by some particular distinction made, to know them. The queen must have been not only deposed, but undergone some direful usage. New rulers, that were strangers, to be set over the nation. And the ancient government and constitution overturned.

Don Pedro upon his ransom returns home.

The foresaid Spanish commander remained here three or four years; and now paying, or being bound to pay for his ransom, and of two captains under him, and other charges, the sum of 3,500*l.* to sir Francis Drake, (whose prisoner he was,) he took his leave of the queen and court, and so departed for Brussels: having been very courteously and respectfully entertained while he remained here; and so he confessed and reported to his friends, when he was gone; and professed himself ready to do all good offices between the queen and his king: writing thus to the lord treasurer soon after his coming to Brussels, according as his Spanish letter translated ran, viz.

De Valdez' letter from Brussels to the lord treasurer.

"That coming to that court [at Brussels] he found in it "the conde Defentez, who was a great lord, and his very "friend: for it was 30 years ago that they knew one an-"other: and signified unto him with what good entertain-"ment he departed out of that kingdom, and the great fa-

" vour he found with her majesty, and the great ones of " her highness' council. He told him also, how his excel- " lency, [meaning the lord treasurer, to whom he was writ- " ing,] at his departure, offered him to receive his letters in " good part, if he wrote to him; and recommended him to " procure with his king all the good offices he might when " occasion offered. To the end that this kingdom and the " kingdom of Spain might return to the ancient friendship " and league that it was wont to have: which, as he added, " he then offered unto his excellency, as he was agent, to " do his part the best he could, as he should spy steps " open, that he might treat thereof without losing the least " occasion. And promising, for the effecting of this, he " would be always ready to give his excellency account " thereof; so that he would shew him the favour to answer " his letters, which should be for his service. And that in 533 " so doing, as he added, he had an intent to follow it earn- " estly, as he was bound." This was dated from Brussels, March 21, 1593.

His letter of thanks to the queen.

About a week before, he also addressed a letter to the queen, in acknowledgment of his favourable dealing in her kingdom, and by herself for his liberty; beginning with these words, as they were translated from the Spanish: " I well " acknowledge the goodness that your majesty hath done " for me, in suffering me to have my liberty: for the which " I am so thankful, that all the days of my life I will have " it before my eyes to do your majesty service, so far forth " as my small power sufficeth," &c.

Complains to her about his ransom taken by sir Francis Drake.

But there was another reason why don Pedro made this address to her majesty; which was a complaint against sir Francis Drake for his very unjust dealing with him in taking such a sum of money for his ransom, when there was formerly an agreement (to which, he said, the queen herself condescended) for the exchange of one Mr. Winter (a prisoner under the Spaniards) and him, as he related it in his letter to her; viz. for the payment of 3,550*l.* of which sum Winter was to pay 2,500*l.* and De Valdez was bound for the other 1,500*l.* whereas the burden of the whole payment

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now was laid upon him. It is too long to relate the matter as represented by him. It is certain, that soon after don Pedro's being taken, an endeavour was used to get his liberty, by an exchange for him with an English gentleman that had been taken going by sea into France, and was now a captive under the duke of Parma in Flanders. His name was Edward Winter, son or relation (as it seems) of sir William Winter, sometime the queen's agent, or John Winter, the famous sea-captain. The matter was transacted between some of don Pedro's friends and Winter, who was held in some closer restraint by the Spaniard, that he might be the more willing to get his liberty, and obtain this favour from the queen. Winter hereupon sent two of his servants to the English court; especially, their terms with him being, not to grant him his liberty, unless by such exchange. And the report went, that the queen was inclined thereto. But in truth she would not yield to it. And why, the ensuing letter from the lords of the council to Mr. Winter will shew, (and is worthy inserting here,) by me transcribed from the lord treasurer's own minutes.

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An exchange moved for him with another prisoner in Flanders.

That the queen was not consenting to it.

The lords' letters.

"Where, by two of your servants, named Thomas Hall "and William Meredith, we understand, that you are "there retained prisoner; and that in a very strait man- "ner, without yielding to you any reasonable composition "for your ransom, or rather none, unless that don Pedro "de Valdes, a principal captain in the king of Spain's "army, on that side, here prisoner in England, may be put "at liberty for you; and that they which pretend interest "in you affirm, that there hath been an intention here for "the queen's majesty to yield thereto; whereof because we "never heard of any such disposition in her majesty, but "thought the information thereof to be untrue, we moved "her majesty to know her opinion therein; who for an- "swer said, That she never meant to yield thereunto, nor
534 "(to avoid an evil example) to suffer such an unequal
The change unequal. "change to be made, could in honour assent thereto: for "she said, as we know it also to be true, that don Pedro "was a principal captain, and a general of a squadron, of

" the great squadron of the ships of war of Andalouzia, armed, brought to have invaded this realm. Of which attempt he was also a principal; yea, almost, as is reported, Anno 1588. " the only persuader of the king of Spain to adventure that " enterprise. And besides, that he was a person, that before-" time had charge as a general on the seas: and therefore a " man far exceeding for action, value, and credit, you, Mr. " Winter; whom we know never to have had charge at all " in any martial service, but to have lived as a private per-" son. And now, when you were taken, had no direction to " serve, but that resolutely of your honest desire intended " to pass into France to see the manner of service there; " and by contrary winds and tempests was driven from " Depe, where you meant to have landed: and thereby " taken, and sold over to the Spaniards. In which case, " reason and good usage of war required, that you might " have been, as a private man, being no captain, delivered " upon some reasonable recompense to your taker; as many " hundreds of Spaniards, yea, many that have had good " charge in the late wars, and have been known to have " been of honourable families, have been put to liberty " upon small ransoms, and very many for no other charge " but for their diet.

" And these things thus considered by her majesty in " conference with us, she commanded us to signify thus " much to be shewed to such as with whom you are to " compound for your liberty, which we know by no better " means to do than by this our writing to yourself: which " you shall do well to shew where you shall think meet: " for to that end we have written this our letter, by her " majesty's express command, in the French tongue; not " doubting, but that when seignor Mount Dragon, in whose " custody you are, shall see the same, being a nobleman, of " good wisdom, and of long experience in the wars, as any " now liveth in those parts, he will further your speedy " delivery upon reasonable conditions; for your degree, " and for the quality of the manner of your taking, without " giving credit to any informations that have been given;

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" [viz.] that for your delivery don Pedro should be de-
" livered: which was never meant, nor with any reason
" ought to be accorded; having respect to so great a dif-
" ference of your persons, your actions, and estimation for
" martial service; although her majesty indeed is very de-
" sirous of your delivery, as of a gentleman to be favoured,
" both for your own sake, and for your father, that served
" her majesty very worthily of long time."

Letter to lords lieutenants for a loan to the queen.

We have seen how exceeding diligent the queen and her council were in their preparations against Spain; and how successful (by the blessing of God) it proved in the event. But she counted not herself secure after that signal conquest late obtained; but like a wise and provident prince judged it necessary to make provision still against any fu-
535 ture attempts, which she was apprehensive of from that malicious and haughty king. And therefore, in order to get in a readiness arms and men against any danger of invasion, having pretty well exhausted her treasure, borrowed money of her subjects, as she had done before upon like occasion: and which she promised faithfully to repay again, as she had done always before in the like case. And accordingly circular letters, dated December the 4th, were sent to the lords lieutenants of the counties from the lords of the council, for this loan, with directions for the raising of it: which being a notable letter, and giving such light to the state of the nation, and containing expressions obliging to the subjects, I will transcribe it here from the very pen of the lord treasurer, who best knew in what condition the treasury now was.

" After our very hearty commendations to your good
" lordship, we doubt not, but both to your lordship, and
" also to others that have had any charge this last year in
" any part of government within this realm, it is manifest,
" how necessary it was that this realm was defended both
" by sea and land, in such sort as had been seen, against
" the common potent enemy, attempting to have invaded
" and made a conquest of the same. Wherein the queen's
" majesty, with the assistance of God's special favour, and

" by expenses of great treasures, which she had most princely reserved for the maintenance of the state of this her realm, hath received great honour to herself, to her people singular comfort and safety; and hereby her enemies repulsed with great losses, ignominy, and dishonour. Anno 1588.

" Yet nevertheless her majesty in her wisdom seeth it most necessary to make new preparations, for the strengthening of all her forces, both by sea and land, to serve to withstand the new attempts of the enemy this year following. Whereof she hath great cause to doubt, that he and his confederates, the enemies of the gospel, will spare no cost and labour, to renew, or rather increase his former forces. For which purpose her majesty is presently, not only of her own treasure, but other extraordinary means, to disburse great sums of money, about the repairing of her navy, or enforcing thereof by building and furnishing of divers ships of war, and with other great provisions of armour, weapon, ordnance, powder, and sundry other furnitures for the wars, and defence of the realm and all her subjects.

" And for the more speedy help to this, it is thought by her majesty and us of her council, that presently means be made to provide some convenient sum of money by way of loan, or lending of her good and faithful subjects, as heretofore hath been yielded unto her majesty in times of less need and danger; and yet always fully repaid. And to this end we have thought meet by her majesty's direction to commend the care hereof to your lordship, having charge by her majesty, as her lieutenant in the said shire; praying your lordship, that without any delay your lordship will consider, either by your own knowledge or with secret conference with some such in that shire, as you think to be well affected to this service, and are of knowledge to inform your lordship therein, how of each particular person, being men of lands, or of wealth 536
in goods, such particular sums might be reasonably required by her majesty's letters under her privy seal, in way of loan, in that whole county, her majesty might be

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"assured upon her demand by her said letters to every "several person, to have the total sum within that shire of "——— or rather more.

"And to this purpose we require your lordship to consider of the number of all such as are known to be of sufficient livelihood and wealth within that shire, of whom "you shall think her majesty may readily have by way of "loan, only for the space of one whole year, such particular sums of 100s of pounds, or of half 100s of pounds, "or at the least not under the sum of 25*l.* according as the "abilities of the persons shall seem meet to yield.

"And in this matter we require you to forbear none "that hath any residence within that shire, being in your "opinion able to satisfy this purpose. And yet if there be "any person of ability, that is an officer to her majesty in "any of her courts of record, or of her revenue, that hath "any fee or yearly profit, by any such office, we require "you to make a special note of such, with your opinion of "the sums to be demanded. For that we are purposed, that "if the sums noted by you upon them shall not seem to us "sufficient for her majesty's service, the same shall be by us "assessed to such sums as we shall think reasonable.

"And to conclude, we require your lordship, with all "speed that you can, to enter into consideration hereof; "and to send to us in writing the names and surnames, with "addition of their dwelling-places, of all such as shall "seem meet and able to make this manner of loan; so as "the total sum above-mentioned, or a greater sum, may be "duly had."

And upon the strength of these sums raised, and the valour of the English by sea and land, with the blessings of God favouring them, what damage happened to that quarrelsome inveterate king Philip, and the havoc made at Cales the next year, and other places of his dominions afterwards, our historians relate at large.

Don Antonio's articles offered to the queen.

And here falls in another address of don Antonio, the expulsed king of Portugal; of whose application to the queen for her assistance, we gave some account the last

year. Who, soon after the signal overthrow of king Philip's armada, took this opportunity to renew his motion to the queen for her aid to recover his kingdom. His proposals and terms offered were very large: which he thought fit first to propound to the lord treasurer Burghley, in a letter writ in the Portuguese language, all by his own hand, and subscribed REY [the king]. Which being translated into English, I found among that statesman's papers, and shall here enter it as authentic: moving that lord to prevail with the queen (whom he styled his *patroness*) to accept them in his behalf as well as her own: declaring the particular advantages he was willing to agree and consent to, for the making a firm friendship and league with her. And these I rather set down, there being no mention made of them in our historian, but in general terms, don Antonio made the English great promises. 537

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Camd. Eliz. p. 429.

His letter to the treasurer.

"Most illustrious lord treasurer, considering the great "love and zeal which your illustrious lordship hath towards "your most serene queen, my patroness, and the common "good of her realms, I resolve to beseech you to do me "the favour to present to her most serene majesty the "humble attestation of the will which I have to serve her, "if God do me that favour to restore me to my kingdoms "of Portugal, with the help and assistance of her serene ma- "jesty, as I have hoped in her greatness. So that your illus- "trious lordship being my Mæcenas with her most serene ma- "jesty, you may present my poor but thankful offer to her.

"I will never make peace, league, nor accord with king "Philip, without her knowledge and her consent. When- "soever her most serene majesty shall make war, either of- "fensive or defensive, with the said king, I will assist her "with all the force and succour that shall be in my "power.

"The fleet of her most serene majesty and her subjects, "which, with the leave and order of her majesty, shall "make war with the same king, shall have free access to all "the ports of my kingdom and dominions, both in Portu- "gal, and in Africa and Asia, and in Guinea; and shall

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" be treated and entertained in the same as her own natural " subjects and brethren. And from thence they shall exer- " cise all that hostility which they shall please to make " against the same and the subjects. And they shall have " provision and ammunition, which can come from the said " parts, for her money, as to her own natural people. The " English, which, with her serene majesty's leave, shall go " into Portugal upon the occasion of their merchandise and " business, shall live there, and shall have a consul of her " own nation, which shall be judge among them of all oc- " currences, as well criminal as civil, without my nation's " meddling with any of their matters.

" When they shall make a house of contraction of the " spicery of the East-Indies from Portugal, I will establish " it in this kingdom of England. And for the service of her " majesty they shall have a part of the sea for her best con- " venience through both these kingdoms.

" To all strangers and merchants that shall assist in ships, " plate, or other things necessary for the voyage, I will ap- " point, and gratify them according to the contracts which " they shall make with me.

" The English which shall accompany me, or upon some " occasion shall be willing to live in Portugal, and all other " my realms and dominions, shall have in their houses free- " dom to use the exercise of their religion particularly; and " in no wise shall the inquisition have any superiority over " them.

" This, and whatever else shall seem good for the service " of her majesty, I am ready to do upon this condition, " That her most serene majesty may be served; and to grant " reciprocally a friendship and a correspondent fraternity in " the same articles. So as in my judgment I do esteem it
538 " may concern her service, as I shall treat by word of mouth " with your illustrious lordship, or with her majesty here, " and when she shall be served.

" And further, I beseech her most serene majesty, that " she will command all her subjects by an inviolable law, " that between them and my subjects there may be a per-

" petual and reciprocal friendship and concurrence, that in " nowise may be exposed or troubled by sea nor by land. " Which thing will be the occasion of perpetual union.

" Most illustrious lord, I beseech your lordship to excuse " the trouble which I may chance to give you with these ill " composed lines, since the occasion of them was the most " sincere will which I have to her most serene majesty; " and in the mean time commending me to the good favour " and grace of your lordship.

" I beseech God to give you long and happy life. This I " caused to be sealed, that your lordship may be more se- " cure of my promise. From London, the 23d of October, " 1588.

" REY."

These articles, and the queen's access to them, produced that noble expedition the next year, viz. 1589, under sir John Norris and sir Francis Drake, together with other private gentlemen, at their own charges, the queen lending them some of her ships, don Antonio being with them: when they assaulted Groyn, and took Penicha; the castle whereof surrendered to don Antonio. And afterwards sailed thence, and assailed Lisbon. All which I leave to our historian to relate.

And let me here insert an information brought into England, taken from an English gentleman in the Spanish service, that will shew what great reason the queen still had to stand upon her guard against Spain; shewing the resolution her implacable enemy had to set upon her the next year, or years, with greater strength and violence. I shall but transcribe the paper as I found it among the lord treasurer's MSS.

" *A declaration of one Pitts, the 29th of July*, 1589.

" The 14th day of July, 1589, there arrived in St. Ma- " loes one Giles Billet, an Englishman, who then came from " the court of Spain, as he said, bringing with him great " store of money (as it was told me by a man of Vittore,

Intelligence of the king of Spain's preparations. MSS. Burg.

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" called Henry de Geanes, a protestant) to buy victuals " and munition for the Spanish king's fleet, which he said " comes for England this next year.

" The said Billet further reported, that there are mak- " ing ready twenty great ships at St. Androes for the said " fleet. That sir William Stanley" [a notable traitor that had betrayed a strong town in Flanders to the Spaniard] " is sent for out of Flanders to go in the said fleet. That " the country of Spain hath given to their king 14 millions " of money towards the setting forth of the said fleet. That
539 " the king of Spain hath sworn, not to leave himself worth " a candlestick that stood on the table, till he had been re- " venged of England.

" He told further in my hearing, (saith the informer,) that " if he might procure his further good-will in England, and " have some matters of his ended, thereupon he would " come for England, and would certify the council of such " matters touching the Spanish king, as he would deserve " well at their hands thereby.

" That also the said Giles Billet doth speak very much " of Mr. Richard Burley; and is in great credit in the court " of Spain. And the said Mr. Burley was in the Spanish " fleet the last year. And at his return home again, as be- " fore he had 20 crowns a month, he hath now 40 crowns a " month."

This informer Pitts added, " That the said Billet had " been at the court of Spain three years, and seemed to have " been a merchant. And that at his arrival at St. Maloes he " came ashore in mariner's apparel; and the next day he " went in his silk and satin very brave. And said, that be- " fore his return to Spain he was to go to Newhaven," [to gather undoubtedly more ships and forces thence, or to assist in the *holy league*.]

Discourse at Rome about the Spanish invasion.

Let me add the following memorial of this Spanish victory, vainly blazed over the world: that when it was known to be but a false report, and the truth came to be known as far as Rome, some discourse happened there about it between two persons, one an Englishman, whether a traveller,

or a spy, rather; and the other, whose name was Joh. Dutche, and formerly had been of the queen's guard, but now advanced to the honour of macebearer to cardinal Allen at Rome. Anno 1588.

Cardinal Allen's macebearer.

Of which place under the queen he would glory, that his *dame* of England (for so he always termed her majesty) did often say, that Dutch, her ancient servant, was the only pilgrim she had beyond the seas.

The occasion of their acquaintance was, that this traveller had a chamber in the house where this officer of the cardinal inhabited. What the particulars of some of their discourses were, this person gave intelligence afterwards to the lord treasurer, as I find them among that counsellor's papers. Some of these I shall briefly rehearse.

The gentleman and this Dutche being together in company on St. Peter's eve at Peter Montauro, (where, they say, that apostle was martyred,) to behold the fireworks that night discharged from the castle St. Angelo, they fell into talk of the overthrow of the Spanish armada, and of the king's losses sustained in that attempt. When Dutch told him, that he had heard the cardinal say, that the king gave great charge to the duke of Medina, admiral of his armada, and the rest of his captains, that they should by no means harm the queen, when taken, [as if they had been sure of her and victory beforehand:] and that after they had taken her, to look well to the custody of her; and that the duke, as soon as might be, should convey her to Rome, [to be brought as it were in triumph there,] that the pope might dispose of her as it should please him. And what the pope should have done to her, besides the putting her into the inquisition, we are left to guess.

King Philip intends to send the queen to the pope.

At another time, being together at a certain place between the castle of St. Angelo and St. Peter's, where there was a great number of fine pictures hanging up, (belonging to some great painter,) of emperors, kings, queens, and other noblemen, and women, (all done by some great Italian painter.) Among the rest was the present king of Spain, and next him happened to be placed sir Francis Drake;

Sir Francis Drake's picture at Rome.

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who had made himself famous through the world for his valour and notable successes against the king, especially his late armada. At the sight of this, the cardinal's mace-bearer was enraged with many passionate Italian words, as an insufferable indignity offered to that great catholic king. And this was not all, but notice was immediately given by him to the cardinal at the palace; and a messenger despatched back to put Drake's picture down; though the painter himself out of fear presently did it; and notwithstanding came to trouble about it. It is well if Drake were not now burnt in effigy.

This intelligencer also observed, how the picture of queen Elizabeth was not extant among all this show of kings and princes, being not permitted at Rome that honour, to have so much as her picture there publicly seen.

A great triumph in Rome.

He related also from the said Dutche, that at the first news of the *invincible armada* brought to Rome, there had been a great triumph there, for the taking of her majesty and subduing this realm. And that the said English cardinal then made a great feast, and invited to it all the English, Scots, and Irish then at Rome.

The purposes of the king of Spain.

Other informations this gentleman gave of discourses he had heard at Liege and Lisle in his travels; namely, concerning the king of Spain, and his counsels and counsellors; what his purposes now were, and what designs were now in hand concerning Scotland. That meeting with Dr. Marshal, a Scotch Jesuit, at Liege, he told him, that king intended to invade Scotland, in order to oblige the king of Scots to bring in the catholic religion in that land. And of his going against the king of Navarr, a protestant king, for the settling a catholic king in France. And that for these purposes Spain depended upon great sums of money from pope Sixtus; but that his death prevented. What talk likewise he met with abroad concerning the wisdom and policy of the queen's lord treasurer and other of her council; and of their advantage over the king of Spain and his counsellors, in regard of their quickness and expedition of their business, and secret carrying on of their designs and purposes.

Whereas the council of Spain gave out now what they would do a year hence, &c. CHAP. XVI.

All these are but brief hints of this notable paper, which must not be deprived of a room in the Appendix. The whole whereof there I have transcribed from the original. Anno 1588. No. LVII.

And having told so much of the enmity between Spain and England, the queen being still on the defence, before I go off from this bright part of her history, it will be worth shewing the justice of her proceedings against that injurious king. And that I shall take from a paper found among the MSS. in the Cotton library. Which paper I verily believe was of the lord Burghley's own composing; one very well acquainted with the case from the very beginning. It was occasioned from a railing libel against the queen with respect to her dealing with king Philip, and her assistance given to the Low Countries. The particular transactions all along between both princes will receive much light hence. And it bare this title, *Proceedings between Spain and England.* This paper being somewhat long, I choose to dispose of in the Appendix. Cotton libr. Julius, F. 6. 541 [No. LVII.]

In this dangerous time the parliament (that had been prorogued) was thought necessary to be called together again; chiefly about the Spanish quarrel; the queen watchful, and her council prudently standing on their guard, in the prospect of so implacable an enemy as that king. And however successful she had hitherto been against him, a large subsidy was therefore thought necessary to be raised of her subjects for this purpose, to serve against him, not only the next year, but some years after: that they might not be surprised if unprovided. The subsidy required was for 4 fifteens and 10ths, payable for four years, the 20th of November yearly. Two subsidies likewise in four years, the 12th of February yearly, for the better provision ready against the Spaniard. This bill was brought in the 17th of March; disgusted by many; and what was spoken against it by some of the members, I collect from an authentic paper among the lord treasurer's MSS. One of them had these expressions: A parliament. Speeches made there.

BOOK II.

Anno 1588. A speech against the subsidy.

"As all honour and reverence is to be given to the first "founders and furtherers of any laudable or profitable art, "science, or custom; so are the first forgers of any new, "unnecessary, or snaring law or custom, most justly to be "reproved of all their posterity.

"If a benevolence should be demanded hereafter, it "would be much less by reason of this subsidy," [so large in respect of so many years payable.]

"I find only two cases which may necessarily impel us "thereto. The one, our sovereign's commandment. The "other, a desperate, or at least dangerous estate of our "commonwealth. Which cannot by any other means be re-"lieved.

"It was well said of Seneca, *Bis dat, qui cito dat.* So it "was well said of another in the inflicting of punishment, "that *dilatio pœnæ* is *duplicatio pœnæ*. And of another, "that the irrevocable sentence of death being pronounced, "it is *misericordiæ genus, cito occidere.*

"Anno 39 Hen. III. a parliament was called, to let the "commons understand the king's need of money for dis-"charge of his debts, and to require their aid towards the "said debt. But denied of the commons. For that that de-"mand was greater than had been accustomed.

"Anno 15 [25] of Hen. VIII. the spirituality granted "half their revenues, payable in five years. Of the com-"mons was this demanded by the cardinal Wolsey, and "furthered by the speaker, sir Thomas More, 4 shillings "in the pound for goods and lands; or in a gross sum, "800,000*l.* Committees were sent to the cardinal, to entreat "him to persuade the king that he would accept a less
542 "sum. He answered, That he would rather have his "tongue plucked out, &c. The parliament notwithstand-"ing agreed to a subsidy of 12*d.* in the pound, for all "under 20*l.* 2*s.* from 20 to 50. and 3*s.* above 50*l.* The "commons threatened them, not to grant 4*s.* lest they could "not go home in peace.

"*Fuage, fumage*, or *chimnage* denied to king Edward "III. Seeing it is *tributum*, and not *impositum*. Seeing it

" cannot be *subsidium*, because it is not *opportunum* ..... " *Malorum sensus accrescit die* ..... *leve est miseriam* " *ferre; perferre grave.*

" *Samuel tributum pro pœna Israelis* proponit." [By that word meaning a continued yearly tax.]

" *Pœna apud inferos ideo miserrima, quia perpetua.* If " the *invasion* hold not, yet the money to be paid. *Id jus-* " *tissimum est, quod necessarium.*

" *Pia sunt, quæ civibus imperantur tributa, sine quibus* " *civitas ipsa funditus sit interitura.*

" *Mutuum jam a subditis acceptum.*" [Meaning the loan that the queen had already taken of her subjects, to enable her against any sudden attempt of the enemy.]

" *Cum Hannibal Italiam bellis vexaret, senatus nova* " *tributa* subditis *imperari noluit. Nihil enim hostibus nos* " *prementibus jam periculosum* ..... *mutuum quam tri-* " *butum, melius*, &c." The many more grave sentences and allegations, from ancient writers, produced by this learned member of the house, I omit, only setting down the words with which he concluded:

" *Principis divitias in subditorum opibus consistere de-* " *bere* ..... *singulorum opes divitiæ* sunt *civitatis.* Cic.

" *Diuturnitas temporis efficere potest, ut quod pernicioso* " *more et exemplo inveteravit, potentius ipsa lege domi-* " *netur.*"

These are but some short, imperfect collections of this member's speech, taken, as it seems, by some then present in the house. But I have met with the whole speech against this double subsidy. The argument whereof was, Whether it were necessary or convenient at this time to tender unto her majesty such a subsidy to be paid in four years, in respect of any necessity thereof: but this spoken with all the deference and obedience imaginable towards her, in these words: " That if it were a charge imposed upon them by " her commandment, or a demand, proceeding from her by " way of request, he thought there was none among them " all, either so disobedient a subject, or so unthankful a " man, in respect of the inestimable benefits which by her

A speech in parliament against the subsidy bill.

BOOK II.

Anno 1588.

"and from her they had received, which would not with "frank consent, both of voice and heart, most willingly "submit himself thereunto, without any irreverend in- "quiries into the causes thereof: for that it was conti- "nually in the mouths of them all, that their lands, goods, "and lives were at their prince's disposal." I have transcribed the whole speech from the original copy of him that spake it, as appeared by interlinings and corrections in some places of it: it is somewhat long, but wise and learned, and seemingly loyal, and gives some account of the present state of England, as of Spain. And therefore I give it a place in the Appendix.

No. LVIII.

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A bill against strangers.

I shall also mention another bill, that more nearly concerned religion, which caused much arguing; namely, brought in against strangers and aliens, that came from abroad, from Flanders, France, and other countries; generally such as were exiles for their religion, and came into these parts to avoid the cruel persecution inflicted upon them on the account of their adhering to the protestant religion. And here they lived very thriftily, and followed their trades, their occupations, and traffic, for their livelihood. But this disgusted many English traders, complaining thereof as prejudicial to their calling and business; especially the retailers. One who had spoke for the passing of this bill against the strangers, in behalf of our own country, concluded with these words, (having rehearsed all the degrees of conjunction and society:) *Omnes omnium charitates una patria complexa est;* i. e. All the instances of charity that can be shewn to others, charity to one's country comprehends them all.

A speech in their behalf.

Upon which words another member, who spake next, thus descanted: "That the very name of his native country "and nation was so pleasant to his ears, and so delightful "to his heart, that he was compelled to subscribe to that "which had been spoken, &c. But that on the other side, "when in the person of that stranger, he considered the "miserable and afflicted state of those poor exiles, who, to- "gether with their countries, had lost all, or the greatest

" comforts of this life; and so lay subject and exposed to CHAP
" the wrongs and injuries of the malicious and evil affected XVI.
" ..... That the condition of strangers was, that they had Anno 1588.
" *multa hospitia*, but *paucos amicos;* i. e. many harbours,
" but few friends: that he was moved with a hearty com-
" miseration of them, and felt in himself a sympathy and
" fellow-suffering with them, &c. That as he had laid be-
" fore them his affection to the party, so now he prayed he
" might with brevity lay before them his judgment. That
" the bill required that it should be enacted, That no alien
" born, and not being denizen, nor having served as ap-
" prentice seven years, should sell any wares by retail.
" Whereupon he considered how it might stand with the
" grounds and foundations of all laws: which laws are the
" laws of nature and the laws of God. And secondly, with
" the profit and commodities of the commonwealth." For
the management of these arguments I refer the reader to
the speech, which he shall find in the Appendix, as I tran- No. LIX.
scribed it from an original paper; wherein will appear the
hearty love and hospitable spirit the nation had for these
afflicted people of the same religion with ourselves: for this
bill against them did not pass. At the end of the said
speech are added several wise and weighty sentences in La-
tin, in favour of the strangers; spoken then, as it seems, in
the house: which will be read there.

To which former bill against strangers was added another
bill against their children; that they should pay strangers'
customs. But that also was dashed at the second reading.

There was another bill brought in, and laboured hard to A bill against pluralities and non-residences.
be passed: which was against *pluralities* and *non-residences:*
which was brought into the upper house March the tenth.
And what the sum and contents of it was, I have from some
minutes thereof taken by the lord treasurer under his own
handwriting, whereupon we may depend. Thus endorsed 544

" *A sum of the act against plurality of benefices with cure of* MSS. Burghlian.
" *souls, and non-residence.*
" *The considerations.* Maintenance of divine service.

BOOK II.

Anno 1588.

" Preaching of the sacred word. The discharge of the duty " of pastors. Increase of hospitality for the poor. The bene- " fices and livings ecclesiastical may be employed to a " greater number.

" *The act.* If any person, having no benefice with cure " of souls, shall hereafter take any benefice with cure, and " after that shall take another with cure; or if any having, " at the end of this session, one or more benefices with " cure, shall accept another such benefice, then immediately " after possession there his first shall be void; a dispensa- " tion to the contrary notwithstanding. And it shall be " lawful for the patron to present.

" 2. All persons having any one benefice with cure of " souls shall be resident upon the same. And if he have " mo than one, he shall be resident upon one of them. If " any person, not being in the queen's service, keep not re- " sidence, but shall be voluntarily absent by the space of " three months, at one or several times in the year, shall " forfeit for every month over and above the three months, " 10*l.*

" 3. If any person have at the end of this session mo bene- " fices than one, he shall maintain, where he shall not be " resident, one sufficient and able person, authorized to " preach God's word, and to instruct the people in the " same, upon pain of 5*l.* for every month's defect.

" 4. All dispensation against any provision of this act to " be void.

" 5. Proviso for any person to take any two small bene- " fices, with cure of souls, being of value 16*l.* within three " miles."

On the back-side of this paper the beforesaid lord transcribed, in favour of the said bill, certain passages out of some former synod, not mentioned; viz.

" *Sexta sessione cap. primo, monet, ut attendentes sibi,* " *et universo gregi, in quo Spiritus San. posuit eos, re-* " *gere ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo, vi-* " *gilent: sicut apostolus præcepit, in omnibus laborem et* " *ministerium suum impleant. Implere autem illud ne-*

" *queunt, si greges sibi commissos, mercenariorum more,* CHAP.
" *deserant; et ovium suarum custodiæ minime incumbant.* XVI.
" *Certissimum sit, non admitti pastoris excusationem, si* Anno 1588.
" *lupus oves comedit, et pastor nescit.*

" *Vic. quart. sessio. cap.* 17. *Ecclesiasticus ordo perver-*
" *titur, quando unus duas ecclesias occupat.*

" *Omne beneficium quamlibet* [*quantumlibet*] *tenue, jure*
" *communi requirit residentiam.*"

At the dissolution of this parliament, (which was near the beginning of next year, March the 29th, 1589,) there was a very loyal declaration prepared by the house of lords, to assist her majesty with their lives, lands, and goods in her quarrel with the king of Spain; which I shall the rather add here, being omitted in D'Ewes' Journal, and of such remark. It was drawn up by the lord treasurer Burghley, and thus endorsed: *The heads of the declaration and offer to be made by the lords spiritual and temporal to her majesty, of their readiness to serve her majesty in this sort. To be delivered by speech of the lord chancellor.* Declaration of the house of lords. 545

" Although upon great considerations appearing to them, To assist
" of the mighty and resolute determination of the king of the queen against
" Spain, in making of open war against her majesty and Spain.
" the realm for God's cause, and to extirpate the Christian
" religion in this realm; and especially upon the sight of
" the last year's open invasion attempted against this realm,
" with intent to have conquered the same; the lords and
" the commons of the realm have willingly yielded to a kind
" of subsidy, though in their opinion not so sufficient to
" answer her majesty's charge to be sustained as were re-
" quisite. Yet for a further manifestation and declaration of
" their most bounden duties, both towards the defence of
" her majesty and the realm against so mighty attempts,
" and also to offend her said enemy; they do offer, with all
" manner of duty and willingness to her majesty, that
" whensoever she shall find it meet and profitable for her
" realm to denounce an open war against the said king and
" his adherents, they shall be ready with all their power,

BOOK II. Anno 1588.

"their bodies, their lives, lands, and goods, to serve her "majesty therewith, as well by offensive wars abroad, as "defensive at home, against the said king and all his ad- "herents."

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CHAP. XVII.

Contest between the church of Norwich and sir Thomas Shirley, upon pretence of concealment: a book drawn up, in order to agreement. The dean and chapter disallow thereof: and why. The dean's application by letters to the lord treasurer. His complaint of the said patentee. Articles of agreement between them offered: but refused. The lord treasurer takes the case before him. The conclusion of it. Endeavours to get the archbishop of York's house at London. His contest with the dean of Durham. This archbishop dies. His last will. His pedigree, and posterity. Some passages in his sermons before the queen, concerning the reformation, schism, spoiling the church of its revenues. Cooper, bishop of Winton, slandered by Marprelate. Vindicated. Endeavour of obtaining long leases from the dean and chapter of Ely. Dr. Pern the dean, his letter thereupon. Scambler, bishop of Norwich, condemns one for heresy. His letter to court for execution. The archbishop of Dublin, lord chancellor, commends sir W. Herbert for his promoting of religion in Ireland.

AND now we turn to the church of England, and the religion professed therein, the main ground of all the forementioned malice towards the queen and kingdom.

I shall begin with the church of Norwich. Between the dean and chapter of which cathedral church, and sir Tho. Shirley, and other patentees for *concealments*, there had been long contest: whereof divers things were related before under the year 1586, but it still depended. Yet it came so far, that Popham, the queen's attorney-general, had drawn up a plat for establishing that church anew, with

A plat for a new establishment of the cathedral of Norwich.

respect also to the benefit of the said patentees: which writing he sent to the lord treasurer, enclosed in a letter to him, importing, " that according to his lordship's direction, " he had sent a plat concerning the reestablishing of the " church of Norwich: and that his lordship might please " to reform it, and amend, as should seem best to him. " Dated from the Middle Temple, Jan. 24, 1586."

But a new controversy arose from this book then drawn up, and that by warrant from the queen, for putting an end to that contest, under terms of agreement by both parties. But it seems it was not drawn after the manner accorded between them, chiefly on the church's side. So that when the lord treasurer had sent a copy of the said book to Dr. Gardiner, the dean, who, having been a long time affected with the gout, and so not able to mind business, could not till now acquaint the said lord with his thoughts thereof. Which he did by his letter dated the 1st of October, from Norwich: shewing therein, how different it was drawn in many respects to what had been accorded between them. The tenor of the dean's letter I will give, as communicating more light and knowledge into this matter. 547

The dean of the church disallows thereof.

" That his gout holding him with so great extremity, " almost an whole year together, (though with some little " ease at sundry times,) he could not attend upon his ho- " nour, for the finishing of their long-continued troubles " for the lands of their cathedral church, &c. That in the " mean time sir Thomas Sherlow [Shirley] had procured " a warrant from her majesty to his honour and sir Walter " Mildmay, to finish the same; pretending an agreement " between them both, viz. sir Thomas and the dean. That " in the meeting they had before his lordship at Tybalds, " in August was twelvemonth, [viz. 1587,] in truth, my " lord, (said the dean,) after divers meetings of our learned " counsel, to obtain our quietness, we did agree upon these " conditions; that the patentees, and all the interessed un- " der them, should surrender up into her majesty's hands " their several pretended titles. And then her majesty

His letter to the treasurer.

BOOK II.

Anno 1588.

" possessed of the whole, her highness might be moved to " pass a lease in trust to Mr. Fanshaw and Mr. Osborn, " [that had places in the exchequer or treasury,] in trust " of 600*l.* by year, of lands within the counties of Suffolk " and Norfolk for 99 years. And the fermours in posses- " sion to have these assured over unto them, upon such of " the patentees as to your honour should seem convenient. " And her majesty likewise might be moved, newly to erect " and to endow our said church with all our lands and li- " berties, which the prior and monks had in possession the " 30th year of king Henry VIII.

" But that contrary to this agreement, a book was drawn " and engrossed without their privity, and sent down under " Mr. Attorney his hand: and they [of the church] com- " manded by sir Tho. Shirley's letters, either to surrender, " or to send him an answer that they would not, that he " might take another course." He added, " that he had " answered his two several letters; and he wished to God " it would please his honour to call for the sight of them " both: and he should perceive by them, what great cause " they, poor men, [the dean and chapter,] had to complain " for their church. Yet fearing that sir Thomas would not " shew them, and would take some course secretly, that " might tend to their prejudice, if not to their utter un- " doing, he was bold to move his honour by the bearer, " Mr. Edmund Suckling, one of their prebendaries, to stand
548 " so much their good lord and honoured patron, as that " nothing might pass to the hurt of their church, to the " next term, or to such time as it should please his honour " to command some of their company to attend upon his " good leisure, &c.

" And in the mean time he was bold to present to his " lordship the copy of one of his said letters to sir Thomas, " whereby he might understand the reason, wherefore they " could not allow of Mr. Attorney's book. Subscribing,

" Your honour's for ever, as duty bindeth me,

" George Gardiner."

The sum of which letter to sir Thomas Shirley, now sent by the diligent dean to the lord treasurer to peruse, I subjoin; wherein he told sir Thomas, "That the book engrossed, which he had sent to him, in no point agreed with the book drawn at his [the dean's] last being in London; and that as it varied much from their agreement, so it answered not her majesty's gracious meaning in the warrant under the broad seal. And that if the same should pass in that manner, it would not only be much prejudicial to himself, [sir Thomas,] but be a spoil, and undoing of their church and posterity. And therefore, that he should persuade himself, that the same would never be received of him, the present dean and chapter of Norwich, nor no act would be done by them by surrender, or other means for the strengthening and allowing of the same book.

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The dean's letter to sir Th. Shirley.

"Then he proceeded to let sir Thomas understand the gross faults escaped in that book, by following a charter of king Edward's, too hastily hatched, and clouted together at the first, to the spoil of that church too. And lastly, adding, that where her majesty had referred the ordering of the whole matter to the right honourable the lord treasurer of England and sir Walter Mildmay, as two honourable personages most indifferent, they saw nothing done by them or either of their hands to the book. And then begged sir Thomas's pardon, that they stayed in a matter of so great weight:" concluding with these words to him; "Assure yourself of me, that I am and always will be a faithful friend to sir Thomas Shirley, and stand to my agreement without wavering. Even so all the world shall not move me to violate one jot of duty that I owe to the church, to which I am bound by oath." It was dated from Norwich, the last of September, 1588.

And as Dr. Gardiner had found Shirley a strange man before against the interest of that church for his own ends, so this stop of that book so drawn up gave great disgust to him, pretending that they were but so many trifles that

BOOK II. Anno 1588.

were objected to the book. Therefore to give more perfect knowledge to the lord treasurer what his objections were, he hastened up one of the prebendaries to him with another letter, whereby he might understand how the matter proceeded upon this book sent to them to Norwich. This letter will more particularly open the complaint on the church's side.

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The dean's objections to the book.

The import thereof was: "That he had appointed Mr. "Castelton, one of their prebendaries, to attend his honour's "good pleasure with all convenient speed; and that, if he "had been able any way to have travailed, he would (most "willingly his own lame body) in this service; and would "so soon as God should enable him: for that he could not "see how the cause could receive any good end, unless some-"body were present that could perfectly inform his honour "of every circumstance, and how far the matter had pro-

The dean's diligence.

"ceeded hitherto: which none of their company could do "beside himself, who had travailed so long as his body was

Shirley's character.

"able to undergo that travail: and that he had always "found sir Thomas a very strange man to deal withal; pro-"mising much, but of a contrary mind to perform nothing; "but seeking the perpetual overthrow of their church and "posterity.

"That the book he had sent down by his servant, one "Gartwick, [drawn up for the settlement of their church,] "razed and interlined, was by them of that church perused. "And then the servant departed to his master with this an-"swer, that they could not like of that book for those rea-"sons which were contained in the letter sent him.

"That hereupon he, the dean, received an angry letter "from him; and withal Shirley returned him back his let-"ter, wherein he had made those objections with truth and "credit. Then (as the dean proceeded) let him say, [as it

Shirley's angry words.

"seems he did,] that they were but *cavillations;* and that "his book could not be excepted against." But the dean, uttering his different judgment of the book, writes thus: "In the mean time it must remain a very vile book, penned "for the utter undoing of our church, and most contrary

" to her majesty's warrant and most gracious meaning: as " I shall, [added the earnest dean,] by God's help, most " plainly prove before his face. And I know, that all he " can object against our church are indeed mere *cavilla-* " *tions*, and matters of no moment.

" That yet to procure their peace, they were content to " yield some things, and a large benefit unto him. Conclud- " ing, that he and all his company most humbly prostrated " themselves at his honour's feet; beseeching the same, as " the only patron of their church, now miserably distressed, " to deliver them from the extremity that sir Thomas ima- " gined against them. And so with the remembrance of " their humble duties," &c. This letter was dated Octob. 4.

This, and what follows, may be worthy recording for the church of Norwich's grateful remembrance of that dean, and his good service to it. Now what the terms of agreement between the church and the patentees were, which was mentioned above, and which the dean so much insisted upon, and the present book now offered them to subscribe, and so varying from, I have entered in the Appendix; being a paper signed by the dean himself, thus endorsed; *Articles of agreement between the dean and chapter and the patentees, drawn up by the attorney and solicitor, and offered to the dean;* and shewing on what terms he accorded.

No. LX. 550

Articles of agreement between the church and patentees.

Upon the abovesaid complaint of the dean to the lord treasurer, of this book, so injurious to their church, and his earnest appeal to him, to judge between both parties, that lord took it upon him according to their desire. And thereupon gave order, that the dean, not being by reason of sickness able himself to come up, should send some of their body to transact their business before him. Whereupon in the month of November, two of them, viz. Castleton and Suckling, had commission from the rest so to do. With whom the careful dean sent another letter to that lord, with warrant under their chapter's seal to prosecute the cause of their church: and by the advice of his lordship, and some other learned in the law, to finish the matter; having found hard measure (as he signified) from the patentees; divers of

They refer their cause to the lord treasurer.

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their church-lands sold away for ever; and one parcel sold to five several persons; some violently entered upon without payment of rent or ferme: one had paid none since the controversy began: the houses within the cathedral church offered to sale; or money taken beforehand, &c. And after a relation of all this, they did most humbly beseech his honour, that they might seek for succour under his wing. The whole letter I have thought worth preserving among the other papers of note in the Appendix.

N°. LXI.

The conclusion of this suit.

And having brought matters thus far, the good dean deceased the next year, viz. 1589. And soon after, this long suit seemed to come to an issue and conclusion: nothing wanting to be done but the decision of the lord treasurer, the differences between both parties being compromised; sir Tho. Shirley petitioning the said lord for the same, both parties agreeing upon the points. I refer the reader to the state of the case now drawn up briefly, and the patentees' petition at the end. See the Appendix. And so he seems to have a lease granted him for the foresaid dean's and chapter's lands for 99 years.

N°. LXII.

Endeavours to get the archbishop of York's London house from him.

As I have related several historical remarks of Sandys, that eminent confessor, bishop, and archbishop of this church, so I shall join to the rest one or two more, which fell out this year, which put a period to his holy life. A hard demand or request was made to this archbishop of York; which was not the first time such uneasy applications were made to him, for the impairing of his bishopric. It was required, that by lease, or some other way, he should part with his episcopal house, situate in London: which, I suppose, stood there where now are York Buildings. This request (for so he called it) had been made to him by the queen herself, in behalf, as it seems, of some of her courtiers or noblemen: but he then declared unto her his unwillingness to do such a wrong to his church, and which would be also such a lasting reflection upon him and his memory. And being now in his diocese, the request was again renewed: but he was resolute not to yield: yet writ his mind to his friend, the lord treasurer, thinking, that

some words of his to the queen, in representing his resolution tenderly, she might pass it over without much displeasure towards him. His letter, wrote in the month of June, (which seemed to be one of his last letters, for he died the next month,) was in these words:

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His resolution thereupon.

" As for my house at London, a thing most unreasonable is requested of me. I cannot well desire your lordship's help herein; yet one word of your lordship to her majesty would do me much good. I cannot in conscience yield that request. I remain resolute. I am only to entreat your lordship to be a means, that I may so do without offence unto her majesty. Yet her highness' speech unto me touching the selfsame matter hath been such, that I am fully persuaded her majesty will not deal against me in it." And then making a sad reflection hereupon, used these words: " These be marvellous times. The patrimony of the church is laid open, as a prey, unto all the world. The ministers of the word, the messengers of Christ, are become *contemptibiles omni populo*, and are esteemed *tanquam excrementa mundi*. This was foreshewed, and in our time performed. It may be feared God hath some great work in hand: for this ignominy is done unto himself, &c. Dated from Southwell, the 1st of June 1588.

" Your lordship's most bound,

" E. Ebor."

More is said of this matter in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift.

Dissension between the archbishop and dean of Durham.

Yet another trouble vexed this good archbishop now at the latter end of his life; namely, a contest between Toby Matthew, the dean of Durham, and him. What the cause was I know not, whether it were concerning the visitation of that church, or somewhat else, uncertain to me. But the archbishop seemed to have the right of the cause; and the dean put to shifts in maintaining his. But in this discord he addressed himself to the said lord in these words: " My honourable good lord, sundry great wrongs are offered

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" me, &c. What manifest wrongs the dean of Durham of-
" fereth me, and by what indirect dealings he proceedeth
" against me, with a big mind to maintain a bad cause, and
" what shifts and delays he useth, that his evil cause come
" not to trial, this bringer, your servant, can declare unto
" you." And the archbishop might the rather betake himself to this lord in this difference between the dean and him, the deanery having been chiefly obtained by his interest with the queen on his behalf. And so he gratefully professed to the treasurer soon after he became dean, to be always sensible of his favours. And so in a letter to him, he promised, " That if any defect should happen at any time in
" him in the discharge of that duty, and coming to his
" lordship's ear, he beseeched him to make him know it;
" and promised to be reformed by his authority, and di-
" rected by his wisdom."

Dean of Durham to the lord treasurer.

The archbishop of York's death.

This archbishop died the 10th of July this year, and was interred in the choir of the collegiate church of Southwell, in Nottinghamshire, under a fair monument, with the effigies of his children kneeling round the sides of it. The picture of which monument remains in a visitation book in the Heralds' Office. The epitaphical inscription thereon may be found transcribed at length in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift: which will explain his extraordinary character. But his last will and testament will further discover, from himself, the holy and divine, the pious and humble spirit of this excellent prelate: which inclines me to let the Christian reader (that desires to look on the good bishops of that age) to be acquainted with it. It will shew us what his thoughts were of the reformed religion and church established among us, and of some rites and usages therein, and of the differences among the professors of the gospel on that account. But being somewhat long, I leave it to be read in the Appendix; being an authentic copy of it, taken by the pen of an exact person.

552 Entitled Darby and Nottingham shires. C. 34.

Book iii. ch. 21.

No. LXIII. Rev. T. B.

The archbishop's family and posterity.

The archbishop's stock and family (which was from St. Bees in Cumberland) was ancient and worshipful; and the collateral branches spread into the counties of Darby, Lan-

caster, Bucks, Worcester, and Kent. He was second son of George Sandys, and Margaret, daughter of Dixon, of London; married Cecilia, daughter of Thomas Wilford, of the county of Kent, knight. His children were, Henry, the eldest; William, his second son, knight. His third son was sir Samuel Sandes, of Ombersley in the county of Wigorn, knight, who married Mary, daughter of Colpeper, of the county of Kent, who had Edwin Sandes, knight, and a numerous issue. Other sons of his were, George, and Miles of Wilberton in the county of Cambridge, in the Isle of Ely, knight and baronet. Besides daughters, Hester and Bridget. A young brother of our archbishop was Miles, of Latymers in the county of Bucks, esq. clerk of the crown to queen Elizabeth, and died 1601; and left sir Edwin Sandes, his son and heir; dubbed in Ireland for his good service there.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1588.

Her. Office. Certificate of funerals. Camd.

Of this family of Sandes sprang William Sandes, knight, first lord Sandes of the Vine, in the reign of Henry VIII. anno 1523, who was *camerarius hospitii regis*, i. e. chamberlain of the king's household. Besides, of the same family were collaterals numerous.

The archbishop's education was in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded master of arts; and was afterwards proctor of that university, and vice-chancellor; and was preferred to be master of Katharine-hall there; as appears by a catalogue (still remaining) of learned men, benefactors, &c. of the several colleges, given in to the queen by that university, when she honoured them with her presence; which was in the year 1564; and of the fellows of that house.

His education.

Rev. T. Baker, S. Th. B.

And now for a farewell of this venerable archbishop, I will leave, for a memorial of him, some periods of a sermon or two, preached upon some special occasions. And the rather because they will tend to enlighten the history of the English church in those times. In one of them, preached before the queen, he thus described the reformation, with the queen's influence therein.

The archbishop's description of the reformation.

" Our gracious governor laboured most earnestly to 553
" cleanse this ground, [i. e. the vineyard of the church

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" of England,] and to purge it had caused the stones " to be picked out, brambles and briers to be pulled " up, all rubbish, and whatsoever was hurtful, to be re- " moved; the den of thieves to be dispersed; buyers and " sellers of popish trash, monks, friars, mass-mongers, with " like miscreants, to be hurled and whipt out; the stum- " bling stones of superstition, the baggage of men's tradi- " tions, with all monuments of idolatry, to vanish, and " popery to be cast out of the house of God and vine- " yard of the Lord: so that the field of God is cleared, the " vineyard cleansed, the church purged; ready for the seed " to be sown, and the vine to be planted. And all this with- " out resistance or tumult. It was the kingdom of God, and " it was marvellous to as many as considered it."

And then concerning the queen's hand in this reformation, thus he went on: " Our skilful householder, our wise " governor, hath planted in this our vineyard neither " thorns nor thistles, but the true vine, Christ, growing in " the hearts of the elect. This vine hath been diligently " watered with the dew of God's truth sincerely preached; " it hath been cherished with the sacraments reverently ad- " ministered according to his will. It hath been under- " propped with the countenance of authority, and defence " of zealous Christian magistrates, pruned with the two- " edged sword of God's Spirit, working by the ministry of " his servants; who with the sweet promises of the gospel " have reared up the drooping branches overburdened with " sin, and the sharp threatenings of the law; have cut off " those lascivious wild boughs of wickedness. No flock bet- " ter fed, no people more instructed, and vineyard in the " world more beautiful or goodly to behold," &c.

For a further account of this church, and the discipline and government of it, take it in these his words: " This " vineyard so prepared, this vine so planted, watered, and " underset, hath also been strongly hedged and fenced with " godly laws, of good discipline; to put back all enemies, " to punish all transgressors, to bridle the unruly, and to " keep men in order, that the church of God may live in all

" tranquillity, with all piety and honesty. No church under " heaven more enriched with treasures and gifts of God." CHAP. XVII.

The blessings and benefits accompanying this church are thus further described: " The ground where this vineyard " is planted hath brought forth many goodly and pleasant " grapes. The gospel hath chased away walking spirits. It " hath cast out devils, banished much ignorance and blind- " ness; put horrible blasphemy in manner to flight; ut- " terly cleansed that sink, the Stews;" [a place near London, of open wickedness and uncleanness;] " made vain " and filthy songs less current than they have been in for- " mer times, and caused sin to be more shunned. But one " pleasant grape, especially the gospel, the word of reconci- " liation, hath brought forth; and that is, the sweet fruit " of peace; peace towards God, and peace among our- " selves..... The God of peace hath done this for us, to " our singular commodity and benefit; that he hath given " peace in our days. England never had so long tasted the " like." Anno 1588. 554

His dissuasive from schism, for some *rites* used in this reformed church, ran in these words in another sermon preached before the queen: " And here we have to praise " God, that in public doctrine touching the substance of " religion, we all agree in one truth; we all build upon " one foundation, Christ Jesus, slain and offered up for our " full redemption, according to the doctrine of the scrip- " tures. So much the greater pity is it, that there should " be such dissent in matters of small importance, rites and " circumstances. That by contentions in such things the " course of the gospel should be hindered, Christ's adver- " saries strengthened, and his church offended. The mi- " nistry cannot be well executed without her *rites:* which " *rites* are left indifferent to every policy. So that they be " not disagreeing to the word; so that they tend to edifica- " tion; so that they be seemly, and according to decent " order. His dissuasive from schism.

" Be it granted, that some rites upon some considerations " might be bettered or omitted; yet can I not say, neither Rites of the church, what.

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"any man, I suppose, can prove, that any thing is set "down to be observed in the church, wicked, or contrary "to the word. It were scarce wisdom, when as in many "years a beautiful and a costly house is builded, if a win- "dow be set a little awry, or some small eyesore do ap- "pear, in respect thereof to disturb the whole house, to "pull it down, and lay it flat with the ground: for every "change being so full of peril, surely these great altera- "tions, upon light advice, these new commonwealths, how-

The platformers' reformation.

"soever they be shadowed with the pleasible name of *refor-* "*mation*, yet in seeking (for undoubtedly this is sought, "and that by many) to have the patrimony of the church "divided, mangled, and impaired, they threaten the utter "overthrow of learning and religion. For take any livings, "at which this axe especially striketh, and ye take away "learning, and ye overthrow teaching. Take away teach- "ing, and what shall become of the church of Christ.

Prov. xxix.

"Where there is no vision, there the people cannot choose "but come to decay.

The right of ministers' maintenance.

"There is no state (no, not the state of a prince ex- "cepted) to whom fear, honour, obedience, and tribute is "due, that may more rightly challenge a competent and "sufficient living than the ministers of the word of God. "They seem to have put out the very light of nature in "themselves, who repine at the reasonable maintenance of "them that minister before the Lord in these sanctified la- "bours: for who doth plant a vineyard, and doth not eat "of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth "not of the milk of the flock? Mark how the scriptures, "both in the law and in the gospel, do beat upon this point.

1 Cor. ix.

"In the law it is said, *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of* "*the ox. Doth God take care for oxen?* No, his care is for

1 Tim. v.

"us. For our cause it is, that he hath said, *The labourer is* "*worthy of his hire.* For our cause he hath ordained, that "they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel.

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"He had a care of his church. And therefore gave charge,

Gal. vi.

"*Let him that is taught in the word, make him that taught* "*him partaker of all his goods.* This is large, yet but rea-

" sonable. *For if we have sown unto you spiritual things,* " *is it a great matter, if we reap your carnal things?* Is it " much to make us partakers of all your goods? &c. It was " foreseen, no doubt, by the Spirit, how God's portion " should be pinched; how the ministers of the word should " be contemned; how injuriously men, in these last un- " charitable days, would seek for the havoc and spoil of the " church." Anno 1588. 1 Cor. ix. 11.

This moved this most reverend man, now he was preaching before the queen, (who wanted not for solicitation for such injuries,) in so large and ample sort to speak of maintenance and honour due to the ministers. Adding, " That " if any were slow and wretchless in doing his office; if " there be any idol shepherd, that feedeth himself only, " and not his flock, let him be reformed or removed. But " for the fault of a few, that the whole state should be sub- " verted, and the patrimony of the church of Christ spoiled " and devoured, it were very hard. No prince nor people, " Christian or heathen, would ever consent to such a thing " without sacrilege."

And returning to the differences then among those of the same reformed church, he concluded thus: " Well, as we " are at unity in substance of religion, so God grant, that at " length in these things also we may agree, and be as one, " even as becomes the congregation of Christ: which is a " society, linked and knit together, not sundered by division, " nor rent in pieces by variety of opinions and judgments."

Thus this good archbishop spake his mind concerning such as endeavoured to impoverish the church and the ministers of it, as it had been before in the times of popery by *impropriations;* as he fell in another sermon upon the need of preachers in those northern parts of the kingdom, using these words: " The mother city of the realm [Lon- " don] is reasonably furnished with faithful preachers: cer- " tain other cities, not many in number, are blessed too, " though not in like sort. But the silly people of the land " otherwhere, especially in the north parts, pine away and " perish for want of this saving food; they are much de- Want of preachers in the north.

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"cayed for want of *prophecy*. Many there are that hear "not a sermon in seven years, I might say safely seven- "teen. Their blood will be required at somebody's hand.

"And why doth the country want preachers? The people "pay tithes of that they have. Therefore there must needs "be sufficient to maintain them. If things were well or- "dered, this sequel were good. But the chiefest benefices "were by the pope long since impropriated unto monks; "which devoured the fruits, and gave a silly stipend unto a "poor sir John to say mass. And as they left it, so we find "it still. Where livings were not impropriated by the pope, "there they are for the most part so handled, that patrons "maintain themselves with those tithes which the people "give; and ministers have that which the patrons leave. "..... To take from them that live idly and superstitiously in the church, they plead it to be lawful, because "those unprofitable members were unworthy to enjoy "the fat of the earth. But when abbeys were taken up, "and other profits gone, now, as greedy cormorants, they "seize also upon the church of Christ. It is not fit, for- "sooth, [say they,] that men sanctified unto heavenly things "should be over-encumbered with these earthly commo- "dities. And therefore, even of great devotion, and as they "will ease the church of these her burdens, &c. Thus, by "men that cannot stand without the fall of the church of "God, all means are invented to beggar the ministry. A "device, no doubt, of Satan, and a practice of his imps, to "cause a famine of the bread of life, by starving the ox that "should tread out the corn, and to withdraw God's people "from seeking the Lord, by weakening and discouraging "such as should guide them in the way of life." Thus did the zealous archbishop represent publicly these wrongs to the discouragement of the ministry; and which he himself had felt and struggled with.

Impropriations first made by popes.

Patrons.

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The bishop of Winchester slandered.

To proceed to what I have to add concerning some others of the episcopal order falling out this year. One of these was Cooper, formerly bishop of Lincoln, now of Winchester. Somewhat of whose character we here take notice of, by oc-

casion of a base unworthy slander of him by Penry, the author of Martin Marprelate, a book levelled against the bishops; who in one of his scurrilous libels had much undervalued this bishop's learning and good abilities; and, "that he was a very dunce, and not able to defend an argument; but till he came to the pinch, he would cog and "face it out," &c. The good bishop being thus openly in print abused, thought fit, in a seasonable book by him set forth about this time, thus modestly to give some account of himself in these words: Anno 1588. Admonition to the People of England, p. 77.

"That as for that reproach, he would not much strive "with them. That he had not used, he thanked God, to "vaunt himself of great learning, neither did he disdain "to be accounted unlearned of these men; who many years "since contemned bishop Jewel as a man of no deep learning; and even of late days could say, that Erasmus was "no divine. But (the said bishop subjoined) that his "prayer was, that the small measure of knowledge that "it pleased God to give him in the continuance of fifty "years' study, might be employed to the glory of God "and the benefit of his country. That it was known forty-"five years since, that he was master of arts, and student "of divinity, and disputed in that faculty. That since "which time he had never been drawn from the exercise of "good learning. And that this was his greatest comfort, "that since he was a young man in Magdalen college in "Oxford, he had been brought up in the love of the gospel; and was reasonably able to confirm his conscience, "and repress his adversary, not only by the holy scripture, "but also by the writings of the ancient fathers, and the "best authors of this age, since the renewing of the gospel; "as, he said, he had many honest and learned men witnesses, then alive." His true character.

During the vacancy of the rich bishopric of Ely, there wanted not applications to the queen, and some of her court, for some of the revenues of it upon long leases. As there was one letter the last year obtained from the queen to the dean and chapter for Ashley, esq. a servant of her 557 Leases and lands of the church of Ely endeavoured to be got.

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majesty, for the manors of Dunnington, Thriplow, and the parsonage of Hinckston; which letter of the queen's was accompanied with another from secretary Walsingham: so again this year the lord treasurer sent his letter to the said dean and chapter of Ely for the lease of Wentworth, belonging to them, upon lives, for one Medley, a famous chymist, and retainer to that lord; which they could not grant by their statute; and being their patron, and high steward of their church, they hoped he would not require it of them. And what the occasion was, Dr. Perne the dean and chapter's letter ensuing will shew; importing,

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The dean of Ely to the lord treasurer about granting a lease.

"That they had received a letter from him in behalf of "William Medley, his lordship's servant, for the renewing "of his lease of the manor of Wentworth, for three lives, "whereof he had already two in being. They prayed him "to understand, that about four or five years past this Med- "ley, with two or three others of their tenants, having leases "belonging to their church for many years to come, and "they finding the imperfection and insufficiency of their "said leases, for want of words of their incorporation, they "made suit to take the same for the term of three lives: "which thing they [the dean and chapter] willingly con- "sented unto, in respect of their many years to come; but "which lease for three lives they never granted to any "other tenants before. That many other of their tenants, "by this example, sued for three lives. The inconvenience "whereof they found so great, and so prejudicial to their "successors, as immediately after those new grants they "made a decree, with the whole consent of the chapter, not "to make any grant above the term of one and twenty "years, which thing was so ordered at the first erection of "the dean and chapter by the prince's commissioners."

And this being their case, they addressed to that lord in these words: "That herein, if it might please his lordship "to stand their honourable good patron, for the firm main- "tenance of that necessary order and decree, for the good "preservation of their church, they and all their successors "should acknowledge themselves no less bounden unto his

" honour, than they and their successors were, for the ob- " taining of her gracious grant and confirmation of all such " their lands as were intended to be given by her majesty's " noble father, their gracious and honourable founder. And " so praying his honour to have due regard therein." This was signed by Andrew Pern, the dean, and seven of the prebendaries. Anno 1588.

Ket, a heretic, summoned before the bishop of Norwich.

Scambler, bishop of Norwich, was employed this year in a very irksome business, required by his episcopal office: which was the summoning of an heretic in his diocese to his court; whose opinions were found so vile and horrible concerning Christ, that the bishop was forced to condemn him for a stubborn heretic. His name was Francis Ket, master of arts, and seems to have been a minister. The bishop acquainted the lord treasurer with what he had done, in a letter dated from Norwich, October 7; viz. " That he had " lately condemned for heresy Francis Ket, M. A. whose " blasphemous opinions he had thought good to acquaint his " honour with; and referring to his wisdom the speedy exe- " cution of, he being so dangerous a person." And accordingly (as it seems by order from court) he was burnt at a place near Norwich, as our historian Stow writes, for " divers " detestable opinions against Christ our Saviour." But what those particular opinions were are not set down: nor do I find the former letter of the bishop wherein they were specified: perhaps so vile and wicked, that it was thought best to stifle and burn the paper. It is likely he was some Arian, or of the *family of love*. 558

A remark of Ireland.

And as I do not use to omit Irish church matters, when in my collections I meet with them, so here may fall in a remark of an archbishop of Dublin, lord chancellor of Ireland. There was a letter of his wrote this year to the English court. The occasion this: The queen had disposed of the forfeited estates of her great Irish traitor, the earl of Desmond and his complices, which were vastly great, consisting of an infinite number of acres of land in many or most of the counties of that kingdom. Those to whom the queen had granted these lands were persons of honour and

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quality of the English nation, and that had done good services in that rebellious kingdom. But these estates, together with many privileges, were granted them upon certain conditions. The queen's great purpose at this time was the peopling of the county of Munster, and furnishing it with inhabitants from England that were protestants; that popery and rebellion might at length cease, or be diminished in those parts. And the gentlemen on whom the queen had bestowed these estates undertook the doing of it. But what success they had in this undertaking is out of my way here to relate; though there wanted not informations and complaints to the court of these *undertakers*, (as they were called,) and those concerned in the lands and the bounds thereof.

Anno 1588.

Cox's Hist. of Ireland, p. 393.

But one of these *undertakers* was sir William Herbert, knight, (which gives the cause of my mention of this Irish affair.) The queen had granted him in the county of Kerry, 13,276 acres of land, to the yearly rent of 221*l.* and upwards. He was a gentleman of good desert in this charge, and had been at pains and cost to promote the queen's good ends there; and being now ready to go for England, he took with him (and perhaps to clear himself of some misinformations against him) his character to the lord treasurer from the said lord archbishop of Dublin. Which ran to this tenor:

" That this gentleman, sir Will. Herbert, having pur-
" posed to return into England, he thought it fit to ac-
" quaint his lordship with his good endeavours there [in
" Ireland]. That he had in all his proceedings held a very
" orderly and commendable course; regarding especially
559 " the planting of religion as the chiefest means to prepare
" that place to the consideration of their duty to her ma-
" jesty, and obedience to her laws. Herein (God bless-
" ing his great care and industry) he had so much pre-
" vailed, as in few places in that kingdom there was the
" like reformation. That his being there had been both
" chargeable and troublesome to him: which he regarded
" not so much, as that he was given to understand, that

" some things, contrary to his good meaning, were aggra- Anno 1588.
" vated against him there; especially that which concerned
" the lady Denny; [the wife or widow of sir Edward
" Denny, who partook of some of the queen's grants afore-
" said.] Which he had dealt in no otherwise than a dis-
" creet and wise gentleman. For, perceiving that some
" things, either by evil advice or open stomach, were done,
" not only in disgrace of his authority, and the rest of the
" justices, but very hurtful to the common good, they sent
" an ordinary process, yet advisedly qualified, with a pri-
" vate letter to her ladyship; whereby they declared, that
" there was no necessity of her appearance; but that she
" might send her agent instructed."

And then, in favour of that gentleman, adding; " Surely,
" my lord, both in this and in all other his proceedings, he
" hath great temperancy and steadiness. And now, if he
" might receive deserved countenance, he would do her
" majesty great good service in those parts: and so, wish-
" ing with his heart that his faithful and honest dealings
" might be free from all crosses there, he humbly recom-
" mended him to his lordship's honourable favour: where-
" by, as he perceived by himself, he greatly depended.
" Dated from Dublin, the 17th of March, 1588. Sub-
" scribed,

" Your honour's humbly at commandment,
" Ad. Dublin. canc."

CHAP. XVIII.

1560

Popish books. The pope's bull brought in and dispersed: to encourage the invasion intended. Cardinal Allen's books. Bennet, a priest; his penitent letter to the earl of Arundel for a false information against him. Sir Tho. Tresham's protestation of allegiance. Francis Blount, a catholic at Paris, desirous to come home, writes to the queen for the liberty of his religion. A case of conscience propounded by some catholics, whether

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they might take up arms under the Spaniard against the queen; resolved by a priest at large. Divers lists of priests, and other English catholics, at home and abroad. Englishmen, pensioners of the king of Spain. A proclamation against the bringing in the pope's bull; and other popish books: such to be punished by martial law.

NOW to take some view of the enemies or disaffected to the established church, both papists and protestant schismatics.

The pope's bull, for the catholic king to invade England.

Popish books flew abroad this year, in order to the great design now on foot. The chief writers as well as transactors on that side were, Allen, made a cardinal by the pope for his deserts that way, and Parsons, a Jesuit. One of this cardinal's books set forth this year, or hereabouts, was a large explanation of the present pope's bull, published at Rome; which I will briefly mention, and then shew how the cardinal backed it with his own comment and explanation. This bull had more severity than that of his predecessor's, Pius Quintus, that came forth near twenty years before, that excommunicated the queen; as I have from the copy of a letter sent hence to Mendoza at Paris, by one of that sort here, "whereby the queen was accursed, and "pronounced to be deprived of her crown; and the inva- "sion and conquest of her realm committed by the pope "to the king catholic, to execute the same with his armies "both by sea and land; and to take the crown to himself, "or to limit it to such a potentate as the pope and he "should name."

The explanation of it in a book by cardinal Allen.

This bull was followed by a great number of copies of an English book, printed at Antwerp, sent into England even when the navy of Spain was daily looked for. The original of which books was composed and writ by the
561 abovesaid cardinal in April, called by himself *the cardinal of England*, to add the greater authority to his book: which was so violently, sharply, and bitterly written, "yea, "(said the writer of the letter to Mendoza,) so arrogantly, "(charged by the adversaries,) falsely, and slanderously,

" against the person of the queen, against her father king " Henry VIII. against her nobility and council, as in very " truth he was heartily sorry to perceive; that so many good " men of his religion were offended therewith: that there " should be found in one, accounted a father of the church, " who was also a born subject of the crown, such foul, vile, " irreverent, and violent speeches, such ireful and bloody " threatenings, of a queen, of a nobility, yea, and of the " whole people of his own nation." This was the account of the cardinal's book by one of themselves. And, to subjoin what many of them thought of the cardinal himself, " That he was very sorry to report the general evil conceit " of those unordinate and unadvised proceedings of this " cardinal; of whose rash choice to such a place the world " spake strangely."

Copy of a letter to Mendoza.

But besides Allen's former book, he had also prepared another, ready to be published, intended for the service of the Spanish invasion. It was printed in English, and should have been presently divulged, if the Spaniards could have set footing in England this year. Meteran, in his history, hath preserved it; and there it may be seen and read word for word: I will give some account of it from Dr. Geo. Abbot, in his book writ against Dr. Hill. " Among " other matters are these. The queen is called the *pre-* " *tended* queen, and the present usurper. She must be " deprived of the administration of the kingdom. She is " an heretic, a schismatic: usurping the kingdom against " all right; as for other causes, so because she had not the " consent of the great bishop of Rome. That she moved " the Turk to invade Christendom. She had set at sale, " and made a market of laws and rights. Some of her " facts make her uncapable of the kingdom. Some others " make her unworthy of life. That therefore pope Sixtus V. " had renewed the excommunication against her, and de- " prived her of her title and pretences to the kingdom of " England and Ireland, and declaring her illegitimate, and " an usurper, and absolving all her subjects from the oath " of fidelity to her. And then he charged all persons to

Another book of Allen's.

Belgic. Historia, libr. 15.

Dr. Abbot against Dr. Hill.

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On all these words, and the cardinal's approbation and assertions of this bull, Abbot deservedly made this reflection; "That this shewed the mind of the lewd cardinal "against the prince, that his disenglished, wolfish desire "was, that the natural place of his education should have "been in the everlasting bondage of the Spaniard."

Abbot's reflection.

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Other books published by cardinal Allen.

Nor were these all the books that this malicious, unnatural Englishman wrote against his queen and country, but others were set forth by him before: which I shall here take leave to add, as we have them reckoned up by Parsons the Jesuit; and from him mentioned by the abovesaid Dr. Abbot. 1. *An Answer to the English Justice.* 2. *The Defence of the Twelve Martyrs in one year.* 3. The epistle allowing sir Will. Stanley's delivering up of Deventer to the Spaniard. Of which place he was governor for the queen. 4. *A Declaration against her Majesty and the States*, in the year 1588. Which was the same taken notice of afore.

Some account of them, p. 215.

Some brief account of each of these books I shall give from our forementioned author, Abbot, in his controversy with Hill. In the first of these books there is a protestation of James Layborn delivered, who was executed at Lancaster; viz. that he took two exceptions why the lady Elizabeth was no queen. One, by reason of her birth: the other, for that she was deprived by the pope. That this was first related by Sanders, *De schismate Anglicano*, lib. 3. and repeated again by Allen: that, as occasion should serve, it might be imitated by other papists. And the whole treatise, however it seem to be more closely conveyed than ordinary, is forged with pestilent calumniations. Of the same

nature is the whole subject of the second book; penned on purpose to direct men's affections from the state.

"The third was a little pamphlet, short; but not short; "maintaining the treasonful act of sir William Stanley, "by many an unchristian censure and most slanderous im- "putation. As for example, that our country is fallen into "atheism. That the queen's confederacies were only and "always with Christ's enemies. That the wars of the Eng- "lish in the Low Countries were sacrilegious wars, and of "an heretical prince. And that all the acts in this realm, "since the queen was excommunicate, and deposed from "royal dignity, were void. Therefore she could denounce "no war; neither might her subjects there serve her, when "a prince was become an open rebel to the see apostolic. "And he wished, that the rest of the English would do as "they with sir William Stanley did. And that the English "took no quarrels in hand, but for the dishonourable defence "of rebels, pirates, and infidels." Upon all these gross imputations thus Dr. Abbot descanted: "That wicked man "[the author] made no conscience to stain his whole coun- "try with horrible defamations. I would hear any secular "[priest] in the world, that could excuse this cursed fellow, "[of the Jesuitical order.]"

Anno 1588. Allen's answer, 1584.

To what hath been said of Allen, I shall subjoin a remembrance of one Bennet, another busy priest, (as well as some others of that religion,) that occurs within this year. The said priest, with some others, (as sir Tho. Gerrard and William Shelly,) had given information against Philip earl of Arundel, (privy to a popish plot carrying on in favour of the Scots queen.) As that upon that earl's motion to him, he had said a mass of the Holy Ghost for the good success of the Spanish fleet. But not long after, Benet, hoping to pacify the earl, accused himself for what he had said, in a most penitent and sorrowful letter to him, as a false accusation of him, and most earnestly bewailed his frailty in so doing: and with very passionate words expressing his sorrow, and begging the earl's pardon, revoking all what he had declared before. The earl had endea-

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Bennet, a priest, his letter to the earl of Arundel.

Camd. Eliz. p. 428.

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voured to take off all the evidences that had been brought against him by the former witnesses; and particularly Bennet's. To weaken whose evidence, he described him as a man of doubtful and slippery credit, and had confessed things contradictory. But the suggesting of Bennet's letter to the earl might have proved more serviceable to him. Which letter our historian saith nothing of. But I conjecture this letter of remorse, whether real or pretended, was either intercepted, or rather sent to the lord treasurer to take off Bennet's evidence. For I find it among the said lord treasurer's papers.

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"Therein he bewailed to the earl what he had done. "That upon his knees, before God and all his angels, and "before all the world, with a most penitent, rent, and af- "flicted conscience, craved mercy and forgiveness for the "great offence he had committed against his honour, in his "[Bennet's] late troubles and confessions——That with "many fair speeches and allurements, together with great "weakness of body and mind, he was stricken with such "astonishment and maze, that he confessed every thing "that seemed to content their humour; (which he per- "ceived not at first;) altogether tending to the earl's ruin."

No. LXIV.

But I leave the whole letter to be read in the Appendix: which may be depended on as the original, being endorsed by the treasurer's own hand.

Two catholic gentlemen, loyal.

Yet among the catholic gentry there were some better affected towards the queen. Here follow notice of two such persons: the one a knight, and the other a gentleman of worth. The one, by a protestation, professing all allegiance and loyalty to her majesty; and the other, who had been abroad in travel, now, by another well-penned letter to the queen, desiring to return safe home to his country, and to enjoy the liberty of his conscience in the exercise of his religion.

The former was sir Tho. Tresham. Who was now under confinement in the Isle of Ely. Where he had conference with the dean, Dr. Perne, and Dr. Legg, another learned man of Cambridge; from whom he seemed to have been

satisfied, and confirmed in his allegiance and duty to the queen. And to give assurance of his fidelity and sincere obedience to her, he wrote a protestation, and signed it with his hand; with this sentence prefaced: *Appendat me in statera justa, et sciat Deus simplicitatem meam.* The endorsement of the protestation was:

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" *The humble protestation of my allegiance to her majesty,* 564
" *exhibited by me unto Mr. Dr. Pearne, dean of Ely,*
" *and Mr. Dr. Legg, vice-chancellor of Cambridge: au-*
" *thorized by the lords of her majesty's most honourable*
" *privy-council to receive the same of me, sir Thomas*
" *Tresame, knight, prisoner in the palace of Elyc.*

Sir Tho. Tresham's protestation.

" In the simplicity of my heart, I do unfeignedly pro-
" test before the majesty of Almighty God, that queen Eli-
" zabeth is my undoubted sovereign lady and queen, *de*
" *jure et de facto.* That her highness also is supreme go-
" vernor of this realm of England, and all other the do-
" minions belonging to the crown of England, as of all her
" subjects within the same. Among which, I acknowledge
" myself her highness' native loyal subject. Whereby I am
" religiously bounden in Christian duty, either readily to
" do or humbly to endure her sacred highness' will: and
" for no cause whatsoever to be stirred to lift up my hand
" against her majesty, God's anointed; but in all readiness
" defending her royal person from violence, and preserving
" this realm and all other her highness' dominions from in-
" vasion, against all persons without exception; be it prince,
" pope, or potentate whosoever, or under what colour or
" pretext soever the same shall be attempted: I offer and
" avow myself to serve therein in person, and to spend my
" lands and life in so just and honourable a quarrel.

" Finally, if any shall attempt to murder, wound, or
" hurt her majesty, my righteous and reverenced gracious
" lady and queen, that I in true subject-wise will, to my
" uttermost might and ability, prosecute such wicked wretch
" to death. In faithful testimony of all and every the pre-
" mises I have written this with my own hand; and thereto

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" subscribed my name: most humbly beseeching the Al-
" mighty to preserve this realm, and all other her majesty's
" dominions, and particularly her excellency, in all felicity,
" long time to reign over us, to his good will and pleasure,
" and to the unspeakable content of us all, her faithful sub-
" jects. Who wisheth otherwise, God turn their hearts, or
" else shortly send them shame and confusion. Elye, Octo-
" ber the 22d, 1588.

" Whose hand and heart herein agreeth,
" Thomas Tresame."

Francis Blount's letter to the queen from Paris, desires liberty of his conscience, being a catholic.

The other gentleman I spake of before, who seemed to be of loyal principles, though a Roman catholic, was one Francis Blount, a gentleman of quality; who had gone abroad without leave in order to travel, and perhaps to avoid dangers incident to those of the religion at home. And some informations were brought to the court, while he was abroad, that created some jealousies of him. But being now at Paris, and minded to return into England, the Spanish fleet being in motion, he addressed a letter to the queen
565 for her leave to return, and to enjoy the liberty of his religion; especially since she protested to oppress none merely for their conscience; and that he was not of the principles of some that had lately been justly executed; and was ready to do her all service to his utmost.

But take his letter, which ran in this tenor; dated July 24. " To the queen's most excellent majesty. Although,
" most renowned sovereign, when I consider what just occa-
" sion your highness hath to be offended with some catho-
" lics of your own country, in respect of their misdemean-
" ours towards your majesty's person and fame, I may be
" therefore afraid, being a catholic, to approach now your
" dominions, much less your grace; yet when I do search
" the secret corners of my conscience, and find that none,
" whom the law justly executed, or now have in prison,
" have, can, or may charge me, either to be privy or to
" consent to any such fault; I may therefore, your accus-
" tomed clemency considered, and a number surmounting

" me in fault, (although in vocation my inferiors,) be in-
" duced to hope for the like mercy; the rather, seeing your
" merciful majesty hath protested to hurt none for their
" conscience. Which protestation of so just and merciful a
" prince may be a sufficient warrant to any loyal subject.
" But when I consider the watchful care of your grave
" council, together with the severe, sharp laws made against
" catholics, and impossibility for any to avoid the danger
" of them, travelling through those countries where I have
" been, I can no less do, than humbly to beseech your ma-
" jesty's merciful pardon only for rude faults, as of myself
" I shall voluntarily confess. By the granting of the which,
" as it shall be a manifest testimony that your magnificence
" desireth not the punishment of poor catholics for their
" zeal and profession, but for their sins and vices, so shall
" your highness bind me to extend all my powers and senses
" to the utmost to do you all honour and service, according
" as duty bindeth me, whensoever I shall be employed.

" Thus most humbly prostrating myself before your ma-
" jesty's merciful feet, to hear of some answer agreeable to
" so royal and merciful a queen, which I nothing despair
" of, seeing my confession shall manifestly declare my most
" humble heart and contrition. Which with the mightiest
" was always accepted."

A case of conscience, concerning taking up arms for Spain against the queen.

This leads me to a notable tract writ in Latin, by one Wright, a priest of the Romish religion; occasioned by a desire of some English abroad of the same religion to resolve them in a case of conscience, viz. Whether it were lawful for catholics to take up arms for the king of Spain against the queen, and England, their native country? the said question being propounded some years after the defeat of the Spaniard in 1588, when another attempt against England was resolved upon. The answer was in the negative: and the reasons for English subjects to take up arms under the Spaniard learnedly disproved. The writer (whose name is endorsed on the back-side by the lord treasurer) seems to be the same with Wright, alias Dobson, an English priest of the college of Doway; as I find in a list of English

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priests beyond the seas. Which makes this loyal discourse the more worthy to be taken notice of; and to shew that some of the English catholics abroad could not come into those Spanish measures.

It is a MS. which I have seen among the lord treasurer Burghley's papers, (and I believe was never printed,) with his own hand on the back-side thus writ; *Argumenta cujusdam papistæ, nomine Wryght.* It began with these words: *Petierunt a me*, &c. "That certain English catholics asked "of him, when they saw war hung over England and Spain, "to which part especially they were bound in conscience to "adhere; since it was concerning the queen and the king-"dom; whether they might defend the part of England, "and by any manner and way, as they were wont, to set "upon the Spaniard, to offend and overcome him." For the resolving of this question, he first laid down the reasons that moved this doubt; and inclined the catholics on the part of Spain, and some propositions on which depended the knot and the resolution thereof. The discourse is large, and intermixed with many matters historical between the two kingdoms and the queen and king Philip. Which therefore I leave translated into English in the Appendix.

A priest's solution thereof, to certain English catholics.

No. LXV.

When so much danger happened by papists about these times to the queen's safety, and quiet and peaceable state of her kingdom, a careful eye was had over her popish subjects, and how they stood affected: and several lists were taken all over the nation of the names of such persons under these ranks; namely, of such as were recusants in England or abroad: whether gentlemen, ladies, seminary priests: whether at liberty, or in prison, or in what foreign parts, as at Rome, Rheims, Doway, Paris, &c. such as by their own confessions were guilty of treason or felony: such as were reconciled: again, the names of such as were reconciled to the pope before the statute, and refused to take the queen's part: also, such as refused the oath of the leet, and said, that they would not take the queen's part against the pope's army. Another list was of persons only recusants. Such a catalogue was brought in anno 1579.

Lists of names of catholics, in England or abroad.

whereof account was given in one of the volumes of my Annals. The persons under these various characters, contained in divers lists of them, taken in the years 1587 and 1588, may be found in the Appendix. Anno 1588. No. LXVI.

These certificates of English subjects of the Romish religion brings on the mention of such English, who, for pretence of the liberty of their religion, took shelter under the king of Spain; and were entertained in Flanders, and other places, as his soldiers: and had pensions yearly allowed by him for their subsistence and service. These I find, Aug. 1, 88, (now the great invasion of England was entered upon, and in action,) had granted them a general *liberanca:* which was a bill of assignation to receive their pension monies: which was three months' pay apiece. But their paymasters used such crafty delays in the matter of payment, that if they had not special favour, (as was writ by one that had been a fugitive himself, and knew the state of the English fugitives under that king,) it would be six months after the grant thereof (do what they could) before it would be further signed, and in condition for them to demand their money. And till October, in the year 1590, this author saith, he was sure they had not received a penny. And how long they stayed afterward without it, he knew not. Their necessity was great. They followed the duke of Parma (the governor of Flanders under the king of Spain) from town to town, importunately requiring payment. But especially they never left Cosmo, the duke's secretary, in quiet. Who, to rid himself of their troublesome importunacy, addressed them to Baptista Spinola, a banker dwelling in Antwerp, giving them his letter, and sending the same by one Henry Haslewood, requesting him to relieve these distressed English gentlemen, and to buy their *liberanca.* Which he doubted not they would sell good cheap to his profit. The whole sum was 10,000 crowns, which Cosmo promised him should be allowed him, and passed in the reckoning which he had with the king. Haslewood, in the name of the rest, offered him the said sum for 6000 crowns. But Spinola utterly refused the

English pensioners of the king of Spain.

State of the English fugitives.

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same, saying, he would not take it for 2000. And withal, he desired he might not meddle with the king: wishing that he had not meddled with him so much. So that they were fain to return poor and penniless. And did in that instant live in so poor and pitiless a sort, that truly it was a grief to see it, said the writer of this passage. And he added, that he knew a gentleman that sold his part there, amounting to 24*l.* for 3*l.* I leave others to make observation hence of the generosity of this rich king towards these fugitives; and of their miserable condition who had changed their loyalty to their natural prince, and had yielded it to an implacable enemy to her and their country.

Speeches of some of these pensioners.

And what sort of evil and maliciously disposed persons some of these pensioners were, will appear by the speeches of two of them, famous for their treachery in betraying certain places in Flanders to the Spaniard, viz. Stanley and York: as I take it from an account given of them by one in those times, and a fugitive, and what checks they received from Spaniards with whom they conversed. That Verdugo, hearing sir Will. Stanley with passion transported into violent speeches against his country, wished him to use moderation: and that though he had offended his country, his country had never offended him. And the other, viz. Rowland York, at dinner one day with count Charles of Mansfelt, at his house in Brussels, beginning to use unbecoming speeches of the queen, was commanded of the count to hold his peace: praying him thenceforward to be better acquainted with the customs of that table, which did not give any man privilege to speak unreverently of princes.

State of English fugitives.

Seditious books brought in from Rome.

And besides open wars and secret conspiracies, there was another method the Romanists made much use of, for the promoting their purposes, to infect the people of this land; and that was by books dispersed in the nation, from Rome, and other places abroad: serving to instruct and persuade their party; and more and more to disaffect them, and to excite them to make disturbances, and to confirm them in
568 their dangerous practices. Insomuch that it was thought necessary to set forth a severe proclamation this year against

bringing books from the see of Rome; that so coming thence they might have the stamp of his holiness's authority and infallibility: which was enough to make them believe and undertake any thing. These that were thus prohibited were as well traitorous as threatening books and seditious libels, as pope Sixtus his bull particularly; (whereof notice was taken before:) and likewise against dispersing, uttering, or keeping of them, and that under penalty of martial law.

A proclamation against them.

In this notable proclamation, the queen first declared the wicked enterprises of the papists against her life and kingdom. "That considering with herself how mercifully Al-
"mighty God had by the space of many years preserved
"her highness' most royal person, and this her realm and
"other her dominions, against divers and manifold most
"dangerous practices, as well of the pope and other fo-
"reign enemies, as of sundry disloyal, rebellious, and trai-
"torous persons, being natural-born subjects of this realm;
"who had not ceased, by all possible means they could de-
"vise, to compass the destruction of her, and the utter ruin
"and overthrow of this state and commonwealth: for the Popish contrivances.
"effecting whereof, they had contrived and laid sundry
"complots, not only for the invasion of the realms by fo-
"reign enemies, but also to move and stir up rebellion at
"home, by withdrawing her subjects from their loyal and
"due obedience, and by preparing them to betray their
"own natural country; and most unnaturally to join with
"foreign enemies in the spoil and destruction of the same.
"For which ungodly and wicked purpose (as it had evi- Jesuits. Seminaries.
"dently appeared, and been fully proved) so many Jesuits
"and seminary priests, and other persons of like quality,
"had, by direction of the pope, been of late years sent
"into the realm. By whom and their adherents sundry Rumours.
"false, slanderous, and seditious rumours and reports
"(tending wholly to move the people's hearts to discon-
"tentment and offence) had been commonly bruited and
"given out; and divers seditious and traitorous libels, Libels.
"books, and writings had also by them been published
"and scattered abroad:

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The means used against them.

"Whereupon her majesty, perceiving, in her princely "wisdom, the dangerous consequences of such malicious "and traitorous purposes, had heretofore by several pro- "clamations noted the same to her loving subjects; for- "bidding thereby the publishing, having, or keeping of "any such seditious libels, books, or writings within her "realms or dominions. And her majesty now finding that "the malice, as well of the pope and other foreign enemies, "as of her rebellious and traitorous subjects, living in the "parts beyond seas, was more and more increased; and "that they had been of long time secretly levying and pre-

Armies and forces to invade.

"paring great forces and armies to invade this realm and "other her majesty's dominions, with purpose to put the "same in speedy execution by all possible means; thereby "utterly to overthrow her most happy state and this flou- "rishing commonweal, and to subject it to the proud, ser- "vile, and slavish government of foreigners and strangers: "and having also certain intelligence that Sixtus the Fifth,

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Sixtus V's bull.

"now pope of Rome, had of late published and set forth a "most malicious and detestable bull or libel against her "majesty, and her most gracious and peaceable govern- "ment, and against all loving, dutiful, and faithful sub- "jects; and that sundry other most false, slanderous, and "traitorous libels, books, and pamphlets were also lately "contrived, written, and printed by divers seditious and "traitorous persons, with purpose to be in cover and secret "manner dispersed through this realm: wherein they did "not only go about, with most false and abominable lies, "to slander and dishonour her majesty, and the present "most happy and quiet state and government, but also, by "subtile and pestilent persuasions, to withdraw her highness' "subjects from their due obedience; and to excite and stir "up the people to take arms against God and their so- "vereign, and to join with the foreign enemies; and so to "betray and yield themselves, their parents, kindred, and "children, and their religion and country and common- "weal, to be subjects and slaves to aliens and strangers.

The queen's admonition.

"That therefore her highness thought good to admonish

" her loving, good, and faithful subjects, to continue in
" humble fear and service to Almighty God, in their loyal
" and dutiful obedience to her majesty, and in their faith-
" ful readiness to defend themselves and country against
" all foreign enemies and rebellious traitors whatsoever;
" and she doubted not, but God's merciful goodness, (upon
" which she had always and did only depend,) with the
" strength which God had given her, to withstand their
" malice, and to preserve her good subjects and her realms
" and dominions from all dangers.

" Nevertheless, lest any of her people should be seduced,
" or their simplicity abused, by the false persuasions or
" malicious surmises contained in the said infamous and
" slanderous bulls, libels, books, and pamphlets, she did,
" by this her majesty's proclamation, straitly charge and
" command, that no person whatsoever should convey, carry,
" or bring into any of her majesty's realms and dominions
" any of the said bulls, or any transcript or copy thereof,
" or any the said libels, books, pamphlets, or writings; nor
" should in any wise disperse or utter any of the same:
" and that all such persons, to whose hands such bulls, or
" any transcript or copy thereof, or any of the said libels,
" books, pamphlets, or writings, either had come, or should
" hereafter at any time come, presently with all convenient
" speed, without shewing the same to any person, send or
" deliver it to some one of her highness' privy-council, if
" any such were within twenty miles; or if it were above
" that distance of twenty miles from the court, then to the
" lieutenant, or to his deputy, of the same shire, for the
" time being, where the party shall be that had or should
" have any such bull, or any such transcript or copy there-
" of; or any such libel, book, pamphlet, or writing. And
" that the same lieutenant, or his deputy, to whose hand
" any such bull, or any such transcript or copy, should
" come, should without delay, and with all convenient
" speed, safely send the same to the lords of her majesty's
" privy-council. And that every person, to whom any
" such bull, or any transcript or copy thereof, or any such

What to be done with these bulls.

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" libel, book, pamphlet, or writing, should be hereafter " delivered, offered, or shewed, should immediately appre- " hend and put in safe keeping the party so delivering, of- " fering, or shewing the same, if he were in power or able " so to do. To the end that every such offender might be " forthcoming, to be speedily proceeded upon, and punished " for the same offence, according to the tenor of this her " majesty's proclamation. Or, for lack of such ability, should " with all convenient speed disclose the name, or dwelling- " place, or place of resort, of the party so offending, to " some justice of peace of the shire, where any such offence " should be committed. Who should thereupon immedi- " ately cause the party so offending to be apprehended, and " put in safe keeping, as aforesaid.

Law martial the punishment.

" And her majesty's further pleasure and express com- " mandment was, that if any such person should wittingly " and willingly offend in, or touching the bringing in, dis- " persing, uttering, or malicious having or keeping of any " such bull, or of a transcript or copy thereof, or of any " the said libels, books, or pamphlets, contrary to this her " majesty's proclamation; that every such offender should " with all severity be proceeded against and punished, ac- " cording to the martial law, by her majesty's lieutenants, " or their deputies, by direction from the same lieutenant " in that behalf, within the several limits and precincts of " their commissions of lieutenancy; and should suffer such " pains and penalties in that behalf, as by the said lieute- " nants, or their deputies, by such direction as is aforesaid, " or any of them within their said limits and precincts, " should be inflicted upon them. And that thereupon also " the goods and chattels of every such offender should be " confiscate and forfeited to her majesty.

" And for the better execution of this present proclama- " tion, her majesty did not only grant and commit full " power and authority to all and every her lieutenants and " their deputies, having such direction as was aforesaid,

To proceed with severity.

" but also hereby straitly charged and commanded them, " and every of them, to proceed against the offenders afore-

" said with all diligence and severity, according to the said " martial law. And further granted by these presents, that " none of her said lieutenants, or their deputies, be any " wise impeached, in body, lands, or goods, at any time " hereafter, for any thing to be done or executed in the " punishment of any such offender, according to the said " martial law, and the tenor of this her highness' proclama- " tion, any law or statute to the contrary in any wise not- " withstanding.

Discovery.

" And for the better discovery of the said offences, and " the speedy apprehension of such traitorous, seditious, and " wicked persons, as after admonition given by this her " highness' proclamation should presume maliciously and " wilfully to offend against the same, her majesty straitly " charged and commanded, as well all her said lieutenants " and deputies, and every of them, as all and every her " judges, sheriffs, justices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and " all other her officers and ministers, and good and loving " subjects; that they should with all care and diligence, 571 " in all places, (as well exempt as not exempt,) inquire and " search for all such bulls, transcripts, copies, libels, books, " and pamphlets; and for all such persons whatsoever, as " should bring, publish, disperse, or utter any of the said " bulls, transcripts, &c. and them to apprehend, and put in " safe keeping, that they might be speedily proceeded " against for the said offences, according to the martial " law, as is aforesaid.

Reward.

" And her majesty was pleased, that all such persons as " should apprehend or detect any such offender against this " proclamation, whereby the said offender might be forth- " coming to be proceeded upon, and to receive punishment " according to the quality of the offence, shall have the " moiety of all the goods and chattels of the said offender, " which should be so apprehended or detected by them. " And in case any sheriff, mayor, justice of peace, or other " public and inferior officer, or any other to whom it should " or might appertain, should be found remiss or negligent " in the due execution of this proclamation, then the said

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Mercy.

" party so offending was to be brought before the lords " and others of her highness' privy-council, to receive pu- " nishment for the remissness and contempt, as should ap- " pertain to the nature and quality of the same offence.

" And finally, her majesty, of her most gracious, merci- " ful disposition, hereby signified to all her loving subjects, " that her will and pleasure was, that neither they nor any " of them should be molested, troubled, or impeached for " any offence heretofore past in the receiving or having of " any of the said bulls, transcripts, copies, libels, books, or " pamphlets: so as they do deliver the same, according to " the effect and true meaning of this proclamation; and so " as it appeared that they were no authors, bringers in, " setters forth, dispersers, or maintainers of the same bulls, " transcripts, &c. And her majesty willed and granted, " that this her proclamation should be a sufficient warrant " to all her said lieutenants, and all their deputies, and all " and every her judges, sheriffs, justices of peace, mini- " sters, and officers, and all other her loving subjects what- " soever, to proceed in the due execution of the premises, " according to the tenor of the same proclamation.

" And that therefore her majesty's will and pleasure was, " that the same should be made and published under the " great seal of England. Given at her highness' manor of " Greenwich, the first day of July, 1588, and in the 30th " year of her reign."

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CHAP. XIX.

Scoffing and railing books of puritans. Martin Marprelate. He is brought before the ecclesiastical commission. A false report he had spread of the bishop of Winton. His abusive book against Dr. Bridges. Dr. Bancroft's sermon of the jus divinum *of episcopacy. Penry's confutation. Dr. Raynold's judgment of that point; upon the motion of sir Fra. Knowles. Examination of some concerned in Marprelate's press: their confessions. Sc-*

cret conventicles: discovered. Their worship and opinions. Another sort of sectaries: allow dissimulation. The same practised by papists.

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SUCH of the queen's protestant subjects that laboured for a new reformation of this church, both of the government of it by bishops, and of the divine service by the Book of Common Prayer, did at this time mightily bestir themselves, by publishing divers books and libels full of scurrilous language and slanders, chiefly against the hierarchy: but those of Martin Marprelate made the greatest noise.

Some account of these malicious printed tracts and pamphlets I shall give in the words of an eminent bishop then living: "That at that very time, (when the nation was "thanking God for their deliverance from the Spanish ar- "mada,) that even then they saw in men's hands and bo- "soms commonly slanderous pamphlets, fresh from the "press, against the best of the church of England; and "that they heard at every table, and in sermons and lec- "tures at private conventicles, the voices of many, not giv- "ing thanks to God, but scoffing, mocking, railing, and "depraving the lives and doings of bishops and others of "the ministry; and contemptuously defacing the state and "government of the church, begun in the time of that "godly and blessed prince, king Edward VI. and con- "firmed and established by our most gracious sovereign "——That there were of late time, even within a few "weeks, three or four odious libels, against the bishops and "others of the clergy, printed, and spread abroad almost "in all countries of this realm, so fraught with untruths, "slanders, reproaches, railings, revilings, scoffings, and "other intemperate speeches, as, he thought, the like was "never committed to press or paper; no, not against the "vilest sort of men that have lived upon the earth. And "such a prejudice this was to the honour of this state and 573 "government, as never was offered in any age. The author "of which called himself Martin Marprelate."

Slanderous books published by puritans.

Admonition to the People of England.

These books were so full of sedition, and tending so pro-

Letter to the com-

BOOK II.

fessedly to the overthrow of the established government of the church, that a letter was writ from the lord chancellor and lord treasurer to the archbishop of Canterbury, with the assistance of some others of the privy-council, to search for the authors and abettors of them; as giving great provocation to the queen and state. Of this Marprelate I have given a large account in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. And thither I refer the reader.

Anno 1588. mission ecclesiastical, to search for Marprelate's books.

Book ii. ch. 21.

Only of John Penry, the chief that bore the name of the author of those slanderous books, being so infamous, I shall add one or two more notices, as I met with them. When Penry was brought before the ecclesiastical commission, where sate the archbishop of Canterbury, Cooper, bishop of Winchester, and other bishops, they objected to him one of his assertions in his book, that *readers* were no ministers; meaning such of the clergy as did not or could not preach, but only read the holy Scriptures, the Homilies, and other good books, appointed to be publicly read to the people when there were no sermons. This, Penry asserted in his book, was not preaching the word: and so the ordinary means of salvation was wanting, which was the word preached. And that upon this saying of his, it was reported, that the abovesaid bishop should say, that this was next door to an heresy. This matter thus did Penry abusively relate in a book that he afterwards published:

Penry before the ecclesiastical commission.

"That where he said, that the preaching of the word "was the only ordinary way of salvation, the archbishop "counted it a heresy, and that every mortal condemned it; "Penry wrote, that this case stood thus: That he was "brought in the year 87 before the commission ecclesiasti- "cal, where sate the archbishop, the bishops of London, "Winton, and others; and by them was examined about "his book. That soon after it was reported by him, and "the report spread, that the archbishop and the bishop of "Winton had said, that something that Penry had said, "viz. that preaching the word was the only means of sal- "vation, amounted to heresy, or came very near it." Which was falsely reported and carried abroad. But Penry, to

A false report raised by Penry against the bishop of Winton.

CHAP. XIX.

vindicate himself and his report, gave some account of that conference after this his customary, scurrilous manner. The discourse was about *non-residence;* which Penry had severely inveighed against in his *Marprelate.* "When the "bishop of London then had asked him what he could say "against such, he said, they were odious in the sight of "God and man; because, as much as in them lay, they "bereaved the people (over whom they thrust themselves) "of the ordinary means of salvation; which was the word "preached. That the bishop of London demanded of him, "whether preaching was the only means of salvation. Penry "answered, it was the only ordinary means. And con- "firmed it by three texts. Rom. x. 14. *How shall they "hear without a preacher?* 1 Cor. i. 21. *It pleased God "by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.* "The third place was Ephes. i. 13. *In whom also ye trust- "ed, after ye heard the word of truth.* That the point 574 "being long canvassed, the bishop of Winton (whom he "called *his worship of Winton*) rose up, and mildly, after "his manner, brast forth in these words; I assure you, my "lords, it is an execrable heresy. An heresy? said Penry; "[as he relates his story;] I thank God that I ever knew "that heresy. It is such a heresy, as I will, by the grace "of God, sooner leave my life than I will leave it. Then "the bishop said, I tell thee it is an heresy; and thou shalt "recant it as an heresy. Then said the other, never so "long as I live, God willing. And adding, that he was "weary to hear his grace so absurd."

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Epist. to the Priests in the Convocat. p. 30.

It is pity it was not related what the archbishop and bishop had said more at large in this matter, to explain their words; since all this account given by Penry and his brethren was tossed about in speeches and common talk against them. But the bishop of Winton thought fit, in a book writ by him about this time, thus to vindicate himself from this slander, by relating the truth. "That he should say, "that preaching of the word to be the only ordinary way "to salvation, was heresy; this he never thought nor "spake, either then or at any other time of his life. And

Admonition to the People of England.

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" that in that controversy Penry had spoken things so " strange and so obscure, that he seemed to attribute that " effect to the preaching of the word only, and not other- " wise used, by reading it." [For indeed one of this man's doctrines was, that readers were no ministers.] " And that " being urged by the question, by occasion of reading the " scripture in churches, his answer was such, as he evi- " dently shewed himself not to mean, that that effect of " salvation could not be wrought by hearing of the word " of God read; with some other words, giving suspicion of " worse. And then indeed he [the bishop] rose, not out " of his place, (as this honest man did carp,) nor spake in " such choleric manner as was pretended. But that he " quietly said, My lord," [speaking, as it seems, to the archbishop, then in the commission,] " *this is not far from* " *heresy*." Thus the bishop more truly represented himself and the case. I have not yet done with Marprelate: which gave such high offence to the clergy especially, that it received answers by some of them; but to their cost, if railing and foul language could move them. One of these was Dr. Bridges, dean of Sarum. Who soon, by Marprelate and his club, had a whipping reply given him, which will appear by the title-page: which I will here set down, for the peculiar style of these men.

Answer to Dr. Bridges' book against Marprelate.

" *O! read over Dr. John Bridges: for it is a worthy* " *work.*

" Or, an epitome of the first book of the right worship- " ful volume, written against the puritans, and the defence " of the noble clergy, by as worshipful a priest, J. Bridges, " presbyter, priest, or elder, Dr. of divilitie, and dean of " Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are " wisely prevented; that when they come to answer Mr. " Doctor, they must needs say something that hath been " spoken.

" Compiled for the behoof and overthrow of the parsons, " fickars, and currats; which have learnt their catechisms,
575 " and are past grace. By the reverend and worthy Martin " Marprelate, gentleman. And dedicated to the confoca-

" tion-house, &c. Printed over sea in Europe, within two " furlongs of a bouncing priest.

" It is dedicated to the right puissant and terrible priests, " my clergy-masters of the confocation-house, whether " fickers-general, paltripolitans, or any other of the holy " league of subscription. The date he gives his epistle is, " *anno pontificatus vestri quinto*;" [meaning the archbishop Whitgift, who had now, an. 1588, been five years removed to the see of Canterbury;] " and I hope *ultimo* " of all the English popes: by your learned and worthy " brother, Martin Marprelate." Anno 1588.

This book of Dr. Bridges is of the more account and just esteem, having been perused by the archbishop himself before it was sent to the press. Who himself gave this commendation of it; viz. " That he knew the sufficiency thereof " caused these men thus to storm; as not being able other- " wise to answer it. Which made them so bitterly to in- " veigh against his person. And therefore, *Si insectari* " *personam deploratæ causæ signum est*, (as it is indeed,) " *istorum causa est deploratissima*." This book perused by the archbishop. Admonit. p. 38.

In this book thus Martin threatened the bishops: " That " he would make open war against them, unless they would " agree to let the puritans alone. That he intended to " work their woe two manner of ways; first, to watch them " at every half turn; and whatsoever they did amiss, he " would presently publish it. That they should not call " one honest man before them, but he would get their ex- " amination, and publish it. That he would place for this " purpose a young Martin in every diocese, to take notice " of their practices. And rather than he would be disap- " pointed of his purpose, he would place a Martin in every " parish. And in part of Suffolk and Essex, he thought it " were best to have two in a parish. Secondly, that all the " books he had in store already of their doing should be " published." His books he pretended were many. And what they were are mentioned elsewhere. Martin's threatenings of the bishops, p. 4. Life of Abp. Whitgift, p. 288.

These books of Marprelate, so severe upon the bishops, and their very order and superiority in the church of Eng-

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land so maliciously inveighed against, gave occasion to a sermon in the chief auditory of London, namely, at St. Paul's Cross, preached by a very learned divine, Dr. Rich. Bancroft, chaplain to the archbishop; and so (likely) by some order from him. The purpose of this sermon was to prove the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, with a refutation of those scurrilous libels against them of that dignity; and withal disproving the new discipline. But those of the puritan party could not away with it; who were of another opinion, holding that bishop and priest were equal, and of one and the same order.

Anno 1588.

Bancroft's sermon of the superiority of bishops.

His sermon was grounded upon this text; *Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they be of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.* 1 John iv. 1. The forwardest that set himself to confute this sermon was our busy Penry. Who first began to answer it more briefly, to be answered more fully and largely by others afterwards. His book was to be, *A brief discovery of the untruths and slanders against the true government of the church of Christ, contained in a sermon preached*, &c. The sum of this sermon, under divers heads, I will repeat from this writer's own pen, as I find it. Whereby we may in part know what this learned sermon was, that had not a few angry opponents.

Penry's confutation of Bancroft's sermon.

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"There be many nowadays who do affirm, that when "Christ used these words, *Dic ecclesiæ*, he meant thereby "to establish in the church for ever the same plot of eccle- "siastical government, to be erected in every parish, which "Moses, by Jethro's counsel, appointed in Mount Sinai, "and which after the Jews did imitate in their particular "synagogues." And again, shewing how they affected a Jewish church-government: "They had, say these men, "in their synagogues their priests: we must have in every "parish our pastors. They their Levites: we our doc- "tors. They their rulers of their synagogue: we our el- "ders. They their Levitical treasurers: we our deacons. "Again; this form of government they call the *tabernacle* "which God hath appointed; the glory of God, and of his

" Son Jesus Christ; the presence of God, that place which " he hath chosen to put his name there; the court of the " Lord, and the shewing forth of God's glory.

" Again; where this ecclesiastical synod is not erected, " they say, God's ordinance is not performed; the office of " Christ, as he is a king, is not acknowledged in effect; " that without this government we can never attain to a " right and true feeling of Christian religion, but are to be " reckoned among those who say of Christ, *We will not* " *have this man to reign over us.*" Again, in the same sermon: " There was never ancient father, I think, since " the apostles' time, that did thus expound that place, " Matth. xviii. Besides, there hath been a diverse govern- " ment from this used in the church ever since the apostles' " time. And these men do confess, that this government " of God, before the council of Nice, began greatly to de- " cay: and that since the said council it was never heard " of in the world, until these their times. [And for this " he alleged Cartwright.] A very strange matter, if it were " true, that Christ should erect a form of government until " his coming, and that the same should never be once put " in practice for the space of 1500 years; or at the least, " to take them at their best, that the government and king- " dom of Christ should then be overthrown, when the di- " vinity of his person, the honour of his kingly authority, " &c. was established at the council of Nice." All these paragraphs were taken by Penry out of that sermon, in order to confute it.

I shall say nothing more of this Penry, surnamed Marprelate, but only mention a clause or two in his epistle to his reader; shewing what his and his party's opinion was of the bishops that then were. " They seem at this day " to have greater liberty to wound the church than any they " had since the beginning of her majesty's reign. They " make use of the time and the opportunity which they " have gotten, to keep the truth and the church in their " bondage. He spake of murdering tables set up against " them by these tyrants; [meaning, I suppose, the eccle- 577

The bishops represented by Penry.

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Life of Abp. Whitgift, b. iv. ch. 3.

Book iii.

Dr. Raynolds' letter to sir Fran. Knolles, concerning that sermon.

Deut. xxxiii. 9.

Two points.

" siastical commission.] The Devil indeed hath within these " twelve months shewed himself to be grievously wounded " in their [the bishops'] persons: because he hath raged so " mightily, as this 32 years [since the queen came to the " crown] his fury was never seen so great against the truth " as at this present." More of this answer to Dr. Bancroft's sermon is related elsewhere.

Among others that took displeasure at this sermon was sir Francis Knowles, a courtier, and treasurer of the queen's household: who, upon this sermon of the superiority of bishops, thought fit to send his letter to Dr. John Raynolds, a learned professor in divinity, and head sometime of Corpus Christi college, Oxon; putting the said question to him, and to take Bancroft's assertion into his examination, and communicate what his judgment was therein; and in short to confute it.

This letter will be found in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift; and therefore I here omit it. But the judgment of Dr. Raynolds, in his answer to sir Francis, may deserve to be here added: the original whereof I have seen thus endorsed by the known hand of the said knight: *The* 19*th of Septemb.* 1589. *Mr. D. Raynolds' answer to two points of Dr. Bankrout's sermon.* It was as followeth: " Albeit, " right honourable, I take greater comfort in labouring to " discover and overthrow the errors of Jesuits and papists, " enemies of religion, than of ministers of the gospel, and " brethren, professing the true faith of Christ; yet seeing " it hath pleased your honour to require me to shew mine " opinion of some things, which certain of these maintain " and stand in, I thought it my duty, by the example of " Levi, who said of his father and mother, *I regard him* " *not*, nor acknowledged he his brethren, to declare the " truth without respect of persons. That of the two " points of Dr. Bancroft's sermon, that your honour men- " tioneth; one, that he seemeth to avouch the superiority " which bishops have among us of the clergy to be of " God's own ordinance, though not by express words, yet " by necessary consequence. In that he affirmeth their opi-

" nion, who impugn that superiority, to be heresy. Where-
" in I must confess, that he hath committed an oversight,
" in my judgment," &c. And then at last, modestly concluding this point, he used these words: " That he had
" signified his opinion of the point which his honour had
" specified in Dr. Bancroft's sermon. Which yet if he or
" any did prove that he had erred in, or took him other-
" wise than he ought, he should be very willing (by God's
" grace) to correct; remembering the apostle's lesson, that
" *the spirits of the prophets are subject unto prophets.* 1 Cor. xiv. 32.

" The latter point is, concerning that, as he affirmeth,
" that St. Jerom saith, and that Mr. Calvin seemed, on his
" report, to confess, that bishops have the said superiority
" ever since the times of St. Mark the evangelist: of which
" point I think as of the former: sith neither Jerom saith
" it; neither doth Calvin seem to confess it on his report,"
&c. The discourse is very large and learned, with the sense of many of the fathers, and particularly concerning 578
the heresy of Aerius, with allegations of canons and councils; too long for the room I have. And at last the Dr. concluded in these words: " So for this present I recom-
" mend your honour to the grace and mercy of Almighty
" God; who always bless, preserve, and prosper you and
" yours. At Queen's college in Oxford, Sept. 19.

" Your honour's in Christ at commandment,
" John Rainoldes."

This letter, with some other tracts of that learned man, was printed in the year 1641.

Among the papers of the said sir Fra. Knolles, I must add another of the same subject, viz. against the superiority of bishops *jure divino*, both in the ancient and modern church of Christ. Which paper he delivered himself this year to the lord treasurer Burghley; out of that courtier's zeal, as it seems, to the queen's supremacy, lest it might be lessened by that superiority. This paper being not long, and so much now a controverted point by the puritans, I leave to be read in the Appendix. It begins with some

Knolles delivers a paper concerning the bishops to the lord treasurer.

N°. LXVII.

BOOK II.

allegations of St. Hierom; and then of some more modern writers, as Calvin, Musculus, Beza, &c.

Anno 1588.

But I have not yet done with Marprelate; whose books gave occasion to this controversy about bishops. Upon the letters from the court abovesaid, and the diligent search thereupon made, many persons were taken up, and afterwards so effectual an examination made, both of the secret printing-press, and of the printers, and likewise of the persons at whose houses both were harboured and concealed, that at length all was discovered and came to light: as also were certain private conventicles, where these Martinists and the like sort of sectaries met together for religion; and what their way of worship and doctrines were. Of all which I shall give some particular relation from certain curious MSS. sometime belonging to sir John Puckring, the queen's sergeant at law, concerned in these inquiries, and one of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: being the best and most authentic account of these matters, and a great part thereof originals: kindly communicated to me by a known worthy person some years ago.

R. T. Baker, S. Th. B.

Examination of Martin's printing-press, and books printed.

I proceed therefore to relate the examination taken of the printing-press and the books there printed, and also of sir Rich. Knightley, knt. John Hales, Roger Weekson, or Wigson, at whose houses that press was brought; as likewise of John Penry, the chief author, Rob. Walgrave, the printer, Humfrey Newman, alias Brownbread, cobbler, the disperser, and others. For these examinations, as they were found in the said sergeant Puckring's papers, and taken at Lambhith in the month of February, 1588, being somewhat long, I refer the reader to the Appendix.

Number LXVIII.

Secret conventicles, and their doctrines.

Among these papers was another set concerning the secret conventicles of these sectaries, now discovered: and what was found upon examination concerning them and their doctrines at those meetings: which I shall insert; having this endorsement: *Certain wicked sects and opinions, an. Eliz.* 31. 1588, 1589, *taken from the confessions of some of them; the manner of the assembly of the secret conventicles: together with some collections of their opinions.*

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CHAP. XIX.

"In the summer-time they meet together in the fields, a "mile or more. There they sit down upon a bank. And di- "vers of them expound out of the Bible so long as they are "there assembled. Anno 1588. MSS. Puckring. Confessed by Clem. Cambel.

"In the winter-time they assemble themselves by five of "the clock in the morning to the house where they make "their conventicle for the sabbath-day, men and women to- "gether. There they continue in their kind of prayers, and "exposition of scriptures, all the day. They dine together. "After dinner, make collections to pay for their diet. And "what money is left some one of them carrieth to the pri- "sons, where any of their sort be committed. Confessed by Cl. Cambel.

"In their prayers one speaketh, and the rest do groan "and sob, and sithe, as if they would wring out tears. But "say not after him that prayeth. Their prayer is *extem-* "*poral.* Confessed by Cl. Cambel.

"In their conventicles they use not the Lord's Prayer, "nor any form of set prayer. For the Lord's Prayer, one, "who hath been a daily resorter to their conventicles this "year and an half on the sabbath-days, confesseth, that he "never heard it said among them. And this is the doc- "trine of the use of it in their pamphlets: To that which is "alleged, that we ought to say the Lord's Prayer, because "our Saviour Christ saith, *When you pray, do you say* "*thus*, &c. we answer, he did not say, *Read thus*, or "*Pray these words.* For that place is otherwise to be un- "derstood; namely, all our petitions must be directed by "this general doctrine. Neither can we gather, that there "is set down all Christ's words, but rather a brief sum of "doctrine. Taught in one of their writings; taken from "Smith of Blackfriers. Confessed by John Dove.

"For the use of set or stinted prayers, as they term it, "this they teach, that all stinted prayers, or said service, is "but babbling in the Lord's sight, and hath neither pro- "mise of blessing nor edification: for that they are but "cushions for such idle priests and atheists as have not the "Spirit of God. And therefore to offer up prayers by read- "ing or by writ unto God is plain idolatry. Confessed by Cl. Cambel.

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Taught in the same pamphlet.

"In all their meetings they teach, that there is no head "or supreme governor of the church of God but Christ; "and that the queen hath no authority to appoint ministers "in the church, nor to set down any government for the "church, which is not directly commanded in God's word.

Confessed by Cl. Cambel.

"To confirm their private conventicles, and expounding "there, they teach, that a private man, being a brother, "may preach, to beget faith; and now that the office of the "apostles is ceased, there needeth not public ministers; but
580 "every man in his own calling was to preach the gospel. "Taught in another of their writings, taken from the fore- "said Smith.

Confessed by John Dove.

"To come to our churches in England, to any public "prayer or preaching of whomsoever, they condemn it as "utterly unlawful: for that they say, as the church of "England standeth, they be all false teachers and false "prophets that be in it. Their reason is, for that our "preachers, as they say, do teach us, that the state of the "realm of England is the true church, (which they deny.) "And therefore they say, that all preachers of England be "false preachers, sent in the Lord's anger to deceive his "people with lies; and not true preachers, to bring the "glad tidings of the gospel. And all that come to our "churches to public prayers or sermons, they account dam- "nable souls. Taught in one of their fond pamphlets.

Confessed by John Dove and Cl. Cambel.

"Concerning the authority of magistracy, they say, that "our preachers teach, we must not cast our pollutions out "of the church, until the magistrate hath disannulled the "same: which, they say, is contrary to the doctrine of the "apostles, who did not tarry for the authority of the ma- "gistrate: they say, our preachers teach that we must not "put the discipline of the church in practice till the ma- "gistrates begin. And therefore our preachers be false "prophets: for that we ought to reform without the ma- "gistrate, if he be slow: for that they say, the primitive "church (whose example ought to be our warrant) sued "not to the courts and parliaments, nor waited upon princes "for their reformation. When the stones were ready, they

" went presently forward with their building. Whereon
" they conclude against all our preachers thus: That you
" might enjoy this world's peace, you care not to make Anno 1588.
" Christ attend upon princes, and to be subject to their
" laws and government. Taught by one of their pamph-
" lets in another writing taken from Roger Jackson.

" Touching the Book of Common Prayer, this is their
" doctrine: Let the great pregnant idol, that Book of your
" Common Prayer, which is so full of errors and abomina-
" tions, be examined. At every part thereof, when they
" have railed, calling the collects therein *heretical*, thus
" they conclude of it: Neither can the cunningest of you
" make the best part of it other than a piece of swine's
" flesh, an abomination to the Lord. Neither can the per-
" suasion of your conscience either justify your worship or
" clear or satisfy others. Taught in the pamphlet taken
" from Roger Jackson: confessed in Mr. John Dove's ex-
" amination, a master of arts, who was at one of their con-
" venticles.

" Those that have been of their secret brotherhood, and, Some fall off from them of these conventicles.
" seeing their errors, do fall from them, and submit them-
" selves to be partakers of public prayers and hearing
" of God's word with us, they condemn as apostates. And
" they say it is a greater sin to go to our churches to public
" prayers, than for a man to lie with his father's wife.

" And when as one of late forsook their conventicles,
" they sent for him; and when he gave them many reasons
" why he could not hold their opinions for good, as namely,
" that they rejected the Lord's Prayer. That they were 581
" dissemblers; in that two of them had a deed of gift of all
" their lands, to deceive the queen: and a number of other
" reasons which he alleged to them. When they saw they
" could not win him, they gave him over to the hand of
" Satan, till he should submit himself to the church again.
" And they all kneeling, he that gave that sentence made a
" prayer, to desire God to ratify that censure against him.
" Confessed by Love, who is the party whom they so used,
" and by Mr. Dove, who was present at this action, &c.

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" They hold it unlawful to baptize children among us, " but rather choose to let them go unbaptized. As in sum- " mer 1588, a child of theirs, being twelve years of age, was " known not to have been baptized. And when the poor " infant desired often that it might be baptized, she said it " was born of faithful parents, which was enough for it. " Which child was by the chamber of London caused to " be publicly baptized at a sermon made for that purpose " the last summer. And the mother ran away for fear of " punishment. It was the widow Unyon, one of their chief " conventiclers. This child was baptized in the church of " St. Andrew Wardrobe.

Confessed by C. C.

" It cannot be learned where they receive the sacrament " of the Lord's Supper. And one, who never missed their " meeting-place a year and an half, confesseth, that he " never saw any ministration of the sacrament, nor knoweth " where it is done.

Confessed by C. C.

" For marriage, if any of their church marry together, " some of their own brotherhood must marry them. As of " late a couple were married in the Fleet."

Another sect. Their compliance. 1 Cor. vi.

Another sort of dissenters from the church there was in these times: and they were such as could agree and come in outwardly with this or any other denomination of Christians, keeping their opinions privately to themselves. These were some of the *family of love*. These I mention here, meeting with a sermon of archbishop Sandys, preached before the queen this year, or near it; wherein he thus described them: " That they were men, who for commodity " could transform themselves into all colours and condi- " tions, and in open show profess any religion, inwardly " keeping their false hearts to themselves: which practice " the *family of love* had lately drawn into a precept, and " had newly broached it, as saleable doctrine, that men " need not openly to be of any religion whereby they might " endanger themselves. That it was good *Christendome* to " lie, swear, and forswear, to say and unsay to any, saving " such as were of the same *family:* with whom they must " only use all plainness, and keep their mysteries secret

"from all others to themselves." Of these men thus the archbishop gave a further account, proceeding thus in his sermon: "That they might dó any thing to avoid afflic- Anno 1588.
"tion; and they had scripture for that purpose. *Your* 1 Cor. vi.
"*bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost.* You may not
"suffer God's temples to be touched. As fitly alleged,
"added the preacher, as *scriptum est* by the Devil."

This dissimulation occasioned the archbishop to mention another sort of men, though of a different religion, yet were allowed upon occasion to dissemble too. And that warranted by his holiness of Rome; which matter I cannot omit. "In a paper, (they are the archbishop's words,) which "of late came from the pope, as a token to his dear chil- "dren, there were printed the five wounds of Christ, with "this poesy, *Fili, da mihi cor tuum, et sufficit;* that is, "*Son, give me thy heart, and it sufficeth.* Whether his "holiness did mean thereby to allow dissimulation or no, I "will not define. His practices are mystical, and his brood "is so throughly framed in this way, that they seem to "take the pope's emblem in no other meaning. That they "halted on both sides. They served all times, and turned "with all winds; and by professing such a religion, they "shewed themselves plainly to be of none. That they had "double hearts; one for the prince, another for the pope; "one for Christ, and another for Baal; one for a commu- "nion, another for a mass. These dissembling wolves put "upon themselves sheepskins to deceive withal. Now they "are mild and gentle; flattering, and promising all loyalty "to the prince, conformity to government, and consent to "religion. But if the times should turn, they would turn "off the sheep's coat, and play the wolf in his right kind. "They would shew their ravenous nature by their cruel "deeds. Then would they fill their bellies after which they "now thirst. They would find swift feet to shed the blood "of innocents." (And then concludes with a suitable prayer against dissemblers.) "From the mouth of the lion, O "Lord, deliver us." 582

Dissimulation dispensed with by the pope.

BOOK II.

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1588. 583

Digby, a senior fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, expelled. Appeals to the visitors. Restored. Dr. Whitaker, master of that college, to the lord Burghley hereupon. Digby popishly affected. The earl of Leicester's letter to the archbishop of Canterbury in this cause. Hickman of Bene't college expelled: and why. Restored. The foundress of Sidney Sussex college. Her will. Bainbrig and Johnson, of Christ's college, cited before the vice-chancellor for their sermons. Their protestations. The heads to their chancellor.

NOW to gather up what I find of remark transacted this year in our universities.

Digby, fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, expelled, appeals.

There was one Everard Digby, a senior fellow of St. John's college in Cambridge, who was observed to be popishly affected, and to have taken opportunity, both in his sermons and conversation with several of the house, to speak favourably of the Romish religion; and some of the scholars had left the college and gone over to that church, and particularly one Smith, moved thereunto by his means, and was guilty of divers other misbehaviours in the college. Dr. Whitaker, the master and fellows, took occasion upon his breach of college statute, (which was nonpayment of commons,) the penalty whereof was expulsion, to discharge the college of him; which accordingly was done by the president and seniors, and afterwards declared by the master. But how the said Digby had appealed to the lord Burghley, high chancellor of that university, and the archbishop of Canterbury, both visitors, (before whom he had so fairly represented his case, and they willing favourably to interpret the said statute,) and by an order from them was required to be readmitted, hath been at large related elsewhere. But Dr. Whitaker notwithstanding declined, or at least delayed this order; yet with all due respects and submission. And for what reasons he had so proceeded, and in vindication of himself in the course he took, there are certain letters of his extant to the said lord, which will give

Life of Archbishop Whitgift book iii. ch. 19.

much light in this matter. Which letters from so learned an head of the university, and the queen's public professor of divinity, deserve the more regard. I shall therefore give the contents thereof from the originals. CHAP. XX. Anno 1588.

Upon the chancellor's order for the restoring of Digby, the proceeding against him as not regular, (as the said lord had judged, according to the report made to him,) the master addressed to him in this tenor: "That he professed "to be ready to shew all obedience to him: but beseeching "his honour not to think, that in this proceeding he had "dealt upon any malice, which assuredly he had not done; "but understanding at his return to the college, how Mr. "Digby, for his contumacy against a statute, had received "three admonitions, and taking counsel with his good "friend Dr. Byng, (a learned civilian, and one of the "heads of that university,) whether they were lawfully "given; and that being advised by him, both in this and "other points that then were in question; and certified, "that Digby had incurred the danger of the statute: and "that further he being urged by his oath to ratify an act "lawfully done, he had condescended to his deprivation, "thinking that he had no just reason to stay him from so "doing, especially being so assured that he might lawfully "do it. And furthermore, considering how unprofitable a "member he was in the college; having also a benefice "abroad, and never almost coming at it." 1584

The lord treasurer had communicated to the archbishop of Canterbury these proceedings of the college with Digby's objections, and desired his grace's judgment therein; who did not approve of that they had done; and so in a letter he had signified with his reasons to the said lord; who thought it convenient to despatch the said letter to Dr. Whitaker. That so understanding what answer he could make, he might be the better enabled to make a final decision of this controversy. Accordingly Whitaker sent that lord his answer to those reasons in vindication of what they had done. And then went on, using these words to his lordship: "Beseeching his honour for God's sake to exa-

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Anno 1588.

" mine his answers, which had truly and sufficiently satis-
" fied all the said objections, not in his opinion only, but
" also Dr. Bynge's, who perused the same, and (to confess
" the truth to his honour) penned them himself; he trusted
" upon sight thereof his honour would find, that Digby was
" lawfully deprived, and that he would not consent to his
" restitution: which, as the master suggested, would be a
" great wounding of his government in a man that was so
" untowardly disposed: who had also but that morning
" both privately and publicly charged him, [the master of
" the college,] in his honour's name, (as he said,) to accept
" him as fellow. That his answer to him, both privately
" and before the seniors, was this, that in all dutiful obe-
" dience he submitted himself to their honours, [the visi-
" tors,] and to the authority of their visitation: but that
" he had sent their honours an answer to all those reasons
" alleged in the letter, and had desired to hear further
" upon the perusing thereof. And that whereas he [Mr.
" Digby] had appealed to the visitors of their college, he
" would accept him willingly, if, after they had considered
" his answers, they should consent to his restoring." He
added, that if any thing in his said answer were not
proved sufficiently, " he desired but only that some might
" be appointed for the further hearing of it. And that if he
585 " justified not both the admonitions and all other requisite
" points, he would give over quietly the whole cause.

" In the mean time (as he concluded) I beseech your
" honour, stand my honourable lord in this case, upon
" whom alone in this earth I most rely, and suffer me not
" to be overborne by Mr. Digby and his manners, to my
" discredit and confusion greatly. And thus he humbly
" took his leave. From St. John's, the 13th of April,
" 1588."

Information of Digby's behaviour.

In another letter to the said lord, Whitaker thus informed him against Digby's return to the college. " That
" the peaceable government of the college should be utterly
" overthrown, if Digby's suit might prevail. Yea, the state
" of the whole university was such at that present, that his

" cause being heard, if he were relieved and restored by " superior authority, it would not be an easy matter to re- " strain the insolency of a number with whom he had to " deal in that college, and other colleges too much reple- " nished, [meaning with popish affected persons.] Papistry " at this time had secretly increased in Cambridge; and " particularly in that college, as appeared since his [Whita- " ker's] coming into it. And among others Digby, a man no- " toriously suspected; and one that by confession of some " had given encouragement to papists in their opinions in " that house. Besides, a man continually scandalous, as he " said he would declare to his honour.

" That for these respects he was willing to have the very " extremity of the statute to pass against him; which yet " was not without advice of Dr. Byng, one of their visitors. " And such commissioners were appointed to hear Digby's " cause as he most desired: which made Digby boast at " his return, [from London, where the cause had been " heard,] that he was restored *in statu quo:* and that he " had presumed to come into the hall, and to sit down at " dinner, not only as fellow, but took the place of the pre- " sident; and this, added Whitaker, was such an affront " unto him, that he had declared to be *non socius* should " sit down in the president's place; that if this were allowed, " it were good for him to depart, and leave both college and " university."

The master's resentment.

But notwithstanding the master's letters and endeavours to the contrary, after some months, Digby was actually restored. But how the said master resented it, he expressed in another letter to the said lord: " Malice to Digby he " bore none, as God knew, who only was καρδιογνώστης. " Neither did he seek any revenge of himself at his hands, " having, he trusted, learned Christ better than so. But " only propounded in this act the glory of God and the " good of that society; and that, as he was persuaded at " the first, not only of his own mind, but of others, that he " might justly declare the sentence of deprivation against " him. And so, notwithstanding any thing that had been

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"objected, he was persuaded still, and would not otherwise "once have opened his mouth in the cause. Wherefore he "humbly beseeched his honour to look into this cause, that "did so narrowly concern, not only the good government of "that worthy college, but the good estate of the whole uni- "versity. That he must and willingly did refer it to his 586 "honourable consideration. He asked nothing in respect of "himself, and desired only to retain his favour..... That "it was a common cause that made him to deal as he had "done. Wherein, if he should be assisted by his honour, he "should humbly praise God, and doubted not the whole "university should have cause, for his honour. If otherwise, "he should submit himself to God's providence and his ho- "nour's determination." This was dated June 1.

Earl of Leicester to the archbishop of Canterbury in this cause.

Let me here insert a letter from a great man at court in Dr. Whitaker's favour. After this business between Dr. Whitaker and Digby had been sufficiently heard, examined, and determined, the earl of Leicester thought fit to interpose a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury against Digby's abiding in the college. That though by his and the lord treasurer's decree he was restored to his fellowship, yet that it might be provided that so dangerous and troublesome a fellow might be soon discharged the college, or lose his seniority. The letter ran in this tenor:

"My very good lord, whereas there are very strong and "credible informations, that this Digby is a very unsound "and factious fellow, I am to make a new and earnest re- "quest unto your grace, that seeing matter hath been so "deliberately and thoroughly heard, that you may not "undo it, you will limit this Digby some short time of stay "in that college. So that he be gone within a quarter of a "year. Whereby neither this your grace's action shall be "undone, and the college shall be disburdened of a lewd "fellow, which disturbeth the government, and hath em- "poisoned their youth. Your grace may very well know, "that this matter should not so far be urged but for re- "ligion's sake: which must needs receive a blow, if such a "fellow remain among them. Or if you shall deny me this

" request to appoint him this time to go away, and to de-
" part; yet I will trust, that you will grant me thus much,
" so to receive him, that he be at last removed out of the Anno 1588.
" seniority, that he may have the less strength to do harm.
" I assure your grace he is a very naughty fellow, from di-
" vers instructions which I have received of honest men:
" which may not here be commenced against him without
" prejudice of their places which do commence them. Thus
" trusting that he shall lose, for his demerit, either his fel-
" lowship or seniority, I bid your grace right heartily fare-
" well. From Wansted, the 6th of May, 1588.

" Your very loving friend,

" R. Leycester."

This Everard Digby is supposed to be the father of sir Everard Digby concerned in the gunpowder plot. But the unsoundness of this Digby's religion, and his insolent carriage in the college, with other informations concerning him, are at large declared in a paper sent by Dr. Whitaker to the lord Burghley; shewing that lord the causes in vindication of his proceedings, and moving him thereunto: as, that he was vehemently suspected, upon great presumptions, to be of corrupt religion: that he preached a sermon at St. Mary's, wherein he so commended voluntary poverty, that Dr. Fulk, preaching in the same place, confuted him shortly after. But see this paper transcribed from the original in the Appendix.

Causes offered by Whitaker for the deprivation of Digby.

No. LXIX.

Such another case happened this year in Bene't college in the same university, when a fellow, named Hickman, was expelled that house by the master, Dr. Copcote, and five of eight fellows, being the majority of the fellows then resident. His fault was, that he was proud, idle, contentious, that studied not, and contemned such as did, contrary to some statute of the college. This prosecution seems to have been made by the master and his party of the fellows; who bore an ill-will indeed to him, occasioned by his opposing the election of the said master this year. But Hickman making his complaint first to sir Francis Walsing-

1587

Hickman of Bene't college expelled: and why.

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ham, the queen's secretary, on whom he had some dependence, the matter at last came to the chancellor of the university; who referred the consideration thereof (depending upon the meaning of a college statute) to the archbishop. In the Life of whom some account was given of this business. To which I add, that when the college, upon this appeal, was required to give the reason of their thus dealing with Hickman, the master and the five fellows gave it in a letter to their chancellor in these general words:

Quem approbatorem domicilii nostri literarii olim habuimus te nunc ejusdem conservatorem fore speramus et defensorem. Itaque cognosce, quæsumus, vir nobilissime, non nos Anthonium Hickmanum, sed leges nostras, quæ fastum ubique et otio erudito immicos detestantur, ejecisse. Qui ut semper cum nobis dum vixit, tutum eorum qui literis operam dant recessum, concordiam, contemptui habuit. The sum of which words was, That not they, but their laws had expelled him; who, while he was among them, made but a matter of contempt of the retirement and concord of those that followed their studies.

But this was too general a charge against Hickman to enable the chancellor to judge of the justice of his expulsion; who should have had the very words of the statute laid before him, which they seemed not to care to do. But Hickman transcribed the said statute at length, for the pretended breach whereof they had so proceeded against him; and sent it up to that lord, with these words: "The statute "of our college, whereby the master and five of the fellows "claim authority to proceed to my deprivation. And having *de facto* deprived me, refuse to yield a reason thereof "to any other superior judge."

The college statute whereon they proceeded.

Quod si publica turpitudinis nota eorundem sociorum sive scholarium aliquem involverit, aut in ipsa domo prædictorum aliquem, grave scandalum fuerit suscitatum, vel adeo impacificus, et dyscolus erga præfatum magistrum et socios, seu jurgiorum aut litium creber suscitator extiterit, seu de hæresi, perjurio, sacrilegio, furto, rapina, homicidio, adulterio, vel incontinentia superlapsu carnis, notorie defa-

matus fuerit—ita quod per socios dictæ domus, statuto sibi termino per magistrum, se purgare non possit, dicta sustentatio omnino subtrahatur, et ipsa sicut ovis morbida, quæ totum gregem inficit, a dicta domo juxta discretionem magistri, et majoris partis societatis prædictæ, penitus excludatur; nec alicui e domo prædicta sic ejecto actio competat contra magistrum, &c. agendo, appellando, conquerendo, &c.

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In short, Hickman's case, notwithstanding any thing in the abovesaid statute to the contrary, proved so fair, that he had the judgment of two learned doctors of the law, Hammond and Forth, in his favour. But it was not before three years after, viz. the year 1591, that he was restored to his fellowship; when Dr. Some, vice-chancellor, and some of the heads, viz. Goad and Whitaker, gave a letter to their chancellor in that behalf. And he was restored, Dr. Jegon being now master of that college.

1588 Hickman restored.

Frances, countess of Sussex, relict of Thomas Ratcliff, earl of Sussex, died March the 9th this year; who was the foundress of Sidney Sussex college in Cambridge. And meeting with an authentic copy of her last will, wherein is related this her noble and Christian benefaction, shewing her pious desire for promoting religion and good learning, I shall here transcribe it, in memory of her, beside the monumental memorial of her in Westminster-abbey. Which college accordingly was begun to be built anno 1595.

The will of the foundress of Sidney Sussex college.

MSS. Burg.

" Also where sithence the decease of my said lord, the " earl of Sussex, I have, in devotion and charity, purposed " to make and erect some good and godly monument for the " maintenance of good learning; and to that intent have " yearly gathered and deducted out of my revenue so much " as conveniently I could; I do therefore now, in accomplish- " ing and performing of the same my charitable pretence, " what with the ready money which I have so yearly re- " served, and with a certain portion of plate, and other things " which I have purposely left, will and ordain, that my exe- " cutor shall bestow and employ the sum of 5000*l.* over and " besides all such my goods, as in my present will remain

BOOK II.

Anno 1588. "unbequeathed, for the erection of a new college in the "university of Cambridge, to be called, *The Lady Frances "Sidney Sussex college;* and purchasing some competent "lands thereunto, to be annexed for the maintenance of "the master and of ten fellows, and twenty scholars, stu- "dents there, according to the laudable customs of the said "university; if the 5000*l.* and remainder of my said goods "unbequeathed will thereunto extend. And if the said por- "tion of money and goods shall not be thought by the "judgment of my executors to be sufficient for that pur- "pose as to erect and found a new college in my name, for "the maintenance thereof, as I before intended, then my "will and mind is, that my said executors, by their best "advisement and good discretion, shall bestow and employ "the said sum of 5000*l.* for the enlarging the college or hall "called Clare-hall in the said university of Cambridge; and "for the purchasing of some such lands, clear of incum- "brance, as the residue of the said money will or may pur- "chase by their best endeavours, to be annexed to the said "college or hall for ever, for the maintenance of so many "fellows and scholars, to be kept and maintained there, as "is now used; as the same livings and lands so purchased "will conveniently maintain and keep, according to the or- "dinary rate and allowances now used and appointed in the "said university; which college or hall from thenceforth "perpetually shall be named, *Clare and lady Frances Sid-*
589 "*ney Sussex college or hall;* and the scholars and fellows, "which shall be placed there in my name, to have and en- "joy such and like liberties, customs, and privileges in the "same hall, as others the fellows and scholars there in every "respect. And whatsoever my insufficiency of knowledge "hath omitted for the orderly and strict directions of the "proceedings herein, I refer and commit to the further "discretion, knowledge, and advisement of my said execu- "tors; by whose care, and with the assistance of others "my well and godly disposed friends, my special will herein "may be speedily and truly performed, established, and "done.

" Requiring the earl of Kent principally, and the rest of " my said executors, with the assistance of my said supervi- " sors and assistants before named, for God's cause, and in " discharge of their consciences, to execute and accomplish " this my present last will and testament in all things, and " with all convenient expedition, according to my intent " and meaning, even as they will answer it at the dreadful " and last day of judgment before the throne of God's di- " vine majesty, where the secrets of all hearts shall be " opened and revealed."

Anno 1588.

Bambridg and Johnson cited before the vice-chancellor for their sermons.

There were two fellows of Christ's college in the said university, viz. Cutbert Bambridg and Francis Johnson, disciplinarians, that this year came into trouble and restraint for certain tenets and doctrines preached and published in their sermons at St. Mary's, reflecting upon the church established, and containing some dangerous positions: for which they were both cited by the vice-chancellor and heads; and divers articles framed out of their sermons against them. To which they were required to answer upon oath. But they refused so to do: and were both thereupon committed to custody, Jan. 23. Some account whereof was given elsewhere, to which I refer the reader; but I shall further enlarge this university concern, with the consequences and proceedings, which stuck a great while before the heads, and afterward removed to a superior cognizance. Upon the demand of the heads, why they refused to give their answers to those articles before mentioned, they made these three protestations. I. That we do from our hearts reverence your authority set over us by God. II. We refuse not an oath, as thinking it simply unlawful upon all occasions. III. That we are not afraid nor unwilling to acknowledge and defend that which we openly taught, if any man shall impugn it, or charge it to be unlawful, or unlawfully done.

Life of Abp. Whitgift, book iii. ch. 21.

Their protestations.

Another protestation.

The next time they were called before the heads, (which was March the 13th,) they made another protestation, besides those they made before; namely, That their only stay was, that in this their case, having preached publicly, they

BOOK II.

Anno 1588.

might not be constrained under their own oaths to give matter of accusation and proof against themselves, if any crime were committed, it being contrary to the word of God and law. But to continue a further relation of this remarkable university occurrence:

The next day of their appearance (which was April the 18th, 1589) they made this protestation, that if the oath offered in this their cause could be shewed to be warrantable by the word of God and law, they were always ready to receive it.

The cause is brought before their chancellor.

590 By this time the cause between these preachers and the heads was sent up to the lord Burghley, their chancellor. And soon after, at another appearance, they, hoping for some advantage to themselves by this superior judge, made these two protestations more. First, that they were ready, if they might be suffered, to come before the lord treasurer, their honoured chancellor, (which they thought they might do in this case, not infringing their privileges,) to clear themselves of the matter informed to his honour concerning their sermons, and the whole carrying of themselves in this case: or else, if they could not do it, they refused not to suffer any condign punishment. And further, secondly, if any there would charge them with the same things wherewithal his honour had been informed, or with any thing in their sermons, they did there offer sufficiently to answer it by themselves, or by witnesses, or else to suffer any punishment due unto them. And that this they were ready to answer, according to their honourable chancellor's letter, which required their answer simply, not mentioning an oath. All these protestations were registered.

Their case stated by themselves.

And then this was their case, as they stated it: "After a "sermon required by duty, and made at the wonted time "in the public and ordinary place, and in the hearing of the "known and usual auditory of the university and town, con- "sisting of many hundreds, who are able to satisfy of the "matter delivered at that time: for the judge in searching "of what was spoken in the sermon *ex mero officio* to these, "by extorting the preachers by oath, so as only out of his

" own confession under oath to matter of accusation and " proof of his own crime, (if there be any by him com- " mitted should be drawn,) we take to be against the word " of God and the law established in this realm." Anno 1588.

To which I might subjoin the resolution of Dr. Bynge (a learned civilian, and one of the heads) to three questions started upon this case. I. Whether the judge might proceed *ex officio*, or no? II. Whether the judge may begin with the answer of the party principal before he proceed to convince him by witnesses? III. Whether the judge may compel the party to answer on the oath? The affirmative to which questions he learnedly proved. Dr. Bynge's resolution.

The case being now before their high chancellor, the heads stood firmly in requiring the oath to be taken; and the two fellows as stoutly refusing to do it. And both the heads and those fellows had addressed their letters to him. Who gave his letters again to the heads by way of advice, and what his thoughts were concerning their dealing with and proceeding against them, and that they, the fellows, should not be dealt rigorously withal. To which they answered, " that they dealt with them in civil and courteous " wise, with offer of conference, as of intent to persuade, " not to force them." But when they had kindly communicated to Bambrig and Johnson the tenor of that lord's letter, they took advantage thereat, and made their construction of it, that his lordship would not have them sworn at all; because there was no express mention of receiving their answer upon oath. The heads, upon this interpretation made by these men of that lord's advice, sent up certain 591 messengers to wait upon him with their letter to acquaint him herewith. And because these fellows stood so much upon it, they took it to be their duty not to conceal this from him, and attended his lordship's further pleasure therein. This was the sum of their letter, that they might more perfectly know his mind concerning administering the oath. Signed by Nevyl, vice-chancellor, Perne, Still, Tyndal, Copcot, Bynge, Preston, heads. In answer, the chancellor wrote plainly concerning their proceedings, that it Letters from the heads to the chancellor. His advocate.

BOOK II. seemed to be a very hard course taken by them; meaning, by detaining them so long in prison.

Anno 1588. Whereupon in their next to him, "they acknowledged "it so to have been, if they (the vice-chancellor and heads) "had not first assayed by all good and gentle means "to prevail with them. But that when they saw they "were wilfully bent to withstand their government, and "that others, who in like case had been before produced "for accusers, were afterwards, not only by private speech, "but also public reproaches, very injuriously dealt withal; "and knowing that whatsoever they pretended to the con- "trary, that in this case they should do nothing but ac- "cording to law, both established by her majesty, and like- "wise to be justified by the word of God: that they "thought they were bound, as in convenience and equity, "so in discretion and duty, thus to proceed. And the ra- "ther they had been induced thereunto by reason of some "speeches, uttered by themselves, and other their adherents, "(of whom they said there was no small number,) that it "might be, that God had herein revealed that unto them "which he had not done before unto any others; and that "that which had been long before in darkness should now "by them be brought unto light; and that there was hope "that this action of theirs should reform the abuse, not "only of this, but of other places, where had been and "was the like proceeding. The which, as they added, if "it were an abuse, as they would be glad, with all their "hearts, of due reformation; so when the same belonged "not unto them, but was to be done by more special au- "thority, they thought it their parts not to suffer any "example (there in that place especially) so prejudicial. "And found by experience of this one dealing, that the "same had done no little good in their university. For "that since that time some stirring tongues had been very "quiet; who before spared neither state, nor persons of "the greatest honour and merit, living nor dead.

"We had much rather, our very good lord, (as they "proceeded,) have concealed these matters, than thus to

" have discovered them, but that we be verily persuaded, " that they, together with their complotters, do practise " hereby, not only the alteration, but subversion of our go- " vernment; thereby to procure unto themselves liberty " without controlment; (when they know how hard and " odious a matter it will be upon every such occasion to " enforce accusers;) to speak what they list, and against " whom they list. And therefore, as your honour hath " been ever heretofore very careful for the suppressing of " such contentious persons, and maintenance of peace and " all good order amongst us, so at this time, and in this 592 " particular, which doth so highly concern us, both in the " public cause and our own private credit, we do nothing " doubt, but that your lordship will allow of our proceed- " ings. And that not only, but also assist us by further " authority, as shall seem good unto your honour's wis- " dom.

" In the mean season they acknowledged themselves most " bound unto his honour for the concealing of his mind in " this matter from them; because they found them to be " persons of that disposition, who took encouragement by " any countenance that could be given them. And thus " sorry they had this occasion to trouble his honour; rest- " ing herein upon the knowledge of his further pleasure; " and humbly took their leaves. Dated from Cambridge, " the 4th of May, 1589. Subscribed by Nevyle, vice- " chancellor, Tyndal, Legg, Preston, Bell." I give the whole letter, that the knowledge of this university controversy, carried on by the disciplinarian faction there, might the better appear. But two heads, Dr. Goad and Chaderton, openly, and one, viz. Whitaker, privately, protested against these proceedings.

The judgment of this case given by the chief civilian.

The cause at length was laid before divers civilians of the greatest note, for the use and information, as it seems, of the chancellor; and what the judgment and decision of so many learned men was, take in their own words, and signed with their hands, as I have it from an original; and therefore may deserve a place here. Upon their due weigh-

BOOK II. Anno 1588.

ing of the case drawn up by Dr. Bynge, and his opinion thereupon, and the fellows' answer thereunto, together with the resolution of divers doctors of the Arches, all laid before them, they writ thus:

"Having advisedly perused all the premises here set "down, notwithstanding any matter we have here seen, we "are of opinion, that the parties here are bound by law to "answer upon their oaths. And we find it harder, in our "learning, to give a good reason of doubt, than to yield "any other resolution, though there preceded in such a "case neither special accusation nor denunciation." Signed by Bar. Clerk, dean of the Arches, Aubrey, Drury, Jones, Lloyd, Stanhope, Forth.

Bambrig and Johnson give account of their sermons.

In short, these two fellows, however refractory they had been to the heads, were afterwards brought to give account of their sermons, that made all this stir; and to answer to certain doctrines or expressions therein that gave the offence, and which were comprised in certain articles that had been offered them by the heads. These their answers were probably sent by them to the chancellor upon his desire. And they may be found transcribed in the Appendix. The perusal of which will serve to let in more knowledge of these men's troubles.

N°. LXX.

Bambrigg was at last restored to his college: for I find him fellow there an. 1590. But Johnson's fortune was severe; as his temper and principles were more dangerous: holding our archbishops and bishops antichristian: a Brownist. I find him a prisoner in the Clink an. 1593.

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CHAP. XXI.

The death of the earl of Leicester. Some remarks of him. The lord Burghley's meditation upon the death of his lady: her benefactions: her learning. An English gentleman, viz. sir Edward Kelly, in Germany, reported to have found the art of making gold; invited by the queen into England. The lord treasurer's letter to Dyer,

to persuade him. His learning, and deserts towards England. Made a baron by the emperor. By his order is seized.

AMONG matters personal and domestic that occur this year, these following may be inserted.

Death of the earl of Leicester.

The beginning of September put an end to the life of the great earl of Leicester, master of the queen's horse, and lord high steward of her household; and had enjoyed many other high places and honours, being the queen's favourite: of whom much is told in our histories of the times of queen Elizabeth, and concerning him several relations have been made before in these Annals. His disease was occasioned by cold rheums, which troubled him about the beginning of this year. For remedy whereof he seems to have repaired to Buxton well in Darbyshire, then in great request. And so he writ in a postscript to a letter of his, in April, to the earl of Sussex, whose seat was in those parts: "My "lord, I doubt I shall be driven to come this year to your "bath at Buxton. I have this year been troubled with "colds and rheums, that was never troubled with them be-"fore. I had rather try this remedy than other physic." Our historian writes that he died of a continual fever. And his notable character (none of the best) he gives at large.

Camd. Eliz. sub ann. 1588.

Sometime under the queen's displeasure.

I shall insert a note or two more of him here. He often had the misfortune to lie under the queen's displeasure, though he were so great a favourite. But he had these humble, self-debasing appearances, that he soon recovered her favour again. And thus he once told the lord Burghley, in a letter, what he found by his own experience; "God be thanked, her blasts be not the storms of other "princes, though they be very sharp sometimes to those "she loveth best." This he wrote anno 1572.

A receiver of suits.

He was a great receiver of suits; thinking thereby to render himself gracious unto the people. And herein he made great use of the said lord treasurer, in forwarding such requests of suitors to the queen in his absence. His last letter written to that lord was dated from Mayden-

BOOK II. head, August the 27th, (not much above a week before his death,) being gone then from his house in Wanstead in Es-

Anno 1588. sex, towards his seat, Kenelworth, but dying in an inn be-

594 fore he came thither. The business of which letter consisted of a request to him, in behalf of sir Robert Jermin, to be moved to the queen. As almost all his former letters to that lord commonly imported; namely, for preferring one or other of his friends, or allies, or dependents. Whereby he strengthened his own interest by getting so many of his own creatures preferred.

His end sudden.

When he wrote this letter he little thought he was so near his end: for he was then very well; and his death was sudden; and supposed by some to be brought about by some unlawful arts. He went away into the country in haste. And made an apology in his said letter, that he took not his leave of his lordship at his departure: hoping, as he added, to see his lordship ere long again. And this openeth another remark concerning his end.

A conjuration about the death of the earl.

There was a strange passage of a conjuration used about the death of the said earl; whether to procure it, or some foreboding of it, I leave to the judgment of the reader. But the matter (however secretly done) came at last before the privy-council. The occasion of it was the imprisonment of sir James Crofts, knt. comptroller of the queen's house, and one who had been employed in her service abroad, and one of her commissioners the last year, sent over to treat of a peace with the duke of Parma's commissioners: when

Chap. xv. going somewhat beyond his commission, (as was told before,) was committed to custody when he came home, chiefly by means of Leicester, who was his enemy; and so Crofts remained. But his son, (Edward Crofts,) grieving for these sufferings of his father, applied himself to one John Smith, a famous conjurer, expecting some deliverance for his father by his art, by bringing death upon the earl. For which he was brought upon examination before the lords; and what that was, take his own confession, as I transcribed from the original.

"Being examined concerning the earl of Leicester's

" death, he saith, that after his father, sir James Crofts, " was committed, this examinate came home to his own " house at Charing-cross; and lamenting, said unto Smith, " and Pilles' wife, that he and all his were undone, except " he had help. And Smith said, he would do what he " could. And willed this examinate to give him the names " of all the council; which he did. And Smith promised " to tell him who were his father's enemies. And did after " tell him, that the earl of Leicester was his great enemy. " Within two or three days after, Smith, walking up and " down by this examinate, made a flirt with his thumb, " and bade him be of good comfort; *for the bear is tied* " *to the stake, or muzzled;* whether, he doth not remem- " ber. And in what manner or sort the earl was dealt " withal, he doth not know.

Anno 1588. Croft's examination. MSS. Burg.

" That Smith told him, that his father should not re- " main in prison a full month. And that this examinate " should be the man that should obtain the warrant for his " delivery; and so he did." Then follows Smith's examination taken, and of some others, upon the same conjuration; which I leave among the records in the Appendix. 595 No. LXXII.

Of the death of Mildred, a very pious and learned lady, wife of the lord Burghley, notice must be now taken. And meeting with a meditation of that lord, (retired from court,) writ by him *propria manu*, occasioned by her death, in memory of so singularly excellent a woman, I shall here leave it to posterity, transcribed from the original.

Lord Burghley's meditation upon the death of his lady.

" There is no cogitation to be used with an intent to re- " cover that which never can be had again; that is, to have " my dear wife to live again in her mortal body; which is " separated from the soul, and resteth in the earth dead; " and the soul taken up to heaven; and there to remain in " the fruition of blessedness unspeakable, until the general " surrection of all flesh: when, by the almighty power of " God, (who made all things of nothing,) her body shall " be raised up, and joined with her soul, in an everlasting, " unspeakable joy, such as no tongue can express nor heart " can conceive.

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" Therefore my cogitation ought to be occupied in these " things following. I. To thank Almighty God for his fa- " vour, in permitting her to have lived so many years toge- " ther with me; and to have given her grace to have had " the true knowledge of her salvation by the death of his " Son Jesus, opened to her by the knowledge of the gospel; " whereof she was a professor from her youth. I ought to " comfort myself with the remembrance of her many vir- " tuous and godly actions; wherein she continued all her " life: and specially, in that she did of late years sundry " charitable deeds; whereof she determined to have no out- " ward knowledge while she lived. Insomuch, as when I had " some little understanding thereof, and asked her wherein " she had disposed any charitable gifts, (according to her " often wishing that she were able to do some special act " for maintenance of learning, and relief of the poor,) she " would always only shew herself rather desirous so to do, " than ever confess any such act. As since her death is " manifestly known now to me; and confessed by sundry " good men, (whose names and ministries she secretly used,) " that she did charge them most strictly, that while she " lived they should never declare the same to me nor to " any other.

" And so now have I seen her earnest writings to that pur- " pose of her own hand. The particulars of many of these " hereafter do follow. Which I do with mine own hand- " writing recite for my comfort in the memory thereof: with " assurance, that God hath accepted the same in such favour- " able sort, as she findeth now the fruits thereof in heaven.

" I. About ——years since she caused exhibitions to be " secretly given, by the hands of the master of St. John's " in Cambridge, for the maintenance of two scholars. For " a perpetuity whereof to continue, she did cause some " lands to be purchased in the name of the dean of West- " minster. Who also in his own name did assure the same
596 " to the college, for a perpetual maintenance of the two
Her bene- " said scholars. All which was done without any significa-
faction. " tion of her act or charge to any manner of person, but

" only of the dean, and of William Walter of Wymbleton: " whose advice was used for the writing of the purchase " and insurance.

" II. She also did, with the privity of masters deans of " Paul's and Westminster, and of Mr. Aldersey, being free " of the Haberdashers in London, give to the company of " the said Haberdashers a good sum of money: whereby is " provided, that every two years there is lent to six poor " men of certain special occupations, as smiths, carpenters, " weavers, and such like, in Romford in Essex, 20*l.* apiece; " in the whole an 120*l.* And in Chesthunt and Waltham, " to other six like persons, twenty mark apiece; in the " whole 80*l.*: which relief, by way of loan, is to continue.

" III. By the same mean is provided for twenty poor " people in Chesthunt, the first Sunday of every month, a " mess of meat, in flesh, bread, and money for drink.

" IV. And likewise is provided four mark yearly, for " four sermons, to be preached quarterly by one of the " preachers of St. John's college. And these distributions " have been made a long time (while she lived) by some " of my servants, without giving me knowledge thereof. " Though indeed I had cause to think that she did some- " time bestow such kind of alms; but not that I knew of " any such order taken for continuance thereof. For she " would rather commonly use speeches with me, how she " was disposed to give all she could to some such uses, if " she could devise to have the same faithfully performed " after her life. Whereof she always pretended many " doubts.

" And for that she used the advice of MM. deans of " Paul's and of Westminster, and would have her action " kept secret, she forced upon them some fine pieces of " plate, to be used in their chambers, as remembrances of " her good-will for their pains.

" She also did four times in the year secretly send to all " the prisons in London money to buy bread, cheese, and " drink commonly, for four hundred persons, and many times " more, without knowledge from whom the same came.

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" She did likewise sundry times in the year send shirts " and smocks to the poor people, both in London and at " Chesthunt.

" She gave also a sum of money to the master of St. " John's college, to procure to have fires in the hall of that " college, upon all Sundays and holydays, between the feasts " of All-Saints and Candlemas, when there were no ordi- " nary fires of the charge of the college.

" She gave also a sum of money secretly towards a build- " ing, for a new way at Cambridge to the common schools.

" She also provided a great number of books. Whereof " she gave some to the university of Cambridge; namely, " the great Bible in Hebrew, and four other tongues. And " to the college of St. John very many books in Greek, of
597 " divinity and physic, and of other sciences. The like she " did to Christ's Church and St. John's college in Oxford. " The like she did to the college of Westminster.

" She did also yearly provide wool and flax, and did " distribute it to poor women in Chesthunt parish; willing " them to work the same into yarn; and to bring it to her " to see their manner of working. And for the most part " she gave to them the stuff freely, by way of alms. For " she caused the same to be wrought into cloth, and gave " it to the poor, paying first for the spinning more than it " was worth.

" Not long afore her death, she caused secretly to be " bought a quantity of wheat and rye, to be disposed " among the poor in time of dearth: which remained un- " spent at her death. But the same confessed by such as " provided it secretly. And therefore in conscience so to " be distributed according to her mind.

" *April the 9th*, 1588. *Written at Collings lodge by me* " *in sorrow, W. B.*"

His advice about her funeral sermon.

Another paper of the said lord's writing contained his advice to the dean of St. Paul's before his sermon to be preached at her funeral. Which was as follows:

" April 21, 1589. I am desirous to have it declared, " for the satisfaction of the godly, that I do not celebrate

" this funeral in this sort with any intention thereby, as the " corrupt abuse hath been in the church, to procure of " God the relief or the amender of the state of her soul; Anno 1588. " who is dead in body only. For that I am fully per- " suaded, by many certain arguments of God's grace be- " stowed upon her in this life, and of her continual vir- " tuous life, and godly death, that God, of his infinite good- " ness, hath received her soul into a place of blessedness; " where it shall remain with the souls of the faithful, until " the general day of judgment, when it shall be joined with " her body. And with that persuasion I do humbly thank " Almighty God, by his Son Christ, for his unspeakable " goodness towards the salvation of her soul: so as I know " no action on earth can amend the same.

" But yet I do otherwise most willingly celebrate this " funeral, as a testimony of my hearty love which I did " bear her, with whom I lived in the state of matrimony " forty and two years also, without any unkindness, to " move separation, or any violation of matrimony at any " time.

" Further, this that is here done for the assembly of our " friends is to testify to the world what estimation, love, " and reverence God bears to the stock whereof she did " come, both by her father and mother: as manifestly may " be seen about her hearse, by the sundry coats of noble " houses joined by blood with her. Which is not done for " any vain pomp of the world, but for civil duty towards " her body; that is to be with honour regarded, for the " assured hope of the resurrection thereof at the last " day."

Her learning.

The learning as well as piety of this lady appeared hence; that with the great Bible in Hebrew and other languages which she presented to the university library, she sent an epistle written in Greek with her own hand; which I have seen. She used for her prayers and meditations a small pocketbook in Latin, richly bound, entitled, *Psalmi seu precationes Johannis episcopi Roffensis.* To which 598

BOOK II.

book of devotions she set her own name thus, *Mildreda Cicillia*, 1565.

Anno 1588. Character in print of this lady, printed 1595.

I cannot but add what account was had of this lady in the times wherein she lived, by the character that was given of her not long after her death by the translator of the history of France, in his epistle dedicatory to two such great learned court ladies, the one the lady Anne countess of Warwick, and the other the lady Katharine baroness Howard of Effingham. Where, speaking of the accomplished ladies then about the queen, for piety and learning, he subjoined; "That no ways he might here pretermit in this list "the famous religious and learned lady, flower of her fa- "mily, [a daughter of sir Anthony Cook of Guidy-hall,] "provident mother, blessed in her posterity, Mildred ba- "roness of Burghley; who, besides her knowledge in the "Latin letters, (wherein of a subject she excelled,) such "were her studies, exercises, and continual meditation in "the Greek doctors of the church, (especially Basil, Cyril, "Chrysostome, and Naziansen,) as a chief reader in that "tongue (Laurence by name) had confessed unto him, that, "in his judgment, she equalled, if not overmatched, any, in "whose profession most was to be required. Neither were "these excellent parts of hers only *theorical*, but still put "in practice, like another Dorcas, full of piety and good "works, as without any ostentation or κενοδοξία; besides "her readiness in soliciting for poor and distressed suitors "unto her dear lord, (the auntientest counsellor of Europe, "*pater patriæ*, pillar of the state, &c.) in her lifetime set- "ting, on her own charge, so many poor on work; her ex- "hibition to scholars, liberality to universities, bountiful to "exiled strangers, and most abounding charity every quar- "ter to all the prisons about London, had manifestly de- "clared."

An heroic poem dedicated to her.

And such was her fame, particularly for learning, that Chr. Ockland, an eminent grammarian, made choice of her to dedicate a Latin heroic poem, called *Elizabetha*, to her; printed first an. 1582; in these words: *Ad prænobi-*

lem et in primis eruditam fœminam, utriusque literaturæ, et Græcæ et Latinæ, peritissimam dnam. MILDREDAM, *dynastæ* BURGHLÆI, *magni Angliæ thesaurarii, conjugem laudatissimam.* Beginning, Anno 1588.

Græcia virginibus doctis inclaruit olim,
Quarum scripta manent hodie, &c.
O nymphæ, vos O illustres dico sorores
Quatuor, ante alias tibi sed MILDREDA *colenda*
Attribuo primas, &c.

Sir Edward Kelly, famed for making gold, sent for.

There was an English gentleman, called sir Edward Kelly, now or late at Prague, in the parts of Germany, that was confidently reported to have, as we say, the philosopher's stone; and by a certain powder, by his hidden art prepared, by transmutation of baser metal, to make gold and 599
silver. The fame of this person made the queen, and others of the court, earnestly endeavour his return into England; especially since Mr. Dyer, an agent, as it seems, of the queen in that country, that knew him well, had assured the lord treasurer of his skill obtained thereof by his great study, and of his desire to come and pay his service to the queen. Letters had passed between them for this purpose. And the queen had appointed that lord to write to the agent to prevail with Kelly to come over, with assurance of all respects, and an honourable reception from her. For when he had been moved by Dyer, upon the queen's invitation, to go into England, some there were (that had no mind he should) had thrown doubts into his head of the danger he might incur of trouble, if he went. To take off this scruple from Kelly, that lord, in a letter to the said Dyer, gave him all assurance to the contrary, and that from the queen herself; whose word might be taken, being so virtuous, so noble, and so honourable a princess. And so he was desired to acquaint that knight; to remove any such jealousies out of his mind. He proceeded; "That "there were indeed some in England that spake against "him, as pretending to do a thing impossible; and others "had said, that some such there had been, that pretended

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" to that skill, that proved but cheats. But that they at " the court had a more honourable opinion of him. That " his coming would now especially be seasonable to her " majesty, being now ready to encounter the king of Spain, " that was advancing towards England with his mighty " preparations. And so Kelly might be very instrumental, " by his admirable art, in rescuing his native country from " that imminent danger."

At the conclusion of his letter, he desired Dyer, for the fuller satisfaction of the queen, " to obtain from Kelly, to " be sent over to the queen, a very small portion of that " powder, which he used in his art, to make a demonstra- " tion to the queen: on sight of the perfection of his know- " ledge. Or, that if he [the lord treasurer] might have his " wish, to send, for a token to her majesty, such a portion " of it, in a secret box, as might serve, for a reasonable " sum, to defray her charges that summer for her navy." All this and a great deal more did that letter of the lord treasurer contain; which in respect of the curiosity of the subject, and eminency of the person, I could not but give it a place in the Appendix.

Number LXXIII.

Kelly's great abilities to serve his country.

What belief the queen and court indeed had of this gentleman's extraordinary skill is uncertain; but the important reasons that moved them to draw him into England were, his singular parts and abilities in learning, experience in foreign courts and dominions, and his good deserts to his native country. This I gather from a secret letter writ the next year to secretary Walsingham, by D. Dee, (probably the famous astrologer of that name,) who was now abroad in some place in the Low Countries, and gave the secretary intelligence of affairs. Wherein, among other things, he spake of sir Edward Kelly with much honour and deference, for his informations sent from abroad,

600 out of his favour to the English nation in these critical times. And that as he [D. Dee] had understood divers things of dangerous consequence against the good state of his native country from divers, so particularly from Mr. Edward Kelly: " One who, of all the strangers and in-

" habitants of that city, [whence D. Dee now wrote, per-
" haps Antwerp,] was the sharpest witted, the greatest un-
" derstander of all occurrents general, yea, of very secret
" purposes of divers great ones; the best languaged[a]; one
" heretofore employed in consultations between the orders
" of both parties; [Spain, and those of the Low Coun-
" tries;] one who had been tried courageous in their first
" bickerings against the Spaniard at Antwerp; and one
" who seemed to have observed [of those innovations in the
" Low Countries] the beginnings, proceedings, and errors,
" political and military, committed on divers parts. Add-
" ing, that this man's counsel he had required upon his
" own grave declaration of such matters before specified,
" by way of familiar discourse, as they now and then vi-
" sited one another." And that Kelly had shewed him,
" How, in his judgment, with her majesty's royal honour
" and indemnity, the unquiet and alienated minds of this
" common and inferior sort of people might receive conso-
" lation assured, and be recovered to due love and fidelity
" to her majesty; and also the heads (called the *states*, or
" *orders*) might be reformed: so as finally these provinces
" first might find and account themselves happy under her
" majesty's government royal."

[a] As in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Italian.

This period of a private letter to secretary Walsingham will let in some light to the character of this man, and of the desire that was had of his return into England. I add the honour this English gentleman had abroad. Living at Prague in Germany, he was known to the emperor, who made him a baron. For thus did D. Dee signify in his aforesaid letter: " Mr. Edward Kelly, now in most fa-
" vourable manner created a baron of the kingdom of Bo-
" hemia; with the grant of a coat of arms; as I have seen
" in a large seal, being a lion rampant with [the lion of
" England,] in a bordure, with the year on the seal, viz.
" 1573, and a motto round it."

The emperor makes Kelly a baron.

I do not find, notwithstanding the aforesaid honourable and earnest invitation given him by the English court, that Kelly came into England. And indeed it appears, that he

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was not long after put under custody by the emperor. And that, as it is likely, to hinder his journey. But this will deserve a more particular relation; which I am able to give from a letter of an English merchant, as it seems, at Frankford, to Mr. Edward Wotton, an eminent gentleman and courtier in England; wrote in the year 1591; viz. That he was seized by a private order from the emperor (the cause concealed) in April the said year, several great officers coming to his house in Prague for that purpose; and where Mr. Dier was with him: but he, without acquainting any one person in his house, on a sudden conveyed himself away with all secrecy; and so escaped for two or three days: till being searched for and pursued, was afterwards taken, going, as he pretended, only to visit his patron, the earl of Rosembergh: and so he was committed prisoner to the castle. This was surprising news in those parts; especially towards a personage that had been so highly valued, and ennobled by the emperor himself. And various conjectures were made of the reasons that moved him to proceed in this manner. It was at first generally thought, that the invitation (whereof some pretended to have seen the letter) of his return into England occasioned it. Other causes thereof were talked of. As though it were some crime intended to be committed against the emperor's own person. Some, that it was upon account of a great debt of 32,000 dollars, which he owed to two merchants in Colen, with whom he traded for jewels. But that could be no cause; for that he was known to be well able to discharge that debt, being rich in money and lands. And to the emperor he owed nothing, nor ever put him to any charge; except for coals and houseroom, [for his employment in his chymistry.] Another reason given out for this his surprising apprehension, and that one of the chief, was, that the emperor having been troubled a great while with a throbbing in his heart, which caused him soon to fall into a swoon, and seemed to be a distemper hereditary, sir Edward Kelly had distilled an oil for his use in that case. But some of Kelly's enemies being by, persuaded the emperor that he

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Kelly seized by the emperor's special order.

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The cause thereof.

had intended to poison him with it. These, with other reasons of this dealing with this man, were reported about. All which, with the several circumstances of his being taken, and further remarks of him and his misfortune, I leave to be read at large in the aforesaid letter. Anno 1588. Number LXXIV.

But to bring together something more of this famous English chymist, and the high esteem the queen had of this her subject; she despatched an agent, one Webb, in the year 1591, on purpose, with her letters to the emperor in Kelly's behalf. And he had also letters of credence, and instructions for his demeanour in this affair. And that he should get all the information he could from Mr. Dyer; who still (and, as it seemed, under restraint) remained there: for whom also was part of his message. The instructions were as follow; which I transcribe from the lord treasurer's own hand: The queen's letter to the emperor.

" You shall have her majesty's letter to the emperor's " majesty, to the duke of Saxe, the elector, and to the " landsgrave van Hesse, and a general *salve conduct* for " you to all princes and states, to permit you to pass safely " through their dominions. When you shall arrive on the " other side the seas, you shall endeavour yourself to un- " derstand the truth of the country report made of Mr. Ed- " ward Dyer's stay or arrest; and accordingly thereto you " shall direct your journey towards him. And if he shall be " stayed in Prague, or in any other place in Bohemia, or " elsewhere, by the emperor's commandment, you shall do " the best you can to give him knowledge, that you are " sent to him by her majesty, to procure his liberty and " return. And for that purpose to let him know, that you " have her majesty's special letter to the emperor's majesty; " which you shall, if he so will, carry to his majesty, and 602 " solicit his delivery. And therein you shall use such rea- " son to the emperor in defence of Mr. Dyer's cause, as he " shall inform you to be meet. Instructions to the agent sent to the emperor about Kelly and Dyer.

" But if Mr. Dyer be not arrested by the emperor, but " shall be stayed in any other place in the territories of " any other prince of the empire, as the duke of Saxe, or

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" the lantgrave; then you shall do as the letters to them " directed. Or if he be out of their jurisdiction, yet you " shall consider, either in your own judgment, or from " knowledge had from Mr. Dyar, whether you shall seek " a mandate from the emperor from her majesty's letters, " or from the favour of the duke of Saxe, or the lantgrave. " Both which, her majesty is well assured, will further her " majesty's request.

" You shall also inquire diligently where sir Edward " Kelly is arrested, or for what cause; whereof there are " divers reports. Some, that he is arrested at the suit of " some to whom he is indebted in a sum of xxv thousand " crowns. Some, that the emperor hath made him a pri- " soner for abusing of his majesty, with profession that he " could multiply gold, and found therein to have deceived " many. By some, that his intention was secretly to have " come into England, and here to have served her majesty " with his science: and that by malice of the pope's nuncio, " or the Spanish ambassador, or otherwise by the emperor; " as unwilling to have her majesty benefited by him with " his science. And so in doubtful sort the reports are " made: whereof you seek to inquire the truth. Whereof " none shall better inform you than Mr. Edward Dyar. " If there be any other Englishman stayed with Mr. Dyar, " you shall do your best to recover their liberty. And as " soon after your arrival in Germany you shall understand " the truth of Mr. Dyar's state, you shall advertise hither."

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CHAP. XXII.

Books this year set forth: some relating to the Spanish invasion: some puritanical: with answers to them. An Exhortation to the Queen's Subjects to defend their Country. Answer to certain Spanish Lies. Certain Advertisements out of Ireland. Elizabetha triumphans. *The Coronation of David. Penry's Supplication: and his Appellation to Parliament. His Epitome. A godly Treatise against the*

Puritans. An Admonition to the People of England. An Answer to ten frivolous Reasons set down by the Rhemists, translators of the New Testament from the vulgar Latin. Anno 1588. Disputatio de sacra Scriptura, contra hujus temporis Papistas; imprimis Robertum Bellarminum, Jesuitam, &c. *by Dr. W. Whitaker, regius professor of divinity in Cambridge.*

THE Spaniards' invasion of England, and the *new reformers*' endeavours to promote their discipline, gave occasion to the writing and publishing many books this year. Whereof these that follow were some of the chief. Books set forth.

An exhortation to stir up the minds of all her majesty's faithful subjects, to defend their country in this dangerous time, from the invasion of enemies. Faithfully and zealously compiled by Anthony Marten, sewer of her majesty's most honourable chamber. *Meliora spero.* This book I have mentioned before; and therefore I shall only add a period taken thence, to shew the strain of the writer. An Exhortation to the Queen's faithful Subjects.

"They [the Spaniards] for the greediness of a kingdom; "for despite they bear to our religion; for vainglory, "pride, and presumption; for maintenance of the pope's "kingdom; against God, against his word and troth, "against our blessed queen; against all reason, conscience, "and humanity; do offer all this violence unto us. And "we, on the other side, in defence of ourselves, our native "country, our anointed prince, our holy religion, our own "Jesus Christ, his holy word and sacraments; against "very Antichrist, and all the pillars of his church, and "against those that have cursed and indighted the king-"dom; do withstand the injury done unto us.

"We that have done so valiantly at other times, when "the quarrel was but for money, or other small matters, is "it possible but we should be much more forward now in 604
"so great and weighty causes? When had ever England "so just a cause to fight as now? When did we ever more "infinitely feel the mercies of God than now? When had "we ever a more loving prince to her subjects than now?

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" When were ever any subjects more obedient to their " prince than now? When were there ever so many lusty " and gallant gentlemen to defend the realm as now? " When were we at any time better acquainted with the " sleights and cunning of our enemies than now? When " had we more skill in martial actions and trainings than " now? Finally, when had ever our enemies more unjust " cause to deal against us than now? and we more lawful " cause to defend ourselves than now? And therefore, " when should we ever have greater hope of victory than " now?

" If ever therefore ye bear any affection to your country; " if ever any love to religion; if ever any obedience unto " a good and natural prince; if ever you would venture " your lives for your fathers and mothers, your wives and " children, or best deserving friends, &c.; if ye have any " comfort in the promises of Christ Jesus; if you have " hope to receive salvation by his merit; and as ye will " answer before God at the coming of his Son: now shew " yourselves like men, courageous and forward, prompt " and willing to do all the parts of Christian soldiers.—— " Let neither the greedy desire of money, nor the lewd " consuming of riches, nor the wanton excess of apparel, " nor the superfluity of meats and drinks, nor the costly " buildings, and curious trimming of houses, be any hin- " derance to so honourable actions."

An Answer to Untruths printed in Spain.

Another book bare this title; "*An answer to the un-* " *truths published and printed in Spain, in glory of their* " *supposed victory*, achieved against our English navy, " and the right honourable Charles lord Howard, lord high " admiral of England, &c. sir Francis Drake, and the rest " of the nobles and gentlemen, captains and soldiers, of " our said navy.

" First written and published in Spanish, by a Spanish " gentleman, who came hither out of the Low Countries " from the service of the prince of Parma, with his wife " and family, since the overthrow of the Spanish armada: " forsaking both his country and Romish religion. As by

" this treatise against the barbarous impiety of the Spa-
" niards (and dedicated to the queen's most excellent ma-
" jesty) may appear. Faithfully translated by J. L." Anno 1588.

As the author had dedicated this his book to the queen, so the translator (whose name was James Lea) made his dedication of it to the right honourable Charles lord Howard, baron of Effingham, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and lord high admiral of England, &c. In his epistle he acquainted that lord with the occasion of his said translation; namely, " That lighting upon a Spa-
" nish book dedicated to the queen, containing an answer
" against certain untruths, published and printed in Spain,
" he noted, that virtue could not but be praised even by
" a late enemy, (though now reconciled,) a stranger, nay, 605
" a Spaniard; forced by truth itself to defend the worthi-
" ness of our English nobility against his own countrymen.
" And that he could not, but for the benefit and farther
" encouragement of his country, publish his work in Eng-
" lish.——That as the Spaniard, setting out such hyperbo-
" lical trophies of their conquests, sought by such praise
" to encourage their nobility, it behoved us not to be
" stained with ingratitude; but to publish the prowess of
" such worthy men, as still with their blood painted out
" the worthiness of their resolutions. Among whom his
" honour had the chiefest place, as high admiral of so vic-
" torious a fleet; and performed in his own person such
" honourable service."

The running title of this book was, *An answer to certain Spanish lies.* For the design of the book was to expose the palpable falsehood of divers intelligences sent to Spain, and to the Spanish ambassador in France, of the mighty victory the Spaniard had gotten over the English fleet. Which news and advices were writ several times in the months of August and September. Accounts of which have been given before. And because Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, was the promoter and divulger of these false reports, the author thus addressed himself to him in the beginning. An answer to certain Spanish lies. Ch. xvi.

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Anno 1588. Mendoza's credulity reproached.

" I marvail, good sir, to see a man of so noble a lineage, " and no less endued with gifts of nature than others, " should have your ears so opened, to hear the rumours " and lies which the scoffing and gibing flatterers do write " you. And I wonder not so much in that you credit " them, as at the speed wherewith your honour doth write " them———Your honour writeth to Spain, that it is a " matter most true, that the lord high admiral was come, " running away with 25 or 26 ships, unto London; and " that he had lost his ship that was admiral; and that " Drake was prisoner: and that this was written for a " matter most certain by persons of credit from London," &c. Another book of this subject was,

A copy of a letter to Mendoza from England.

The copy of a letter sent out of England to don Bernardine de Mendoza, ambassador in France for the king of Spain: " Declaring the state of England; contrary to " the opinion of don Bernardine, and of all his partisans, " Spaniards and others.

" This letter, although it was sent to don Bernardine, " yet, by good hap, the copies thereof, as well in English " as in French, were found in the chamber of one Richard " Leigh, a seminary priest; who was lately executed for " high treason, committed in the time that the Spanish " armada was on the seas."

Thus the writer, beginning his address to Mendoza; " My lord ambassador, though at the time of my last large " writing to you of the state of this country, and of our " long desired expectation of succours promised, I did not " think to have had so sorrowful an occasion of any second " writing, as now I have of a lamentable change of matters " of estate here: yet (as he proceeded) he could not forbear " (though it were with as many sighs as lines) to advertise
606 " him of the truth of their miserable condition, as now to him, " and others of their party, the same appeared to be. That " by comparing of all things past in hope, with the present " now in despair, his lordship, who had the principal ma- " naging to that time of all their causes, both here [in " England] and there in France, between the king catholic,

" assisted with the potentates of the holy league, and all " his countrymen [the English] that had professed obedi- " ence to the church of Rome, might now fall into some " new and better consideration, how their state, both for " themselves at home and their brethren abroad, now at " this present fallen, as it were, into utter despair, might " be revived, and restored to some new hope, with better " assurance of success than had happened hitherto.

" For which purpose he had thought it necessary to ad- " vertise him in what manner this country [of England] " then stood; far otherwise than of late both they at home " and others abroad made account of. That he [Mendoza] " knew how long they had depended in firm hope of a " change of the state of this country, by the means of the " devout and earnest incitations of the pope's holiness, of " the king catholic, and of the potentates of the holy " league, to take upon them the invasion and conquest of " this realm; and by his [Mendoza's] assurances and firm " promises they were, now of a long season past, per- " suaded, that the king catholic had taken upon him the " same glorious act; and thereof from year to year they " looked for the execution; being continually fed and nou- " rished from him to continue their hope; and sundry " times solicited by his earnest request and persuasion, to " encourage their party at home, not to waver, but to be " ready to join with the outward forces that should come " for this invasion——That until this last spring they were " in despair: at which time he advertised them with great " assurance, that all the king's preparations, which had " been making ready three or four years together, were " then in full perfection, and, without fail, would that " summer come into our seas, with such mighty strength, " as no navy of England or of Christendom could resist " or abide their force. And that to make the intended " conquest sure, the same should have joined to it the " mighty army which the duke of Parma had made ready, " and kept in readiness in the Low Countries, to land: " and so both by sea and land this realm should be in-

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"vaded, and a speedy conquest made thereof.——And "that there would be a strong party in this realm to join "with the foreign force." After this manner did that Spanish ambassador in Paris raise the expectation of the papists in England.

"But, alas! (as it follows,) and with a deadly sorrow, "we must all, at home and abroad, lament our sudden "fall, from an immeasurable high joy to an immeasurable "deep despair: and that so hastily fallen out, as, I may "say, we have seen in the space of eight or nine days in "this last month of July, which was from the appearance
607 "of the catholic great navy upon the coast of England—— "all our hopes, all our buildings, as it now appeareth, but "upon an imaginary conquest, utterly overthrown, as it were "with an earthquake: all our castles of comfort brought "to the ground; which now, as it seemeth, were builded "but in the air." Then he proceeded to tell Mendoza how the catholics began to doubt of their cause; and to attribute this ill success to the hand of God. "That he "was astonished what he might best think of such a work, "so long time in framing, to be suddenly overthrown, as "by no reason could proceed of man, or of any earthly "power, but only of God. And thereupon many English "catholics misliked of the pope's way of reformation by "force. That the untimely publishing of the intended "conquest, before the Spanish navy was ready, did great "hurt: that the hearts of all sorts of people were inflamed "against the Spaniards' vaunting to conquer England.

The pope's bull.

The writer of this letter took notice, with dislike, "of a "new bull, (which he had seen,) lately published at Rome, "by the pope's holiness, with more severity than others of "his predecessors. Whereby the queen here was accursed, "and pronounced to be deprived of her crown, and the "invasion and conquest of the realm committed by the "pope to the king catholic, to execute the same with his "armies both by sea and land; and to take the crown to "himself, or to limit it to such a potentate as the pope and "he should name. And secondly, there followed a large

" explanation of this bull; by sending hither a number of " English books printed in Antwerp, even when the navy " of Spain was daily looked for; the original whereof was " written by cardinal Allen: [who styled himself the Eng- " lish cardinal.] Which book was so violently, sharply, " and bitterly written—against the person of the queen, " against her father king Henry VIII. against all her no- " bility and council, as in very truth (as he added) I was " sorry to perceive so many good men of our own religion " offended therewith: in that there should be found in one " accounted a father of the church, who was also a born " subject of the crown, such foul, vile, irreverent, and vio- " lent speeches, such ireful and bloody threatenings of a " queen, of a nobility, yea, of the whole people of his own " nation."

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The letter is continued with account of the preparations made by the queen against the Spaniard, and her mighty success. To this pass came all Mendoza's zeal against England. Which divers of these English catholics, upon the ill conclusion of these threatening projects, reproached him with.

Another book of this subject now came forth, bearing this title: " *Certain advertisements out of Ireland*, con- " cerning the losses and distresses that happened to the " Spanish navy, upon the west coasts of Ireland, in their " voyage intended from the northern isles beyond Scot- " land towards Spain."

Advertisements out of Ireland.

This book relates from day to day, beginning at the 7th of September, and so on for some days, the losses of ships and men, the wrecks and miseries, and the persons of quality and others taken on that coast. And then follow examinations of several eminent persons in that fleet, that were taken and saved, according to the reports sent from Ireland. Whereof one of the examined was John Anthonio de Monona, an Italian, son to Francisco de Monona, pilot of the ship called *Sancta Maria de la Rose*, of a thousand tons, cast away in the sound of Bleskey. " Who, examined " the 11th of September, said, that he and the rest parted

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The examination of J. Anthonio, taken in a ship sunk.

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" from the English fleet, as he thought, about the coast of " Scotland. And that at that time they wanted of their " whole fleet four galleys and seven ships, and one galleass, " which was the captain galleass. And there were then " dead, by flight and by sickness, eight thousand men at " the least. Where he left the duke [admiral], he knew not, " but it was in the north seas, about 18 days sithence. " That he saw then no land; and therefore could name no " place. But they severed by tempest. That the duke " kept his course by the sea. They drew toward land, to " find Cape Clere. So did divers other ships; which he " thought to amount to forty ships. And with the duke " there went five and twenty."

He informed further, " That two ships were sunk upon " the coast of Scotland, by reason of shots received from " the English ships: the one called St. Matthew, of 500 " tons; wherein were drowned 450 men: the other ship a " biskey of St. Sebastian, of 400 ton; wherein were drown- " ed 350. And the ship wherein he was, called *S. Maria* " *Rose*, of one thousand tons; wherein of 500 there " escaped but himself. In which, of principal men, there " were drowned these principal men following: the prince " of Ascule, base son to the king of Spain; captain Ma- " tuta, captain Convalle, a Portugal, and the captain of " the said ship; there were more of note of Castile: the " general of all the fleet of Guipusque, called don Michael " d'Oquendo; and twenty other knights and adventurers " upon their own charges."

And being examined, what ordnance, wines, or other matters of moment was in the ship here cast away, said, "There " were fifty great brass pieces, all canons for the field, twenty- " five pieces of brass and cast iron, belonging to the ship. " Also there was in her fifty tons of secke; in silver 15,000 " ducats; in gold as much more; much rich apparel, and " plate, and cups of gold." There were seven other examinations taken of several persons of note in that fleet, (which I omit, being too large to set down here,) which give a particular account of those losses and disasters. At

the end of this tract is added a list of the ships and men sunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the coast of Ireland in the month of September. The number of men amounted to 5394; ships 17. Which may be found before in the Appendix. Anno 1588.

Another book of this subject now also appeared, entitled, "*Elizabetha triumphans. Containing the damned practices that the devilish popes of Rome have used ever sithence her first coming to the crown:* by moving her wicked and traitorous subjects to rebellion and conspiracies: thereby to bereave her majesty both of her lawful seat and happy life. With a declaration of the manner how her excellency was entertained by her soldiers in her camp royal at Tilbury in Essex: and of the overthrow had against the Spanish fleet. Set forth, declared, and handled by J. A. *Post victoriam gloria.* The author dedicated this his work, *To the right worshipful, endued with all singularity, Julius Cæsar, Dr. of the civil law, chief judge of her highness' honourable court of admiralty, and one of the masters of the requests to the queen's most excellent majesty:* shewing his patron, that the intelligence of the commonness of ballads, with books to this purpose, caused him to publish this his work; truly and effectually declaring the wicked attempts of the devilish pope, with his damned adherents practised, rather than to let such broken tales, told in plain ballads, express the unspeakable acts and wondrous overthrows had against the pope, by this our royal queen, and her (by this made famous) island." Subscribed *Ja. Aske.* It is all in blank verse, and begins thus: Elizabetha triumphans. 609

I write not of the labours (passing strange)
Which Jove's base son with wondrous fame achiev'd;
Ne of the acts, the never dying acts,
That English kings have done long time ago;
But all my drift is to declare the deeds,
The famous deeds that this our sacred queen
Performed hath, since Sol hath past the signs
Just thirty times with those his shining lights, &c.

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This heroic poem contains a most particular description of the expedition against Spain both by sea and land; and chiefly of the camp at Tilbury, of the queen's coming thither, and of her acting, speeches, and behaviour there, more than any other history of that subject, I think, extant.

The Coronation of David.

There came forth likewise this year a book, called, "*The coronation of David.* Wherein, out of that part of the history of David that sheweth how he came to the kingdom, we have set forth unto us what is like to be the end of these troubles that daily arise for the gospel's sake. By Edm. Bunny." Who was an eminent divine and writer in Yorkshire. The book is dedicated to the right honourable Henry earl of Huntingdon, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and president of her majesty's council, in the north parts established, and lieutenant-general of her majesty's people and forces there. In his epistle the writer made a remark, "of the dangerous, strange, and unnatural practices against the queen, tending to the overthrow of them all; and of late, that God had threatened them with hostility and foreign invasion, and with the worst that a proud and idolatrous and an insolent people was able to do. Wherein he had not clean forgotten them, [the English nation,] but in the midst of those threatenings had hitherto used great mercy towards them."

610 These assaults upon this protestant kingdom, professing the gospel, and queen Elizabeth, the great defender of this faith, and the continual troubles raised to overthrow it, gave occasion to the writing this book; the author observing "the great broils at that day raised in these parts of Christendom against the gospel of Jesus Christ; and like to continue; because new and fresh troubles did continually follow hard upon such as had gone before:" comparing their present condition to the storms in the lake of Gennesareth; "when the wind and the sea did both together seem to conspire against that bark wherein Christ was with his disciples, for to have drenched and drowned them; the wind [i. e. the pope] stirring and raising the

"sea; [i. e. the Spaniard;] the sea getting up and grow- "ing rageous, and both together furiously beating with all "their might on the seely vessel. Even so now also, ever "since it had pleased the Lord to vouchsafe them the gos- "pel again in so plentiful manner, all the people and states "of the world had bent themselves against it." Anno 1588.

The purpose of that book, of the Coronation of David.

So that the purpose of this book of the *Coronation of David* was to shew the state of the reformation of religion, or the gospel, under the history of David, and his troubles, and the happy issue of them. "That for the comfort and "instruction of those that were so possessed with fear, when "tyrants so threatened, and made such preparations, he "had made choice of that part of the story of David. For "seeing David was a figure of Christ, and such as was the "state of Christ here on earth, such also must be the state "of the gospel, whensoever it is sent to us; how great re- "sistance for a time it findeth; and how, notwithstanding, "it is most sure to prevail in the end." So that the contents of the author's discourse were, That as David was grievously persecuted before he could attain to the kingdom, so it hath been, and yet is, with the gospel of Christ. And that as David was afterwards brought first to one part of it, and then to the whole: so the gospel, being in such manner advanced as it is already, is therein also as likely to be further advanced. But yet that we are to await the goodness of God in such a course as David did. Divers examples brought of the like works of God, and applied to our comfort. And lastly, there is a prayer to that end, going upon the whole story, all taken out of David's Psalms.

Schismatical books set forth.

Puritans writ divers books this year against the archbishops and bishops with much bitterness; as condemning the present government of the church by such. The titles of some of these tracts are mentioned by Camden in the Life of Queen Elizabeth: viz. *Martin Marprelate; Minerals; Diotrephes; A demonstration of discipline*, &c. Concerning which thus the said Camden writes; "That in "these libels they belched forth most virulent calumnies Pag. 420. 421.

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" and opprobrious taunts and reproaches in a scurrilous " manner; the authors thereof Penry and Udal, ministers " of the word, and Job Throgmorton, a learned man, and " of a facetious and gibing tongue."

611 This Penry, the chief of them, framed a book, called, *A Supplication* to the parliament now sitting; and another, being his *Appellation* to them, in regard of himself, falling into trouble for the former book.

Penry's Supplication.

From his *Supplication* I collect these passages. " That " God would, it was to be feared, enter into judgment with " the whole land, and make his sword drunk with blood, " &c. for establishing such institutions [meaning, episcopal " government] as were directly against his majesty's re- " vealed will."——Penry sets forth his undertaking in these words: " I do, for the discharge of my duty and conscience " toward the Lord, his church, my country, [Wales,] and " the whole estate of the kingdom, taking my life in my " hand, testify unto you [the parliament] before the ma- " jesty of God, &c. that our dumb ministers, that the call- " ing of our lord bishops, archdeacons, commissaries, and " all other remnants of that sacrilege, brought into the " church by that Romish strumpet, and now remaining in " Wales, are intolerable before the Lord.——The truth " whereof I do briefly make known by reasons following; " and offer to prove them more at large, even upon the " peril of my life, against our four lord bishops, [i. e. of " Wales,] all their chaplains, favourers, and wellwishers; " whether in either of the two universities of this land, or " in any place elsewhere soever." Take his threatening too; speaking to the parliament: " Truly for mine own " part, God aiding me, I will never leave the suit, though " there should be a thousand parliaments in my days, until " I either obtain it at your hands, or bring the Lord in " vengeance and blood to plead against you for repelling " his cause."

His words of convocations.

Once more; these were his thoughts of *convocations*. " If indeed the convocation-house were such as it ought to " be, viz. a synod of sincere and godly learned ministers,

" wherein matters of religion were determined of according " to the word and cause of God heard without partiality; " then indeed were it their parts to set down, for the di- " rection of the parliament, such things as were behooveful " for the glory of God and the good of the church. And " the parliament, by their direction, according to the word, " ought to enjoin all the ministers and people whatsoever " should be thus enacted by the civil state. And if the " convocation-house were such an assembly, then were it " not lawful for the parliament to establish any thing in " the matter appertaining unto the pure worship of God " among their people, but that wherein they should be " directed by the advice of the church governors.——But " you should not permit them to enact what they would " by their own authority; especially, their decrees being " now as they are, to the ratifying of corruptions, and to " the continuance of ungodly callings within these domi- " nions.——Small hope there was to be conceived of re- " forming the abuses of the church, if the redress be com- " mitted unto that meeting. And that they of the honour- " able court of parliament were to understand, that the " convocation-house condemned this cause of Christ, then " in hand, before it was heard; and that their own endea- 612 " vours, who were there met, was, how to prevent him " [Christ] from bearing rule in the church by his own " laws. For that it was well known, that all of them had " banded and linked themselves together, to maintain the " corruptions of our church."

The parliament addressed to for religion to be reformed.

And then, for bringing the cause of religion before the parliament, he addressed himself to the parliament after this manner: " When you say that you may not deal in " matters of religion, because the determinations of that " cause is referred unto the bishops assembled in the con- " vocation-house; which in their canons are to provide and " see that the church be not in any decayed state; do you " not thereby think you rob yourselves of your own prero- " gative and liberty, and take order, that the church with- " out controversy may be starved and spoiled?"

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This *Supplication*, containing all these expressions, and many more, so reflecting upon the present government of the church established, awakened the bishops, and the commissioners ecclesiastical, and particularly the archbishop; so that diligent search was ordered to be made for the author and his said books. And at length he was taken, and the books too. And then, being in hold for some time, soon after took the confidence to write his own vindication, thus entitled:

Penry taken up.

His Appellation.

The appellation of John Penry unto the high court of parliament, from the bad and injurious dealing of the archbishop of Canterbury, and others of the high commission. "Wherein the complainant, humbly submitting himself and "his cause unto the determination of this honourable as- "sembly, craveth nothing else, but either release from "trouble and persecution, or just trial." This he writ when he absconded, being searched for by the said ecclesiastical commission, the ensuing year, 1589. In this *Appellation* he thus declared himself, and what he had done.

"That in the 29th year of her majesty's reign, the Lord "vouchsafed to use him as an instrument to motion the "parliament, holden by prorogation, in the cause of God's "truth; not known unto the archbishop, or any others of "the ecclesiastical commission before. That his suit then that "he made to the parliament was, that the gospel of Christ "might in a saving manner be made known and published "among the inhabitants of Wales, his dear and native "countrymen. That the equity of this petition he mani- "fested in a public treatise, allowed to be printed by public "authority. And the *Supplication*, together with the "printed treatise, was preferred by a worshipful gentle- "man, himself a member of the house:——That the par- "liament shewed no disliking thereof, though they sinned "in the careless respect they had thereto.

"But (as he went on in his *Appellation*) the archbishop "and his associates [the commission] thought the enterprise "to be intolerable. Their dislike of the petition they did "not conceal, but presently despatched their warrants, to

" call in the printed books; and to make inquiry for the " author. And that the books, in number about 500, to- " gether with himself, were fastened upon by the wardens " of the stationers, accompanied with the pursuivant. And " that thereupon, being carried before the high commis- " sioners, he was (as he said) for enterprising the former " action, charged by the archbishop's own mouth, not only " to be a factious slanderer of her majesty's government, " but also to have published flat treason and heresy in his " said treatise. That he was threatened very bloodily, and " reviled in a most unchristian sort, with earnest protesta- " tion, that they wondered how he durst solicit the parlia- " ment in that petition." And then he makes this reflec- tion: " See the cursed and outrageous profanation of these, " whom the Lord in his just judgment had given over to " withstand the mighty power of the word."

He went on to relate what further happened to him: " That he was kept twelve days at his keeper's utmost " peril." And after a month's imprisonment he was deli- vered without examination: and so was released. But he soon drew more troubles upon himself. " Because" (as he gave the reason) " he saw himself bound in conscience not " to give over his purpose; and as it pleased the Lord to " increase his care in seeking the good of his countrymen, " so his adversaries augmented their fury and rage towards " him," (as he styled the care of the commissioners ecclesi- astical,) " in sending an officer to search for him as far as " Northampton, where his abode then was with his printing- " press. Where his writings were seized, but him they found " not."

And then, after some further narration of this business, he (thinking by this means to escape the danger of the ecclesiastical commission) appealed to the parliament in these words: " That he did in most dutiful sort make this " his just appellation from the archbishop of Canterbury, " and the rest of his colleagues in commission, unto the " honourable and high court of parliament."

The *Epitome* was one of the books set forth by Martin The Epitome.

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Marprelate, writ against Dr. Bridges, who had printed something against him and his party. To which *Epitome* he set this fantastical title, in scorn and derision of his adversary; *Oh! read over Dr. John Bridges: for it is a worthy work: or, An epitome of the first book of that right worshipful volume writ against the puritans*, &c. Of this book I have taken notice before.

Some books also on the other side in justification of the church government; as this for one, writ by Some, a learned doctor of divinity, of Cambridge: which bore this title; *A godly treatise, containing certain questions, moved of late in London and other places, touching the ministry, sacraments, and church.* Written by Robert Some, D. D. His preface to the reader will inform us what adversaries he is to deal with; and the contents, what subject he is to treat of against them. He tells the reader, "There were "two sorts of recusants in this land; the one popish, the "other anabaptistical. They gave out, that we have no "ministry, no sacraments, no visible church. These, that "other sort of men, laboured of two diseases. The one
614 "was great pride, the other gross ignorance. Their pride "appeared in their behaviour, which was void of humility. "Their ignorance in their arguments: which hung toge- "ther as a sick man's dream."

A godly Treatise touching the Ministry, &c.

The table of such points as were contained in this treatise followed. "1. A godly prince may and ought to com- "pel his subjects (if any refused) to the external service of "God. 2. A godly prince may not suffer any religion, "but the true religion, either publicly or privately, in his "dominions. 3. Able teachers ought to be provided (so "much as can be) for the churches. 4. The teachers of "religion must have maintenance. 5. Almighty God bless- "eth those kingdoms with peace, which promote and em- "brace his religion. 6. The child of God is not polluted, "though he be present at and partaker of the public "prayers, sacraments, &c. at such time as wicked men are "present at and partakers of them. 7. They which were "baptized in the popish church, by popish priests, received

" true baptism, touching the substance of baptism. 8. They " are the sacraments of baptism and the holy supper, which " are delivered in the church of England by unpreaching " ministers. 9. The godly are not polluted which receive " the sacrament at the hands of an unpreaching minister. " 10. The church of England is the visible church of Christ." Under these heads Dr. Some, the author, contended with those of Penry's puritan sect, that held against those points.

A Defence of Dr. Some's treatise.

The same author (upon some answer of Penry) published the same year " *A defence of such points in Dr. Some's last* " *treatise as M. Penry hath dealt against.* And refutation " of many anabaptistical, blasphemous, and popish absur- " dities, touching magistracy, ministry, church, scripture, " and baptism, &c. contained in M. Penry's last treatise." The occasion of this *defence* the author tells the reader: " That having published a short treatise, May last, it " pleased one M. Penry to examine one part of it, and (as " another Aristarchus) to censure it. That his book was " sent him, and he viewed it, and found strange things in " it. That advice was given him not to vouchsafe an an- " swer; because Penry was very ignorant, and his treatise " very silly and corrupt stuff. But that certain reasons " induced him to take some pains about it. As St. Paul " vouchsafed in God's cause to deal with Demetrius and " Alexander. And because many had been misled by his " absurd fancies. And that he was personally both charged " and challenged by him. That Penry's book was a fardle " of gross errors: that none accounted of it, but such as " were of the fantastical crew.——That Calvin, Beza, &c. " men of excellent learning, were cast off by him, even in " those weighty causes wherein they shook hands with all " the churches of God.——That the question between them " was not whether ignorant men might either enter into " or continue in the holy ministry; (for his resolution was " negative, that they ought not:) but the question was, " whether such as were and are baptized by popish priests " and ignorant ministers had and did receive a sacrament; " and whether the godly communicant is polluted by re-

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" ceiving the sacrament at the hands of unpreaching mi-
" nisters. That the most famous men and churches were
" peremptory for him, and against Penry, &c.

" And that his reader might see clearly and feel sensibly
" Penry's gross errors and anabaptistical fancies, he had
" set down in a table divers strange particulars. Which if
" they seemed hard and rough hewn, blame M. Penry:
" for they came out of his forge." And then concluded with his prayer, " That the Lord would give us grace to
" see and know our ignorance, to be truly humble, to grow
" in godly knowledge, and not in anabaptistical and blas-
" phemous fancies." Dated from London, Sept. 19.

To this I add another book in vindication of the hierarchy of the church against Martin Marprelate and the rest of the slanderous libellers. And that was, *An admonition to the people of England.* " Wherein are answered, not
" only the slanderous untruths reproachfully uttered by
" Martin the libeller, but also many other crimes by some
" of his brood objected generally against all bishops and
" the chief of the clergy; purposely to deface and discredit
" the present state of the church. Seen and allowed by
" authority." The author of it was the learned and right reverend Cooper, bishop of Winchester; who himself had been unworthily misrepresented and wronged by them. Let me give an extract or two out of his epistle.

Admonition to the People of England.

He tells his reader, " That he was not ignorant what
" danger he drew upon himself by this attempt to answer
" the quarrels and slanders of late time published in certain
" libels against the bishops and other chief of the clergy of
" the church of England. Men saw the eagerness and
" boldness of their spirit that were the authors of them.
" They [the bishops and clergy] tasted already the bitter-
" ness of their tongues and pens. The raging fury of their
" revenge upon all whom they mislike, themselves dis-
" semble not, but lay it down in words of great threaten-
" ings. And therefore he expected all the hurt that ve-
" nomous, scoffing tongues could work against him. And
" how could he hope to escape it, when the saints of God

" in heaven did feel it. For in the course of their whole " libel, when they spake of Peter, Paul, and the blessed " Virgin, &c. whom others justly call *saints*, their phrase " in derision was, *sir Peter*, *sir Paul*, *sir Marie*.——"

He asked, " What the cause was, why they [the bishops] " were with such spite and malice discredited? Surely, be- " cause, as the duty of faithful subjects bound them, (living " in the state of a church reformed,) they endeavoured to " preserve those laws which her majesty's authority and " the whole state of the realm had allowed, and did not " admit a new platform of government, none could tell by " whom. That the reasons that moved them so to do were " these two. First, that they saw no proof brought out of " the word of God, that of necessity such form of govern- " ment ought to be. Secondly, that by placing of the " same it would bring so many alterations and inconve- " niencies, as, in their opinion, would be dangerous to the " prince and to the realm. Some of which inconveniencies 616 " he had in this treatise laid down." Some of the contents of this seasonable treatise are these:

" 1. An admonition to beware of the contempt of the " bishops and other preachers. 2. The ends which the " enemy of the church of God respecteth, in working their " discredit. 3. Answers to the untruths and slanders ut- " tered in Martin's late libel against the archbishop of Can- " terbury, the bishops of London, Rochester, Lincoln, and " Winchester. 4. The causes why the bishops desired to " maintain the present state of the government of the " church: and what inconveniencies they feared, upon the " alteration thereof, would come to the state of the realm. " 5. Answer to certain general crimes objected to all the " bishops without exception."

I cannot omit one period more of this excellent book, as it respects the fresh deliverance of the kingdom at this very time; and how unseasonably such libels were now uttered, under the feigned and fond name of Martin Marprelate.

" Oh! my good brethren and loving countrymen, what " a lamentable thing is this, that even now, when the view

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" of the navy of the Spaniard is scant passed out of sight; " when the terrible sound of their shot ringeth yet, as it " were, in our ears; when the certain purpose of most cruel " and most bloody conquest of this realm is confessed by " themselves, and blazed before our eyes; when our sighs " and groans, with our fasting and prayers, in show of our " repentance, are fresh in memory; and the tears not " washed from the eyes of many good men; when the " mighty works of God, and his marvellous mercies in de- " livering us, and in scattering and confounding our ene- " mies, is bruited over all the world, and with humble " thanks renowned by all them that love the gospel; when " our Christian duty requireth, for joy and thanksgiving, " that we should be seen yet still lifting up our hands and " hearts to heaven, and with thankful minds setting forth " the glory of God; and, with Moses and the Israelites, " singing praises unto his name, and saying, *The Lord* " *hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and the rider*, the " ships and the sailors, the soldiers and their captains, *he* " *hath overthrown in the sea: the Lord is our strength;* " *the Lord is become our salvation*, &c. that even now, I " say, at this present time, we should see in men's hands " and bosoms, commonly, slanderous pamphlets, fresh from " the press, against the best of the church of England, &c. " What unthankfulness is this! What a forgetting of our " duty towards God and towards our brethren! What a " reproach to our profession of the gospel!"——

But notwithstanding this Admonition, and all that the author had writ in vindication of the pious bishops and their government, it stopped not the pens of these abusive malecontents; but soon fell foul upon bishop Cooper, and this his book, with the like scurrilous titles to their libels against him, as they used to do. As, *Work for a Cooper. More work for a Cooper*, &c.

617 An Answer to the Reasons of the Rhemish Translators.

This year also came forth, *An answer to ten frivolous* " *and foolish reasons, set down by the Rhemish Jesuits and* " *papists, in their preface before the New Testament*, by " them lately translated into English. Which have moved

"them to forsake the original fountain of the Greek; "wherein the Spirit of God did endite the gospel, and the "holy apostles did write it; to follow the stream of the "Latin translation: translated we know not when, nor by "whom. With a discovery of many great corruptions and "faults in the said English translation; set out at Rhemes." The author was Edward Bulkely: who dedicated this book to the right honourable sir Francis Walsingham, knt. chief secretary to her majesty. To him he declared the chief reason of publishing his book; "For that it was thought "the said translation and the annotations had seduced "some, and confirmed others in error; and many did not "a little glory of them. And that as some had already in "part discovered the absurdity of the annotations, so this, "he trusted, might sufficiently shew the weakness of those "reasons, and corruption of that translation."

Dr. Reynold. Dr. Bilson. Mr. Prime.

The reasons urged by the Rhemists why they translated the old Latin text, and not the Greek, were, "First, be- "cause it was so ancient, and used in the church of God "above 1300 years ago. And that it was the common re- "ceived opinion, that it was that which St. Hierom after- "ward corrected according to the Greek, by the appoint- "ment of pope Damasus: and consequently, that it was "that which St. Augustin commended and allowed of, in "an epistle to St. Hierom. And that it was that which "for the most part had been used in the church's service, "expounded in sermons, alleged and interpreted in com- "mentaries, &c. And the council of Trent had declared "and defined this only, of all other translations, to be au- "thentic," &c. All these learnedly confuted by this author.

Another part of this book contains, *A discovery of corruptions in this Rhemish New Testament.* And this divided into three parts. 1. Such places as be diverse and contrary to the Greek. 2. Places wherein words and sentences be omitted; expressed in the Greek. 3. Places wherein be superfluities; viz. words and sentences, which

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do abound, and be not in the Greek: and the Greek text approved and justified by the testimonies of ancient translations in the Spanish tongue and Arabian. Then he gave "A catalogue of abundance of strange words and affected "phrases, which the Jesuits in this their English transla- "tion had used; first, to shew their fine eloquence, to "move their readers to admire them. Secondly, to make "the scripture dark, and hard to be understood of the un- "learned people. And lastly, for that they would as much "dissent, and as little agree with us, as they might."

As for example, such words as these: *supersubstantial, loaves of proposition, pasche, day of azymes, parascheue, syndon, victimes, holocausts, refertory, exprobrated, impudicities, make obsecration, supererogate, Paraclete, indurated their heart, contaminated:* and abundance more such like obscure words.

618 The last business of the author of this good book was to lay before the reader many places of scripture, and likewise out of the ancient fathers; shewing, "How requisite "and profitable it is for all men diligently and reverently "to read the word of God." And this, to oppose what the Rhemists had asserted in their preface, viz. "That it was "neither necessary nor profitable to have the holy scripture "in vulgar language, to be read and heard of all people. "And that the godly and faithful might be stirred up to "the daily, diligent, and reverent reading of them. That "they might thereby daily more and more increase in the "knowledge and fear of God."

To which books I add the disputations concerning the sacred scriptures, against Bellarmine and Stapleton, Jesuits, by Dr. Whitaker, public professor of divinity in Cambridge, and master of St. John's college there. Printed at Cambridge this year. The title whereof was,

Disputatio de sacra Scriptura.

Disputatio de sacra scriptura, contra hujus temporis papistas; imprimis Robertum Bellarminum, Jesuitam, pontificium in collegio Romano, et Thomam Stapletonum, regium in schola Duacena controversiarum professorem. Sex

questionibus proposita, et tractata, a Gulielmo Whitakero, theologiæ doctore, ac professore regio, et collegii D. Joannis in Cantabrigiensi academia magistro. The questions were: Anno 1588.

1. *De numero canonicorum librorum scripturæ.*

2. *De editione authentica scripturarum, et versionibus, sacrisque vernaculis.*

3. *De authoritate scripturæ.*

4. *De perspicuitate scripturæ.*

5. *De interpretatione scripturæ.*

6. *De perfectione scripturæ: contra non scriptas traditiones.*

The epistle dedicatory is writ to Cecil, lord treasurer Burghley, and chancellor of that university.

AN

APPENDIX

OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS OF STATE,

RECORDS, LETTERS, &c.

REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING ANNALS.

AN APPENDIX. 1

BOOK I.

Number I.

A letter of the lord treasurer Burghly to sir Henry Unton, the queen's ambassador in France, upon that king's requiring more forces of the queen.

[The beginning of this letter is imperfect.]

MY lord ambassador, I make account at this time the earl of Essex, my l. general, is arrived at the camp for the ..... Diep upon Friday last, and so did also our companies..... And I wish that I have heard at this present by a report..... thither from Diep, that the French king had won mount Katharine..... Cott. lib. Titus, B. 2.

Your last letters reporting the conference had with you there in that court by the French king, and sir Roger Williams being present, hath been somewhat unpleasant unto her majesty, though she findeth no fault therein in you. For the whole contents of the negotiations have been expressed at very large length by the king's letters unto her majesty, and also to her ambassador here; who hath delivered the same to her majesty. And after the same well weighed by her, she hath made answer by writing in a letter of some length, (the copy whereof I do send you,) and therefore mean to make no recital. But am by her majesty commanded to require you to deliver it to the king. And though you shall not use any speech to him in her majesty's name, as it were to participate the contents of the letter, yet you may briefly, after the delivery in thereof, and the king's perusal, say, That you are very sorry, that the time, both 2 on his part and the queen's, be so unseasonable, as neither

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her majesty can yield to his demands, nor he obtain that whereof he hath need.

And yet to deal plainly with you, her majesty hath great cause to suspect, that the report of the king's weakness of his forces there made with good advantage for him. For sir Roger Williams coming from the king with letters of credit at his last being here, made another manner of report of the king's forces, by particular denomination of all sorts, both French and strangers, treble to the number of the king's allegation for very footmen.

And as to the point, that the king maketh doubt of the leaving of the siege to fight with the duke of Parma, we here have good intelligence, that the duke of Parma is not yet in person come from Bruxelles; neither are his forces with the duke de Main Lorrain; and the Italians not so great by a third part as the king's comptroller's report was. And it may be the duke of Parma will not be able to bring his army so far as Roan for lack of victuals, considering he is to come through a country already spoiled and hurried by the Reisters. And besides, if S. Catharines should be won before the duke can come near with his army, the town of Roan may be with a small number blocked up, and the king have sufficient forces to withstand the duke of Parma's assailing, when he shall have comen so many miles in march to encounter with the French king.

These, and such like suppositions, not altogether improbable, have moved her majesty to think the peril of the king not so great as he hath pretended. Which also I wish may prove to be true. But however it is, in truth, the time is not proper to levy new numbers in England at this time of the year, [the depth of winter,] especially to be transported by sea; and impossible to be sent thither in time. For that if the king recover not Roan before two months, there is no hope to gain it for many respects.

Her majesty sendeth sir Thomas Leighton thither of especial trust to advise the earl in the actions. And hath commanded the earl by her own letters. And if the king should depart from Roan to go to fight with the duke of

Parma, the earl should not go with him by any persuasion.

I wish you could come to understand of the truth of all the king's forces; whereunto I cannot prescribe you how to obtain. But by their quartering and encamping, I think it most easy to be known, by some men of judgment that might there use the same. And thus having no other thing at present, I wish and hope shortly to hear some good news of the fort of S. Katharines; whereof I make such account as the old proverb is, *Dimidium plus toto*. From the court at Whitehall, this 12th of December, 1581.

Your assured loving friend,

W. Burghley.

[Number I.]

Mr. Rafe Lane to the lord treasurer; advice upon occasion of the expulsion of king don Antonio out of the kingdom of Portugal; and what use the queen might make of him to annoy king Philip. Dated March 7, 1580.

MOVED of zele to her majesty's safety and service, and of dutiful affection to your lordship, I humbly offer unto your lordship the consideration of a plot, touching the reported state of king Antonio to her majesty for aid. The due execution whereof can in no sort prejudice her majesty either in honour, peril, or charge; and may, with her majesties restraining of the same, many ways get advantage, and most singularly guard her majesty in this doubtful time, from many inconveniences, with the favour of the Almighty. My firm persuasion wherein, and the importance of the same, being used in time, make me bold to break it, and willing only to your lordship to impart it, humbly craving favourable acceptance of my poor good meaning therein. And thus it may please your lordship to understand it. MSS. Burg. 3

1. That the said king, don Antonio, crave of her majesty leave underhand, at his own charge, and of ready pay to her, 5000 soldiers of her majesty's subjects, and a fleet answerable, as well for fight, as for portage of all kind of mu-

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nition and victuals. But that this levy be made altogether by her majesty, and altogether in her majesty's name, in shew for the reformation of Ireland. And therefore that no shew in the world be made for any intention touching the said king.

2. That the king do in like secret manner covenant with her majesty, that if during this his preparation in England, and before the fleet here be ready to leave this coast, the Spanish king, or the pope's powers, do fortune to arrive upon any of her majesty's dominions, that then the said prepared power, at the charge of the said king, shall be employed indeed and mostly in her majesty's service, against the invading Spanish, or popish forces wheresoever. And her majesty for the use of that his levy in her own particular service, to bear only the one half of the charge of the same. So that her majesty will, in consideration thereof, be pleased to covenant with the said king, don Antonio, that her highness will declare herself absolute for him against the Spanish king, if it shall appear that the said Spanish king be in a confederacy against her majesty with the pope.

3. But if the said English fleet shall be ready to depart hence before the coming abroad of the pope's fleet from the coast of Spain, then the said English fleet to go directly to the coast of Spain; where, with the grace of God, they may so employ themselves, that the Spanish king shall have little need to spare any of his own forces from his own defence nearer home, and within his own pretended realms.

4. Thus by diverting the Spanish king's forces from the shew of itself, in the eye of her majesty's subjects at her own doors, her highness shall daunt the courage of any rebellious mind, that otherwise, at the appearing of an enemy in sight, will easily be stirred to mischief. Beside the avoiding of many other dangers, that an invasion, though never so weak, doth draw with it of ordinary. All which shall be at a stranger's charge. Which otherwise her majesty may have good cause to do at her own charge, if she will be safe at home; and if in the mean while her enemy assail her majesty, as is aforesaid, she shall be the more in readiness

either to defend her self, or offend those that would offend her herein.

5. But all the difficulty of this action, next the king Antonio's provisions of ready pays, (without the which nothing can be done,) resteth chiefly and only in the close keeping so much of the intention of this said levy as shall concern the said king, don Antonio.

6. And therefore, as her majesty, with the only advice and administration of one counsellor above, may, if it please her, within two months, make up this supply without further trouble to any one of the rest of the honourable board: so if her majesty shall be pleased to lay that charge upon your lordship, and that without the privity of any other, it will without all doubt, with the blessing of God, every way serve for notable turns for her majesty; what plots or packs soever, either abroad or at home, are made or meant against her majesty. And the meaner men in shew, though not in skill, shall be used in this preparation; who need not to know any other pretence. Then, sir, I think, the better and the more close will the service be carried and covered.

I protest unto your lordship before the Almighty, that 4
as yet no other creature living, but only your lordship, knoweth any part of this plat. Neither have I so much as once conferred with any about the same, more than yesterday with Mr. John S. John; who coming to visit me at my lodging, by chance told me of the earnest suit of king don Antonio his ambassador to her majesty for an English aid; and his earnest entreaty, that her majesty would declare herself against the Spanish king in that action. Which I imagining that her majesty would hardly be brought unto, notwithstanding the said Spanish king has hostile intention to her majesty, made apparent to all the world; I thought in this my simple, humain conceipt, my most dutiful meaning to her majesty, most humbly to present to your lordship only.

And if your lordship shall find, that her majesty may hereby in a sort be served, I will upon word from your lordship by Mr. S. John's means find a mean, that the said king

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don Antonio's ambassador shall be himself a mover of this matter, if he like of it, both to her majesty, by his only mediation, and privity of that council, whose only service therein her majesty will be pleased to use: which can be none other but your lordship only and alone. The 7th of March, 1580.

Your lordships most humble and ready at commandment,

Rafe Lane.

Number II.

Lord Burghley, lord treasurer, his judgment, upon a consultation of the queen and council, concerning a fleet to be sent to the Azores islands, under sir Francis Drake, to assist don Antonio, expulsed his kingdom of Portugal by Philip king of Spain. Digested under certain questions, with answers to each.

Articles to be considered of for the voyage of sir Francis Drake to the sea, with the ships to serve don Antonio, king of Portugal.

MSS. in the Paper-house.

I. FIRST it seems convenient, that seeing the 6th of August the Tercera was in the possession of the said king, it is no offence to any treaty or league with the king of Spain, to permit any her majesty's subjects to serve the said king Antonio, to maintain him in possession thereof: for that her majesty is not bound to take knowledge of any other right that kings have, but as their possession yieldeth knowledge.

II. There is no treaty or league between the crown of England and the crown of Spain for the kingdom of Portugal, nor for any isles or countries possessed by Portugal. So as it is no offence to any league in any subject of her majesties, to do any service in or upon any of the territories, isles, or Indies, possest heretofore by Portugals.

Hereupon for a matter of league, her majesty may permit sir Francis Drake to serve the king Antonio to maintain that he possesseth, or to recover any thing taken from him, whereof he was, as a king, possessed.

The second question is, What is convenient or expedient for her majesty to do in the case, and what may be contrariwise inconvenient?

For the first, it is profitable and convenient that the islands of Azores, and other territories of Portugal, were rather in possession of don Antonio than in the king of Spain, for many over-apparent causes.

For the second, these difficulties are to be remembred. First, if the French king will not judiciously deal for don Antonio, as her majesty should do, the peril might be too great for her alone to provoke the king of Spain. And also, without the help of the French king, her majesty's aid, without it be very great and royal, cannot suffice to procure restitution to king Antonio, to the kingdom of Portugal; which must be the end of his action; or else to invade the isles, or to keep the possession of some part, and not of all, will be but a perpetual war and charge: which ought to be considered of in the beginning.

Whereupon the French king with good assurance is to be plainly understood, before any great action be enterprized by her majesty's subjects, to offend the king of Spain, by seeking to invade any portion of the Portugal territories, being in the king of Spain's possession. But to maintain the possession of king Antonio in any thing held for him seems reasonable, and may in justice be maintained. But how the king of Spain will interpret the action against her majesty will rest in him.

For the second difficulty it may be said, that this voyage may give cause to the king of Spain to arrest all the queen's subjects, their goods and ships, within his power.

Whether it be better to stay the merchants fleet thither this year; wherein by conference with the merchants may be understood what damage shall ensue to her majesty for her customs, and to her realms and subjects. Or whether, in respect of the money in the queen's majesties hands, it may be thought that the king of Spain will not attempt the arrest. Or whether our merchants cannot by little and little recover that they have need of, without conveying into the

BOOK I. king's dominions a great number of ships, mariners, or goods, to the power of the king's arrests.

Questions presently arising upon these preparations.

" I. Whether the voyage shall procede before the queen " be assured that the French king will join with her ma- " jesty for defence of the action, in case the king of Spain " shall offer any violence for the same to the queen's sub- " jects; as by arrest, or by invasion of any her countries, " or by giving support to Scotland, to offend her?

" It was from the beginning concluded, *No.*

" II. What manner of assurance shall the queen require, " or shall admit to be sufficient to warrant the voyage to be " attempted?

" It is reason to have either the French king's letters, or " the writing of such as he appointeth to confer with Mr. " Walsingham to accord thereto: and Mr. Walsingham to " deliver the like.

" III. What shall be done with this great preparation?

" Either they must continue as they do; which is at " about 20*l.* the day or more, by the uncertainty of Mr. " Outred's unknown charge at Hempton [Southampton]. " Or secondly, There must be some diminution of men. Or " thirdly, Three ships and a bark might be sent to the isles " to do service there, where Drake and Hawkins assent, " and think thereby great service may ensue. And in this " case the rest of the ships may be reduced to a smaller " charge; and yet remain in readiness upon knowledge " from France. Or else the whole preparation to be sold. " The victuals to merchants trading voyage: the munition, " &c. reserved for her majesty.

King Antonio will not assent hereto, as to bear any charges thereof.

" Or lastly, The whole to procede as they are in readi- " ness: so as it may be accorded how the charge shall be " born at their coming thither. For which purpose Mr. " Drake and Hawkins say, that it is meant afore Mr. Se- " cretary went, that supposing the charge to be in this sort: " 5000*l.* by the queen's majesty to Mr. Secretary, to be ac- " counted the money of king Antonio; 2000*l.* to be Mr.

" Secretaries; the rest according to 6 or 7000*l.* to belong
" to Dr. Hawk and other adventurers. Upon this supposi-
" tion they would have that one half that should be won 6
" from the king of Spain, of his fleet, or of his isles, should
" be answered to the king. Another half to be divided:
" One quarter to tunnage of the ships, after 5*s.* the tun.
" One quarter to the whole company.
" And then half allowed to the king to be divided:
" One part to the king himself.
" One part to Mr. Secretary, and to Mr. Dr. and the
" other adventurers.
" But here my opinion, the queen's majesty for her 5000*l.*
" should be forgotten: for it were no reason that her ma-
" jesty should have either payment of her 5000*l.* of the
" merchandize of the isles that should come hither; or else
" to have a portion, as Mr. Secretary, and Mr. Dr. and
" others should have.
" *Item*, It is convenient that the 5000*l.* should be ac-
" counted for in the name of Mr. Secretary: for that her
" majesty at the lending thereof would not have it other-
" wise accounted; and yet Mr. Secretary to render to her
" majesty that should be allowed to him for it.
" IV. What sir Francis Drake shall do, if the French
" king come into the action?
" He may by commission from king Antonio justly do
" any service against any that will impeach king Antonio's
" possession in the Tercera, or in any other isles. 2. He
" may attempt upon the Madera, or upon any other island
" that did belong to don Antonio, as king of Portugal.
" These services he may do without breach of league with
" the king of Spain."

Objection. But by these only actions, neither shall the king Antonio be so profited, as shall tend to bring him to possession of Portugal, or the East Indies: neither is it likely that by these his actions the charges shall be discharged of the preparation.

Answer. It is true. Therefore of necessity it followeth, that he must attempt to take any thing he can from the

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king of Spain, as his title to the islands of Canaries, or any island on Nova Spain, or in Peru.

Whereof followeth, that though he [sir Francis Drake] shall do this by king Antonio's commission, who hath a just war against the king of Spain; yet if the king of Spain shall take this action, as maintained by her majesty, then shall it be at his will, as he shall find himself able to avenge it upon her majesty, by arresting and taking all her people, ships, and mariners, being in his country, and coming within his power. *Item*, He may give new support to Ireland, and relief to the king of Scots, to be an ill neighbour.

If the voyage procede not, the king Antonio ought to have the jewel in good reason. For he shall have nothing for his jewel. The preparations would be viewed and sold, and distributed. The loss to be borne. The king might have the jewel; or, upon some less jewel upon his own bond, have sold to him the four ships which he desireth, and the munition also, as shall be thought meet to be spared.

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Number III.

A true answer to the articles exhibited by the bishop of Norwich, against sir Robert Jermin, sir John Higham, knights; Robert Ashfield and Thomas Badly, esquires, justices of the peace.

Epist. episcopal. penes me.

I. TO the first we say, That we countenance none but such as are lovers of God's true religion, and dutiful subjects to her majesty. If he [the bishop of Norwich] shall press us in particular, we will particularly answer.

II. To the second we answer, That Coppin and Tyler, [who were dispersers of Brown's seditious books; and afterwards the former executed for the same, anno 1583,] being committed to prison five or six years past, and often convented before the judges of our assizes, so long as there was hope to do any good unto them by Christian persuasion and counsel, we were means unto the judges for their freedom. But when by experience we found, that neither our entreating, nor the often godly references and labours

of divers learned and godly pastors (which we only procured) could any thing prevail, we gave them up to their froward wills; and became earnest suitors both to the bishop and judges, that they might be removed out of our prison for fear of infecting others. Which we could never obtain at the bishop's hand. But he hath kept them here without offering them any means for their conversion; rather, as we presume, for stales to catch and endanger men with, than for any good intended to themselves or any other.

For remedy whereof we do humbly pray your lordship, that the bishop, according to his office, may be ordered to take them to his prison at Norwich. And for the truth of this our answer, we appeal to my lord chief justice of England, [sir Christopher Wray,] and the master of the Rolls that now is: then judges of our assizes.

Baker, mentioned in that article, we knew not. [M. Paine, a baker, was mentioned by Day, in his letter to the bishop, to have been bound over by these justices.]

III. To the third we say, That he and they who set down this article for the bishop (the articles indeed being compact at Bury, the bishop being at Ludham, which we pray your good lordship to observe) was much to blame to make the bishop a patron of unlearned ministers. For it was their pleasures only to be true in this, and in nothing else. For the bishop indeed hath not only favoured and countenanced those ignorant ministers which he found when he came, but added unto those of his own creation and ordination twice so many as any other bishop of this londe hath had in this, as we verily think. Yet to the point of the article we answer, that we never heard any other, neither do ourselves hold that an ignorant minister may not be tolerated. For daily experience sheweth, that we are present at the reading of the service appointed by authority. But we do heartily pray, that none might be now ordained, but such as are both able and apt to teach.

IV. To the fourth we say, That we cannot but mervail at the *butt* of these articles, that they durst offer unto your

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lordship a *butt* at Geneva psalms and sermons. [This article ran, that these justices were for nothing else *but* the Geneva psalms and sermons.] The *Psalms* were David's and other holy fathers inspired by the Holy Ghost. The necessity of *sermons* your lordship knoweth. Surely we cannot but lament, that any, pretending religion and obedience to her majesty, should be so far carried as to utter such unchristian speeches, to the disgracing of so Christian and religious exercises so universally frequented in all her ma-
8 jesty's dominions, being speeches proper to scoffers and professed enemies; and therefore in these articles the more insufferable.

But to the article. This Wodde was a very simple young man, whom divers religious persons of the town seeking to establish, thinking, by retaining of him, either that their old preachers should be troubled, or made less able to live; and so by that means to beat the ministry of the word quite out of the town, (as their purpose is even still.) We calling together all the inhabitants of that parish, remembring the usage or custom that the people of Burie, ever sithence the suppression of the abby, used to chuse their ministers; by which order the said Wodde was elected to that place. And so agreement was made for tryal of him until the Lady-day following: during which time, finding him utterly unable to discharge the place, about a fortnight before our Lady-day, warning was given him by like order of the parish to avoid at the day. Which because he refused, Mr. Badby, being a parishoner and justice of the peace in the town, advised him not to intrude himself into that charge, without the goodliking and approbation of the people, being then another prepared to serve: for the which the said Wodde, by the bishop's and Mr. Andrew's instinction, procured very unjustly the said Mr. Badby to be indicted as a disturber. And where he saith, that all the justices opposed themselves against him in the action; the truth is, that sir Robert Jermyn was then at London, and none of us which were present further meddled in this action, than that we thought we had both interest and authority. But

when the bishop, both by his letters and his word, had declared himself to have interest to collate, neither we nor any other did stir further in that cause, either to the making of division in that parish or trouble to his lordship.

V. To the fifth we say, That the Angel is an ordinary place, where we meet for her majesty's service, directed unto us by letters in commission or otherwise. And never have proceeded to the determination of any cause ecclesiastical; no, scarce to the hearing of any, the bishop only being of the quorum in the ecclesiastical commission. But if we did ever deal in any, it was by his assignment; as in the case of Gibbons justified adultery, who hath married a wife, the first husband yet living. Which yet remaineth unreformed, to the no little grief of many good men.

VI. To the sixth we confess, That the commonry was sometime there before us, for conference to join our authorities together in helping the good and punishing the wicked. Other troubles and complaints made against him by others for divers his abuses. But we say, that to our remembrances we never threatned to send him to the jayle if he came not presently unto us.

VII. To the seventh, Mr. Blage and the commissary have often used hard and unkind speeches one towards the other. But the matters heard before the high commissioners at London were compounded with the seeking and desire of the commissary. Mr. William Jermin, after the first falling out between them, (being five years sithence,) being earnestly required by sir Robert, never offered him violence or violent speech sithence. And as for further course of justice, he never denied it unto him, nor to any other to his knowledge. Neither did the commissary ever seek for further security at any other justices hand in the county. Which proved that he remained in no fear.

VIII. To the eighth we say, That we do not remember that we used any speech against him, unless it were in a case mentioned in the tenth article. Upon the answer whereof we will refer to your lordship's judgment, what

BOOK I. cause we had by his false and unjust proceeding sharply to reprove him.

9 IX. To the ninth sir Robert Jermyn answereth, That to his remembrance he never delivered any such speeches, but professeth rather, that he hath often laboured the commissary to join authorities together, to the repressing of sin and wickedness. And sir John Higham thinketh, that both he hath said, that the commissary is no magistrate, (though he greatly vaunteth thereof,) and also that he may justify the same. For proof whereof he saith, that none, except the queen's majesty, and such as hath *jura regalia*, can depute another to be a magistrate. Which he verily thinketh the bishop hath not, if the commissary were proper officer under him, as he thinketh he is officer under the archdeacon of Sudbury.

X. To the tenth we say, That we bound Dr. Day to his good behaviour. And the cause we humbly beseech your lordship to note: for that it was pertinent to the eighth article. We understanding that he hath purposed to elect and swear certain questmen in Bury, which were suspect not to favour religion, devised by himself and his consort, on purpose to gall and annoy the preachers, ministers, and honestest sort of the town, with their continual presentments; we understanding thereof conferred with the commissary, and shewed him the inconvenience likely to ensue of this his election. Besides, we told him that the law, in our opinions, should not bear a commissary to elect questmen, but that properly the choice rested in the minister and people of every parish. With which reasons of ours he seemed satisfied, and promised faithfully not to procede to election of them or any other without our privity; protesting, that of himself he knew not ten of the parish. Notwithstanding, in short time after, forgetting all duty and promise, as he was going to his court, to perform this action, we received intelligence, and sent for him; who promised to come presently. But before his coming he swore those men in that office, contrary to his promise before made unto us, and contrary

to the cause for the which he knew we sent for him. And then he came unto us. And we not knowing what he had done, began again in good and loving manner to entreat him to forbear that election. He answered scoffingly, that he had done, and could not undoe. Whereupon, for his untrue and unlawful proceding, not contented to break promise with us, but to scoff and scorn at it when he had done, one of us called him *Jack*, and bound him to his *good behaviour*. But we remember not the other hard speeches mentioned in the eighth article. And suspecting the election to be unlawful, and knowing divers of the said questmen to be backward men in religion, we charged them to be careful how they proceeded in that office. The one of them giving us such lusty answers at that time, we were enforced to bind him to further appearance.

XI. To the eleventh we say, That the same Mr. Philips, being brother to the commissary, made a sermon at Bury, wherein, for the most part, he was occupied in depraving the godly preachers of the town and country; comparing them to unbridled colts rushing through the whole hedge; and yet not so contented, called them vipers, serpents, stingers, and unsatiable beasts. Which sermon ended, and Mr. Badby aforesaid all the time being present thereat, finding thereby that he sought by all the terms he could devise to sever the hearts of the people from their faithful ministers, he sent his man to the said Mr. Philips, requesting him to come unto him for conference with him touching that sermon. Whereunto Mr. Philips asked the messenger, What token his master had sent to him, that he might know that he had sent for him? The messenger answered, By the token which he did wear was his master's livery. And then Mr. Philips answered, He would speak with him another time: and so departed and went to dinner with Mr. Andrews at his house. Whereupon Mr. Badby sent the constable for Mr. Philips; who, together with Mr. Andrews and the commissary, repaired unto Mr. Badby. And then Mr. Andrews demanded of Mr. Badby, Wherefore he had sent for Mr. Philips? Who answered, That he thought he

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had not made a charitable sermon, but an undiscrete. And therefore he would gladly have talked with him. And Mr. Philips very deridingly said to Mr. Badby, I thought you had sent for me to dinner, and my dinner was provided. Mr. Andrews promising of himself, offering, that if he would send him to prison, he and the commissary would be bound for him. Mr. Badby answered, He would take none of their bonds, but Mr. Philips's own bond for his appearance the next morning before the rest of the justices. Which he did for preventing division, which he feared would ensue thereof, as in truth there did.

Thereupon the commissary (which sheweth the sermon to be a matter of set purpose) commanded Mr. Badby, that the same morning by the hour aforesaid, in which he had commanded Mr. Philips's appearance, that he should be at the court. For which his non-appearance he was excommunicate. And after, on the Monday aforesaid, upon Mr. Philips's appearance, we and divers others in commission, upon hearing the matter, both for the misliking of his sermon, for his very railing terms before mentioned, and for other his contemptuous demeanour, thereupon thought good, in discretion, to bind him for his appearance for further consideration in that cause, (the words aforesaid being set down under his own hand.) And as touching the term in the article set down, sir Robert Jermyn saith, He remembreth he called him *crafty merchant*, because he craftily went about by certain questions to bring the answerers within danger of law. Mr. Ashfield, he saith, that upon the hearing of the whole matter, and understanding that he was and is beneficed at Bradly in Suffolk, and non-resident there, and had left his own charge, and had offered the unfitting terms before mentioned, he used these speeches: viz. "We are more troubled with these unresi-" dented knaves than with all the country beside."

And as for Mr. Blage, he alluded to *plague*, whereof Mr. Philips is most abiding. And yet at that time he said to Mr. Philips, I mean you, not a papistical Jesuit. And for that cause was called before the high commis-

sioners: where the cause, as we are informed, took a full end.

And touching his further binding at the sessions for his behaviour, we say, That at the said sessions was present the lord North, and sundry other justices; where all matters being heard at full, and Mr. Philips answering very contemptuously and disdainfully, it was thought good, by the consent of the whole bench, to bind him to his *good behaviour*. Which cause hath been at large heard by the justices of assize.

XII. To the twelfth article, sir John Higham denieth, that he used the speech mentioned in the article, or any to that effect. But he well remembreth, that upon the disliking the parishioners of St. James's in Bury had taken against Gyles Wodde their minister, he, the said sir John, for the ending of the cause with most quiet and peace that might be for that towne, persuaded with the said Wodde to give place to some other more fit for the parish, and to betake him to some more fit place for his weak gifts: Wodde justifying himself to be sufficient for the place, because he could read the service established in the Book of Common Prayer. Then the said sir John answered, That if he had no better proof of his sufficiency than the reading of the service in the book appointed, that then a man might have a boy of twelve years old to do as much as he.

Thus we have truly delivered unto your lordship our answer to the bishops untrue accusations. The several matters whereof be some six, some five, some four, and the least of very near two years continuance. Which being both so old and so weak, do shew, that rather to discredit us with her majesty than to reform any amisses in us, his lordship hath put down these matters against us. But being so old, so weak, and so untrue, do decipher his too great malice rather to our persons than actions. We are therefore very humble suitors unto your good lordship, that not for our 11 sake alone, but for the state of our country, which we serve under her majesty, we may enjoy that honourable favour which you have always shewed unto all men; that your

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lordship would become our petitioner unto her majesty, that now we have been called out of our country, and every street doth sound our disgrace, wrought by the bishop, that either we may receive the just deserts of our doings by due punishment, or, being cleared both in her majesty's royal judgment and your lordship's opinion, the bishop, for his bold and untrue suggestions, may be so censured, as we may, with the restitution of our poor reputation, attend with some good comfort upon our places. In the which we do desire no longer to live than we should be found very loyal and dutiful to our so gracious sovereign.

Number IV.

John bishop of Excester to the lord treasurer Burghley; to favour his proceedings against one Randal, a minister in his diocese, of the family of love, holding dangerous opinions.

Lit. episcopales penes me.

MY duty to your lordship remembred. For that I am advertised, that the lords of council had, and yet have earnest complaint made unto them against me, for my proceedings against one Anthony Randal, late parson of Lydford in my diocese; whom I justly deprived for his dampnable opinions and heresies. And after his appeal from me to the Arches, and from thence to her majesty's *delegates*, I had my proceedings approved and ratified; yet for that your lordship may haply not be acquainted therewith, and also for your better resolution of my doings, and the saving of my credit with you, I thought it appertaining to my duty to send your lordship herewith a copy of his strange opinions truly exemplified. Which opinions he maintaineth obstinately at this present; and within these few days subscribed unto them again, in the presence of divers public notaries, as it may appear unto your lordship by this enclosed, the original remaining in my registry, as a perpetual testimonial against Randal.

And for that Randal hath many complices, and that hurtful sect, the *family of love*, beginneth to creep in this

country, of the which company twenty are brought to open recantation in this cathedral church, and my proceedings against the rest would be much weakened if the untrue reports of Randal or his friends should be heard: in consideration of the premisses, I do beseech your lordship, that my sentence given against the said Randal, and ratified, as aforesaid, may have good countenance and liking at your hands. Which I request, not so much for mine own credit, as for the peace and quietness of God's church; which, by means of Randal and his adherents, is very much disturbed. Thus fearing to be tedious to your lordship, I commend you to the protection of the Almighty. Excestre, the 6th of June, 1581.

Your lordships to command,

John Exon.

Number V. 12

Minutes of a warrant to Edward Stafford, esq. for parsonages, chapels, guilds, &c. dissolved, concealed.

[The insertions within crotchets are of the lord treasurer's hand.]

ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, &c. To our trusty counsellor, lord treasurer of England, and to our chancellor of our exchequer and dutchy of Lancaster, &c. We let ye wete, that of our special grace and mere motion, we are pleased and contented, to give and grant to our well beloved subject and servant, Edward Stafford, esq. one of our gentlemen pensioners, a lease or leases for years, of all such parsonages impropriate, free chapels, guilds, chauntries, lay-prebends, colleges, and hospitals, relinquished, dissolved or escheated: [to which hospitals there have not been any poor belonging within these two and twenty years: for that we wish such rather to be restored than the lands to be converted to other uses:] and of all parsonages and vicarages whatsoever, which [have not incumbents, and] are without cure, by reason that the parishes are depopulated, and the churches thereof profaned, decayed, wasted, MSS. Burg.

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or defaced, with all their members, commodities, appendances whatsoever, which now been, continue, and remain wrongfully detained, withholden, or kept from us: and which of right to me do or may belong or appertain, [by any title grown to our crown since the twenty seventh year of our noble father king Henry VIII.[a]] which hereafter shall or may be found or revealed, or [justly] challenged by the said Edward Stafford, his deputies or assigns, or any of them.

[a] This within the crotchet added, and crossed out again.

Yielding or paying therefore yearly unto us, our heirs and successors, during the said lease or leases, so much yearly rent, and after such rate as the same, or any part thereof, are, or have been valued at in our books of first fruits and tenths, or in any other of our records[b]. And further, of our special grace, we also are pleased and contented, to grant unto the said Edward Stafford, as well the advowsons, presentations, nominations, and donations, of all and singular parsonages and vicarages being without cure, profaned, depopulated, decayed, wasted, or defaced, [in as ample sort to us as the same doth or may justly belong.] As also the advowsons, presentations, nominations, donations of all other parsonages and vicarages with cure, prebends, presentative and donative: which are concealed, wrongfully detained, withholden, or kept from us, by any manner of means whatsoever, of right do belong or appertain to our presentation, donation, nomination, or collation: to give, dispose, and present unto the same, so often as any of them shall fall, be, or become void, during the term of years, according to the true intent and meaning hereof. [In all which grants of the premisses, for avoiding of ancient titles that are doubtful, we do not mean, that the said Edward Stafford, or his assigns, shall have or inherit in any kind of the premisses, by any other right or title due to us, but that which hath grown due to our crown from the twenty sixth year of the king our noble father.]

[b] It may be there were no records where towns and records were wasted in the civil wars, and some in the barons wars 300 years past. *Lord treasurer's hand.*

Whereunto we will and command you, that you do from time to time from henceforth, [upon due information given unto you by the said Edward Stafford, or his assigns, of

any said titles to any of the premisses, and where- BOOK I.
unto you shall perceive that we ought to be entitled, cause to be made such and] so many books and writings as shall be requisite and necessary, to be past by us of the premisses or any part thereof, unto the said Edward Stafford, his deputies or assigns, for the aforesaid term of years: and for the new rent abovementioned, according to the true intent and meaning hereof; with a proviso to be contained in [all and every] our said grants, or letters patents, that if any variance, suite, debate, or controversy [by the claim or 13
complaint of any person] shall happen to rise or grow in or about any of the premises, or concerning any manner of presentation, removing, or displacing of any preacher, minister, [or scholar,] parson, or vicar; that then the same [grants shall be suspended until such controversy, claim, or complaint] shall be heard and determined [by order of our laws, or otherwise in equity] in our court of exchequer, by you, the lord treasurer of England and chancellor of our exchequer for the time being, [for any matter belonging to the revenues of our crown: and by you, our chancellor of the dutchy, and our atturney there, for any cause, &c.] if the parties grieved shall require. And these our letters shall be your sufficient discharge for the doing thereof.

Number VI.

Campion's letter to the privy-council; offering to avow and prove his catholic religion before all the doctors and masters of both universities; and requiring a disputation.

In nomine Jesu, Amen.

RIGHT honourable, whereas I came out of Germany, Foxii MSS.
and Boëmland, being sent by my superior, and adventured my self into this noble realm, my dear country, for the glory of God, and the benefit of souls; I thought it like enough, that in this busy, watchful, suspicious world, I should, either sooner or later, be interrupted, and stopp'd of my

BOOK I.

course: wherefore providing for all events, and uncertain what shall or may become of me, when God shall happily deliver my body into durance; I suppose it needful to put this writing in a readiness, desiring your good lordships to give it the reading, and to know my case. This doing shall ease you of some labour; for that which otherwise you must have sought for by practice of wit, I do now lay into your hands by plain confession. And to the intent this whole matter may be conceived in order; and so the better understood and remembered, I make therefore all my points and articles directly, truly, and resolutely, opening my full enterprize and purpose.

I confess that I am (tho' unworthy) a priest of the catholick church, and, through the great mercy of God, vowed now these eight years to the society of Jesus: and thereby have taken upon me a special kind of warfare under the banner of obedience, and have resigned all my interest and possibility of worldly wealth, honour, and pleasure, and other worldly felicity.

At the voice of our general provost, which is to me a warrant from heaven, and an oracle from Christ, I took my voyage from Prague to Rome, where our said father general is always resiant, and from Rome into England; as I must and would have done joyously into any part of Christendom or heatheness, had I been thereto assigned.

My charge is, of free cost to preach the gospel, to minister the sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reform sinners, to confute errors; in brief, to cry *alarme* spiritually against foul vice and proud ignorance, wherewith many my poor countrymen be abused.

I never had mind, and am straitly forbidden by our father that sent me, to deal in any respect with any matter of estate or policy of this realm, as those things that appertain not to my vocation, and from which I gladly estrange and sequester my thoughts.

I do ascribe to the glory of God, with all humility and your correction, three sorts of indifferent and quiet audience.
14 The first before your honours; wherein I will discourse of

religion so far forth as it toucheth the commonwealth and your nobilities. The second, whereof I make most account, before the doctors and masters of the chosen men of both universities; wherein I undertake to avow the faith of our catholick church by proofs invincible, scriptures, councils, fathers, histories, natural and moral reason. The third, before the lawyers spiritual and temporal; wherein I will justify the same faith by common wisdom of law, standing yet in force and practice.

I would be loth to speak any thing that might sound of an insolent brag or challenge, especially being now as a dead man to the world, and willing to cast my head under every man's foot, and kiss the ground they tread upon: yet have I such a courage in advancing the majesty of Jesus my king, and such affiance in his gracious favour, and such assurance in my quarrel, and my evidence so impregnable; that because I know perfectly, that none of those protestants, nor all the protestants living, nor any sect of our adversaries, howsoever they face men down in their pulpits, and over-rule us in their kind of *grammarians*, and unlearned sort, can maintain their doctrine in disputation. I am most humbly and instantly for the combat with them all, or every of them, or the principal that may be found: protesting, that in this trial the better furnished they come, the better welcome they shall come to me.

And because it hath pleased God to enrich the queen my sovereign lady with notable gifts of nature, learning, and princely education, I do verily trust, that if her highness would vouchsafe her royal person and good attention to such conference as in the second part of my first article I have mentioned and requested, or to a few sermons which in her and your hearing I am to utter, such a manifest fair light, by good method and plain dealing, may be cast upon those controversies, that possibly her zeal of truth, and love of her people, shall encline her most noble grace to disfavour some proceedings hurtful to the realm, and procure towards us opprest more ease.

Moreover, I doubt not but her noble counsellors, being

BOOK I.

of such wisdom [and religion, *added in another copy*] in causes most important, when you shall have heard these questions in religion opened faithfully, which many times by our adversaries are huddled up and confounded, will see upon what substantial grounds our catholick faith is builded, and how feeble that side is which by sway of the times prevaileth against us.

So at last, for your souls health, and for many thousand souls that depend upon your government, will discountenance error when it is betrayed, and hearken to those that will spend their best blood in their bodies for your salvation. Many innocent hands are lift up to heaven for you daily and hourly by those English students, whose posterity shall not die, which, beyond sea gathering virtue and sufficient knowledge for the purpose, are determined never to give over, but either to win you to heaven, or die upon your pikes.

As touching our society, be it known unto you, that we have made a league, all the Jesuites in the world, whose succession and multitude must over-reach all the practices of England, chearfully to carry the cross that you shall lay upon us, and never to despair your recovery, while we have a man left to enjoy your Tyburn, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your poysons. Expences are reckoned; the enterprize is begun: it is of God; it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted; so it must be restored.

If these my offers be refused, and my endeavours can take no place, and I having run thousands of miles to do you good shall be rewarded with rigor, I have no more to say, but to recommend your case and mine to Almighty God, the searcher of hearts: who send us of his grace, and set us at accord, before the day of payment; to the end at last we may be friends in heaven, where all injuries shall be forgotten.

Number VII.

A relation of the cruel burning of Richard Atkins, an Englishman, in Rome: put into the inquisition for disturbing the priest carrying the sacrament.

HE was set upon an ass without any saddle, being from the middle upward naked, having some English priests with him; who talked to him, but he regarded them not, but spake to the people in so good language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way; and therefore willed them, for Christ's cause, to have regard to the saving of their souls. Engl. Roman Life, chap. iii. pr. 1590.

All the way as he went, there were four who did nothing else but thrust at his naked body with burning torches: whereat he neither moved nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured still to persuade the people: after, bending his body to meet the torches as they were thrust at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning still upon his own body; whereat the people not a little wondered. Thus he continued almost the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peters, where the place of execution was.

When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device not to make the fire about him, but to burn his leggs first, which they did, he not dismaying any whit, but suffered all marvellous cheerfully; which moved the people to such a quandary, as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered to him a cross, and willed him to embrace it, in token that he dyed a Christian: but he put it away with his hand; telling them, that they were evil men to trouble him with such paltry, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in majesty and mercy, ready to receive him into the eternal rest.

They seeing him still in that mind, departed; saying, *Let us go, and leave him to the devil whom he served.* Thus ended this faithful soldier and martyr of Christ, who is no doubt in glory with his Master.

This was faithfully avouched by John Young, who was

BOOK I. at that time, and a good while after, in Rome, in service with master Dr. Moorton; who seeing the martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in presence of Mr. Smithson, Mr. Creed, and the said John Young, his servant, spake as followeth: "Surely this fellow was mar-"vellous obstinate. He nothing regarded the good counsel "was used to him, nor never shrunk all the way, when the "torches were thrust at his naked body. Beside, at the "place of execution he did not faint, or cry one jot in the "fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned "him by degrees, as his legs first, to put him to the greater "pain; yet all this he did but smile at. Doubtless, but "that the word of God cannot but be true, else we might "judge this fellow to be of God: for who could have suf-"fered so much pain as he did? But truly I believe the "devil was in him."

On which words the writer makes this reflection: Behold, good reader, how they doubt among themselves. And because they will not speak against their master the pope, they inferr the mighty power of God upon the devil.

16 Number VIII.

Academiæ Oxoniensis ad D. Burghleum Epistola gratulatoria.

MSS. Burg. QUAM sit beata et fælix respub. literaria (illustriss. domine) quod te virum prudentia ornatum singulari, et summa præditum authoritate, nacta sit patronum et defensorem; testis est, non illa modo Cantabrigiensis academia, quæ in tuo patrocinio et tutela fæliciter acquiescit; sed et Oxoniensis nostra, quæ nuper e turbulenta tempestate, prospero bonitatis tuæ flatu cursum accelerante, in tranquillitatis portum devecta est. Nam cum academia nostra nihil habeat ad suam dignitatem tuendam, nihil ad pacem eam qua Musæ delectantur stabiliendam utilius, privilegiis illis augustissimis et antiquissimis, quibus eam nobilissimi principes ad religionis, virtutis, bonarumque literarum propagatio-

nem donarunt, anxerunt, exornarunt: quodnam potuit ab honore tuo beneficium in eam majus, aut præstantius conferri, quam ut ope tua, solum ipsa privilegia graviter oppugnata, ab injuria honorificentissime vindicarentur: sed etiam ut vicecomes comitatus Oxoniensis, pro eo ac debebat et solebat, in eorundem non solum observationem, sed defensionem etiam et tutelam, sit semper in posterum juraturus? Quo sane singulari perpetuoque beneficio, cum satis exploratum habeamus, honorem tuum non minus esse de academia nostra tuenda studiosum, quam de tua Cantabrigiensi ornanda sollicitum, (sic enim non solum reipsa cognovimus, sed perhonorifico procancellarii nostri sermone accepimus) æquum est, ut nos te majori fide, ardentiore studio, fideliore observantia, colamus et revereamur; quibus naturæ tuæ bonitate invitatis, tam benigne consulas; quam illis, quos suscepti muneris ratione adductus, amplecteris. Quare gratias habemus honori tuo et humillimas, et plurimas, et maximas, quod nobis studiisque nostris tam honorifice prospexeris; sanctissimeque pollicemur, nunquam nos ne Cantabrigiensibus quidem tuis, in te colendo, honorando, suspiciendo, et omni officii genere tibi satisfaciendo ulla re, ullo tempore concessuros. Deus Opt. Max. qui te ad amplissimum honoris gradum evexit, et in excelso loco collocavit, ut gravissimorum negotiorum pondus et onus sustineres, ab omni periculo incolumem te conservet, novisque indies honoribus cumulet, ut tuo consilio et auxilio non solum academiæ magis magisque floreant; sed politia etiam hujus regni, et ecclesia Dei, novis quotidie fælicitatis accessionibus augeantur. Oxon. 5° cal. Julii, 1581.

Amplitudini tuæ deditissima,
Academia Oxoniensis.

Illustriss. viro D. Guil. Burghleio summo Angliæ thesaurario, et academiæ Cantabrigiensis cancellario dignissimo.

BOOK I.

Number IX.

Exemplum chartæ an. 29. Edwardi Tertii. Pro juramento vicecomitis. Touching the university of Oxon.

Ex rotulo cartarum de anno vicessimo nono regni regis Edwardi Tertii. Pro cancellar. et scholaribus, Oxon.

ITEM, ad majorem securitatem et quietem studentium in universitate predicta pro perpetuo ordinamus et concedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod quilibet vicecomes Oxon. qui pro tempore erit in receptione commissionis sue, juramentum prestet corporale, quod magistros et scholares universitatis Oxon. et eorum servientes, pro viribus ab in-
17 juriis et violenciis proteget et defendet, et pacem in universitate predicta quantum in ipso est, faciet conservari, præfatisque cancellario et scholaribus, ad puniend. perturbatores pacis ibm. juxta privilegia et statuta universitatis predicta, semper cum opus fuerit, prestabit consilium et juvamen, et ad privilegia, libertates, et consuetudines dict. universitatis defendend. pro viribus opem feret. Et quod a vicecomite suo, et aliis ministris suis in com. predicto statim cum post susceptum officium ad castrum vel villam Oxon. declinaverit in presentia alicujus ex parte universitatis ad hoc deputandi consimiliter recipiet juramentum, ad quod ipsos ministros per eundem vicecomitem compelli volumus et arctari.

Hanc etiam formam jurandi volumus exnunc addi formæ juramenti vic. dicti loci in receptione commissionis suæ prestari consueti. Ceterum quia super penis pro securiori conservatione pacis ipsius universitatis statuend. ac super aliis quæ juxta submissiones predictas ad perpetuam præmissorum memoriam pie per Dei gratiam facere proponimus jam ordinare non possumus, variis et arduis negotiis prepediti, ordinationem hujusmodi nobis specialiter reservamus. His testibus venerabilibus patribus, Johanne archiepiscopo Ebor. Angliæ primate, cancellario nostro Willielmo Winton. episcopo, thesaurario nostro, magistro Miche de Northburgh electo London confirmato, Henrico duce Lancastr. Willielmo de Bohun Northampton. Richardo Arundel, Thma de

Bello campo Warr. Rogero Marsh, Willielmo Sarum, Johanne de Vere, Oxon. comitibus, Galfrido de Saye, et Johanne de Greye, de Rotherfeild, senescallo hospitii nostri, et aliis, dat. per manum nostram apud Turrim London. vicessimo septimo die Junii, anno regni nostri Angliæ vicessimo nono, regni vero nostri Franciæ decimo sexto.

Per ipsum regem.

Number X.

Sales of Edward earl of Oxford. And names of the purchasers. And his debts to the queen.

Lands.	*Purchaser.*
Lanham, Camps, Fulmer	Mr. Skinner.
Wivenhoe, Bentley, Baterswick, New-years farm	Mr. Glascock.
Tolebury, Northtofts, Skaths	Irael Amys.
Stansted Montfitchets, Burnels, Bury Lodge, Benfield Bury	Mr. Hubbard.
Bumsted, alias Bunsted Helion	Will. Stibbing.
Over Geldam, Nether Geldam, Little Geldam, alias Yeldam	John Mabb.
Yeldam hall, Brownes barn, Pool farm, Bovelay farm, and Bennets lands	Robert Plumbe.

All these lands and manours the lord treasurer gave warrant for the extending them, July the 23, 1590.

Where the park and manour of Lanham was let for 100 marks per annum.

The manour of Fulmer, forty pounds per annum.

The manour of Camps, an hundred pounds per annum. 18 Whereof Mr. Skinner was rated at four hundred pounds for his share.

Debts to the queen. Forfeitures,

In the court of wards 11000*l.* that is,

BOOK I.

Forfeiture of covenants upon the livery, 4000*l.*
Upon his wardship, 3000*l.*
And other obligations, 4000*l.* odd hundred shillings more.
All this appeared on record.
More, sold to Roger Herlakendon,
Coln Park, and a parcel of meddow, for 2000*l.*
The manour of Earls Coln, for 500*l.*
Coln Priory also.

Number XI.

Thomas Sampson's account of the conversion, and divers historical remarks of the holy life of J. Bradford, martyr.

Preface to Bradford's Sermon of Repentance.

I, WHICH did know him familiarly, must needs give to God this praise for him; that among men I have scarce known one like unto him. I did know when, and partly how, it pleased God, by effectual calling, to turn his heart unto the true knowledge and obedience of the most holy gospel. Of which God did give him such a heavenly hold and lively feeling, that as he did then know that many sins were forgiven him, so surely he declared by deeds that he loved much. For where he had both gifts and callings to have employed himself in civil and worldly affairs profitably, such was his love of Christ, and zele to the promoting his glorious gospel, that he changed not only the course of his former life, as even his former study.

Touching the first: After that God touched his heart with that holy and effectual calling, he sold his rings, chains, brockets, and jewels of gold, which before he used to wear, and did bestow the price of this his former vanity in the necessary relief of Christ's poor members which he could hear of, or find lying sick, or pining in poverty.

Touching the second: He so declared his great zele and love to promote the glory of the Lord Jesus, whose goodness and saving health he had tasted, that to do the same more pithily, he changed his study of the common laws: he went

to Cambridge to study divinity, where he heard Dr. Martin Bucer diligently, and was right familiar and dear unto him. In this godly course he did by God's blessing so profit, that the blessed martyr Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, did as it were invite him and his godly companion, Mr. Thomas Horton, to become fellows of Pembroke hall in Cambridge. And after, the said Dr. Ridley called our Bradford to London, to give him a prebend in Paul's church, lodged him in his own house there, and set him on work preaching. And besides, after preaching in London, and Paul's Cross, and sundry places in the country, and especially in Lancashire, [being a native of Manchester in that county,] he preached before king Edward VI. in the Lent, in the last year of his reign, upon the second Psalm. And there in one sermon shewing the tokens of God's judgment at hand, for the contempt of the gospel: as that certain gentlemen upon the sabbath day going in a wherry to Paris-garden, to a bear baiting, were drowned: and a dog was met at Ludgate, carrying a piece of a dead child in his mouth: he with a mighty and prophetical spirit said, *I summon you all, even every mother's child of you, to the judgment of God, for it* 19
is at hand. So it followed shortly after, in the death of king Edward. In which state and labour of preaching he continued, till the cruelty of the papists cut him off: as thou mayst read in the history of his life and death, by that faithful servant of the Lord Jesus, Mr. John Fox.

Indeed he had many pullbacks; but God still helped forward his chosen servant in that trade of life to which he had called him. In which he ran forward so happily, that he outrun me and others his companions. For it pleased God with great speed to make him ready and ripe to martyrdom.——But in all stops and stays he was mightily helped forward by a continual meditation and practice of repentance and faith in Christ, in which he was kept, by God's grace, notably exercised all the days of his life.

Even in this mean time he heard a sermon, which the notable preacher, Mr. Latymer, made before king Edward

BOOK I. VI. in which he did earnestly speak of *restitution* to be made of things falsely gotten: which did so strike Bradford to the heart, for one dash with a pen which he had made, without the knowledge of his master, (as full often I have heard him confess, with plenty of tears,) being clerk to the treasurer of the king's camp beyond the seas, and was to the deceiving of the king, that he could never be quiet, till, by the advice of the same Mr. Latymer, a restitution was made. Which thing to bring to pass, he did willingly forbear and forgo all that private and sorry patrimony which he had on earth. Let all bribers and poling officers, which get to themselves great revenues in earth by such slippery shifts, follow this example; least in taking a contrary course, they take a contrary way, and never come where Bradford now is.

But besides this, Bradford had his daily exercises and practices of repentance. His manner was, to make to himself a catalogue of all the grossest and most enorme sins which in his life of ignorance he had committed, and to lay the same before his eyes when he went to private prayer; that, by the sight and remembrance of them, he might be stirred up to offer to God the sacrifice of a contrite heart, seek assurance of salvation in and by faith, thank God for his calling from the ways of wickedness, and pray for encrease of grace to be conducted in holy life, acceptable and pleasing to God. Such a continual exercise of conscience he had in private prayer, that he did not count himself to have prayed to his contentation, unless in it he had felt inwardly some smiting of heart for sin, and some healing of that wound by faith; feeling the saving health of Christ, with some change of mind into the detestation of sin, and love of obeying the good will of God——as appeared by this: he used in the morning to go to the common prayer of the college where he was; and after that, he used to make some prayers with his pupils in his chamber: but not content with this, he then repaired to his own secret prayers, and exercised in prayer by himself, as one that had not yet

prayed to his own mind: for he was wont to say to his familiars, *I have prayed with my pupils, but I have not yet prayed with myself.*——

Another of his exercises was this: he used to make unto himself an ephemeris, or a journal, in which he used to write all such notable things as either he did see or hear each day that past. But whatsoever he did hear or see, he did so pen it, that a man might see in that book the signs of his smitten heart. For if he did see or hear any good in any man, by that sight he found, and noted the want thereof in himself; and added a short prayer, craving mercy, and grace to amend. If he did hear or see any plague or misery, he noted it as a thing procured by his own sins; and still added, *Domine, miserere mei.* He used in the same book to note such evil thoughts as did arise in him, as of envying the good of other men; thoughts of unthankfulness; of not considering God in his works; of hardness and unsensibleness of heart, when he did see other men moved and affected. And thus he made to himself, and of himself, a book of daily practices of repentance.

Besides this, they that were familiar with him might see 20
how he, being in their company, used to fall often into a sudden and deep meditation; in which he would sit with fixed countenance, and spirit moved, yet speaking nothing for a good space. And sometime, in this silent sitting, plenty of tears would trickle down his cheeks. Sometime he would sit in it, and come out of it with a smiling countenance. Oftentimes I have sitten at dinner and supper with him in the house of that good harbourer of many preachers and servants of the Lord Jesus, Mr. Elsing; when either by occasion of talk had, or some view of benefits present, or some inward cogitations, and those of his own, he had fallen into these deep cogitations. And he would tell me in the end such discourses of them, that I did perceive, that sometimes his tears trickled out of his eyes, as well for joy as for sorrow.

In all companies where he did come, he would freely rebuke any sin and misbehaviour which appeared in any per-

BOOK I.

son; especially swearers, filthy talkers, and popish praters. Such never departed out of his company unreproved. And this he did with such a divine grace and Christian majesty, that ever he stopt the mouths of the gainsayers. For he spake with power: and yet so sweetly, that they might see their evil to be evil and hurtful unto them; and understand that it was good indeed, to that which he laboured to draw them in to God.

Number XII.

A copy of verses, set before a book of Martial Discipline; exciting the nation to exercise armes; considering the present dangers from foreign enemies. By the author, T. Styward, generos.

AS wisdome wills us to regard what plagues in time do hap
On such as seek for to be rockt always in pleasures lap:
And neighbours harms bid us take heed, all perils to prevent;
Lest careless sleep do dangers bring, and then too late repent.
So, England, take thou heed in time, lest thou too soon do rue
The wicked harms devis'd by foes; which shortlie may ensue:
If that regard of martial laws be had no more in price,
And souldiers lore despised thus amongst the grave and wise.
Behold! how foreigns are abus'd, that scorn'd this martial law;
And are by warlike wights opprest, and brought to live in awe.
Their goods, their wives, their virgins fair, are spoil'd and brought to thrall:
Misus'd before their parents face: such is their grievious fall.
Cast off therefore your sluggish life; call home your hearts agen:
Let Venus pass; despise her laws: live now like valiant men,
As heretofore your fathers did: whose acts each where did flow:
From east to west, from north to south, as stories plainly show.
Two books I have therefore set forth, to shew thee how to traine,
To march, encampe, and battles make, with tables very plaine;
Which tho' they be not as I wish, accept them as they are:
And thou shalt profit reap thereby, of policies of war,
Whereby to shun the slights of foes; who *hope but for a day*[a],
For to pervert this quiet state, if possible they may.

[a] Viz. The papists; whose saying that commonly was.

Regard therefore your countrie soil, your parents and your wives, BOOK I.
Your children and your lands and rents; seek to defend your lives.
And leave off pride and lustiness, your great and much excess,
Your deintie fare, your costlie raie, your carpet wantonness.
Prepare you horse and lance to field; for now the time is come:
Take pike and sword in hand again: list now to sound of drum.
Hark, how the trumpet warning gives, to haste us to the wars, 21
That we our British soyle may keep from death and bloody jarrs.
In haste prepare, ye English hearts, to tread this path aright;
Which doth instruct a ready way to put our foes to flight.
Thus shall we do our country good, and please the mighty God,
Who hath, and will preserve us still from scourge of mighty rod.
The zeal I owe to native soile, hath forct my simple hand,
To publish this my slender skill, our enemies to withstand.
Not seeking praise for any thing, nor yet aspecting gaines;
I crave in lieu of my good will, thy favour for my pains.

Virtus vulnere vivit.

T. S.

Number XIII.

Theodore Beza to the lord Burghley: presenting him with an ancient Pentateuch in six languages, towards the furnishing of the new library in Cambridge.

Illustri domino, domino Gulielmo Cæcilio baroni a Burley, summo Angliæ thesaurario, domino mihi summe observando.

SIQUID pecco, illustris mi domine, amplitudinem tuam interpellans, teipsum pæne accuses oportet, cui pietas et doctrina cæteræque virtutes tantum in me salutandi tui desiderium jampridem accenderunt, ut accedente præsertim lectissimi juvenis, et vere ἐγγενοῦς τε καὶ ἐξόχου affinis tui domini Antonii Baconi, cohortatione continere id amplius non potuerim. Accedo vero ad te, occasione fretus, quam tibi injucundam non fore confido. Nactus nimirum quinque Mosis librorum exemplar, sive Constantinæ in Africa, sive Constantinopoli, a multis jam annis excusum. Quod mihi liceat ἑξάγλωσσον, Arabica lingua nimirum, Persica, Græca

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barbara, et Hispanica vetere, in usum Judaicarum synagogarum, supra Hæbraicam et Chaldaicam editum, appellare. Quod propter raritatem, et vetustam, ut ita loquar, novitatem, quam dignum mihi consecratione quadam videretur, tuæ potissimum amplitudini mittendam existimavi. Quod præsertim intelligam dignissimum sapientia præstantiaque tua monumentum, id est, instructissimam bibliothecam abs te in inclyta Cantabrigiensi academia, cui summa tibi procuratio commissa est, apparari.

Peto igitur abs te, illustris mi domine, ut et audaciam hanc meam æqui bonique consulas, et istud qualecunque summæ in te observantiæ testimonium ac pignus non invitus accipias. Quod si abs te impetraro, singulari beneficio me abs te affectum existimabo: bene vale. Dominus Jesus magis ac magis tibi sanctisque consiliis tuis benedicat, teque quam diutissime suis ecclesiis incolumem servet. Genevæ, viii. idus Decembris anno Dom. CIↃIↃLXXXI.

Illustri amplitudini tuæ addictissimus,
Theodorus Beza.

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Number XIV.

Beza to the lord treasurer Burghley: moving him to procure the printing of that ancient hexaglot translation of the Pentateuch, likely to prove so highly useful to the Christian world.

Gratiam et pacem a Domino.

Epist. doctor Peregrin, pen. me.

SPERO ad te pervenisse, illustris mi domine, Mosis illud quod vocant πενταβιβλον maxime peregrinis linguis aliquot expressum. Quod munusculum utinam tuæ amplitudini tam gratum fuisse intelligam, quam est a me tibi prompta obnixaque voluntate missum; ut hoc quoque sacræ bibliothecæ illi tuæ, quasi augustissimo templo, consecraretur. Quod si tibi quoque in mentem veniret, mi domine, ut illa saltem Persica et Arabica, et Græca vulgaris, versibus adjectis Hebræis, incuteretur (quod non ita magno sumptu Plantinus Antverpius confecerit) tibi persuasum esse velim, eam editionem et reipub. Christianæ utilitatem maximam,

et tibi privatim, immortalem celebritatem nomini conciliaturam. Qua de re, ut cogites-ne graveris, etiam atque etiam te rogo, &c. Genevæ, 10. Octob. 1582.

Number XV.

Beza to the lord treasurer Burghley: to favour the request of the council of Geneva for a loan of money in their present distress, by the means of the duke of Savoy.

Gratiam et pacem a Domino.

ILLUSTRIS mi domine . . . . . Quiddam mihi, illa tua quæ ab omnibus etiam externis certatim prædicatur, benignitate freto, amplitudinis nunc interpellandæ tuæ occasionem præbuit: quod etsi minus verecunde factum videri potest, tamen partim æquitas illa tua, partim ipsa, ut sperem, necessitas facile excusabit. MSS. Burg.

Quibus insidiis tentata, quibus viribus impetita, quam admirabiliter a Deo liberata hæc civitas Genevensis hoc anno fuerit, istuc renuntiatum fuisse non dubito. Quæ sit autem istius urbis situs opportunitas ab evangelii hostibus avidissime expetita (hæc enim certe, quicquid in contrarium prætexatur, alios habet hostes, quam qui evangelio bellum ἄσπονδον indixerunt:) quantum denique in hujus urbis sit positum, satis etiam tibi perspectum esse puto. In hoc quidem certe rerum statu, quamdiu istud Helveticarum ecclesiarum propugnaculum et Gallicarum opportunissimum perfugium stabit, pontificii de concilii Tridentini, sive in Gallia, sive in his regionibus, executione, (qui verus est omnium istarum molitionum scopus) desperabunt. Nec, ut spero, nobis a tergo relictis, quicquam aperte, nisi forte Belgia (quod Dominus avertat) ab ipsis perdomita, trans mare aggredientur.

Amabo igitur, illustris mi domine, civitatis et ecclesiæ, non male de cæteris meritæ, et vestræ quoque aliquando gentis hospitæ, causam in te agendam recipe: i. e. hoc illi præsta, ut in summa rei nummariæ difficultate versanti, et maximam hostium impressionem expectanti, sese, qua polles, apud serenissimam regiam majestatem authoritate adjutam fuisse, sentiat.

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Memini quidem ego aliquando audire istuc renuntiatum, Genevam esse quorundam improborum receptaculum. Quæ quum impudens sit calumnia, (quam sit sub cælo civitas in
23 qua accuratiore cum examine peregrini recipiantur, vel jus severius dicatur) vestrates omnium ordinum homines, qui hanc rempublicam et scholam præsentia sua cohonestarunt, testes appello. Memini quoque infelicibus illic Marianis temporibus editum hic libellum a peregrino quodam vestrate, qui postea serenissimam pientissimæ reginæ majestatem offenderit. Sed cum libellum simul atque innotuit, et hujus ecclesiæ judicio, et nostri magistratus authoritate, damnatum et suppressum fuisse constat. Illa denique nonnulla rituum ἀδιαφόρων diversitas, atque adeo nostrarum in ecclesiastica constituenda gubernatione sententiarum repugnantia, absit, ut animos in ipsius doctrinæ consensu plane consentientes, scindat; neque obscurum esse amplitudini tuæ potest, quam de rebus istis moderate semper et locuti simus et scripserimus rogati.

Quæso rursum igitur, illustris mi domine, ut siquid fortassis istorum animo tuo insidebit, illud totum seponas, et non indignam esse patrocinio tuo eam rempublicam existimes: in qua conservata merito non unum oppidulum, sed Christianas omnes, et Gallicas et Sabaudicas, ecclesias tibi maximo beneficio devinxeris. Quod quum te, perspectis istis, ultro facturum mihi pollicear, non committam, ut accuratiore utens commendatione, videar de optima voluntate tua dubitasse. Bene vale, illustris mi domine, Dominus Jesus, Deus ille et Servator noster, exauditis suorum gemitibus, rabiem Sathanæ compescat; ecclesias suas adversus exteros ac domesticos omnes hostes, quam potentissime tueatur; amplitudinem tuam magis ac magis donis omnibus cumulatam, quam diutissime conservet. Genevæ, 10. Octobr. 1582.

Illustri amplitudini tuæ addictissimus,

Theodorus Beza.

Quod alterius nunc manu ad te scribam, rogo te, mi domine, ut tremulæ nunc meæ et vacillanti adscribas.

Number XVI.

The syndics and council of Geneva to the lord treasurer Burghley: to promote their suit to the queen for a loan of money. Sent by Maillet, their messenger.

A monsieur, monsieur le baron Bourgley, grand trezorier d'Angleterre.

Monsieur,

CEST une chose ordinaire, que ceux, qui sont en neces- MSS. Burg.
sité cherchent quelque soulaigement et assistance vers ceux, aus quelz Dieu a donné plus de moyens et commodités. Ce que nous disons, monsieur, dautant que vous aurez entendu les grandz maux et calamités, où nous avons esté reduitz depuys huiet moys en ca: ayans esté primierement assailis par entreprises couvertes par monsieur le duc de Savoye, incité par les enemis de nostre religion. Puys apres ouvertement ayant son armée campé au tour de nous lespace d'environ cinque moys. Et jacois, que Dieu nous ayt preservés de ce mau, de nos enemis. Nous avons toute fois souffert de grandes incommoditez en nos biens, le plat pays estant gasté et destruict oultre la despense excessive, et surmontant nos moyens, que nous avons esté contrains supporter pour nostre conservation.

Deux choses neantmoigns nous consolent. En primier lieu, que nous scavons; que nous sommes assaillis et persecutes à tort, et plus tost en haine de la religion, dont nous faisons profession, que non pas, qu'on nous puisse alleguer, que nous detenions les autres. Et d'autre part Dieu nous a tellement favorises, que plusieurs amys se sont presentés; et mesme employes pour nostre seccours; cognoissans bien l'equité de nostre cause.

Nous avons toute fois esté reduicts en grande necessité à 24
cause de nos petis moyens; tellement que nous pourrions difficilement resister à un second effort (dont toutefois nous sommes encore-menaces) sans l'aide et secours des plus puissans. Ce qui nous fait passer par dessus la consideration, qui nous pourroit autrement arrester cognoissant nostre petitesse pour nous addresser a la majesté de la royne, la sup-

BOOK I.

pliant de nous vouloir soulager en nostre necessité et nous eslargir de grandz moyens, que Dieu luy a donnée en abondances, en accommodant nostre publique de quelque prest deniers, permettant aussi sil se trouve de particuliers, qui veuillent user de liberalité enver nous, il leur soit permis soubs sa bonne volonté.

Et daut-ant, monsieur, que l'acces, que vous avés à sa majesté nous peut grandement servir, en cette affaire, ayans aussi esté assurés de l'affection que vous portéz generallement à ceux qui souffrent à tort, et en particulier que vous estés desplaisant de nos afflictions; nous nous addressons à vous pour vous prier d'employer vostre credit envers sa majesté, à ce que nous puissions obtenir ce dont nous la requirons tres humblement. En quoy faisant, monsieur, vous vous obligeres de plus en plus une ville de Geneve, laquelle taschera de conserver la memoire d'un tel bienfaict, et la perpetuer à ceux qui viendront apres nous.

Aurest, le seigneur Maillet, nostre citoyen et conseillier en nostre grand conseil, qui nous envoyens express par de la, vous fera entendre au long l'estat de nos affaires, si vous plaist en estre informé par le menu.

Monsieur, apres vous avoir presenté nos affectuenses recommendations, nous prions Dieu, quil vous accroisse de plus en plus ses dons et graces, et vous face jouir de longue et heureuse vie soubs sa saincte garde et protection. Ce septiesme Octobre, 1582.

Number XVII.

The answer of Dr. Beacon to the three reasons propounded by the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, why he should not be chancellor of that diocese.

See the bishop's reasons in the book, chap. ix. *The answer followeth.*

MSS. episcopal. penes me.

TO the first, B. [Dr. Beacon] doth still hold the *right of the patent* [for the chancellorship] good, even as the bishop himself sets down the case; although touching B's

procurement of the condition is not truth. 2. As for the late pretended forfeiture of *Non user*, besides that it standeth not with the gravity, conscience, and profession of a bishop, it was directly contrary to his lordship's faithful promise made to the master of the Rolls; at whose earnest request, upon the first riot committed, Dr. B. yielded to forbear: the rather, for that as well his lordship as the master of the rolls did assure Dr. B's security of *Non user*, until further order taken. 3. To take so nice advantage, when the patentees, by order of that most honourable table, were necessarily to attend, wanteth judgment to consider with whom his lordship doth dally, and argueth small consideration of their most honourable care to supply his lordship's former oversight and defect, for the publick good and peace of his church; even amidst their great and weightier affairs, to the bishop's comfort and credit: if God's judgments do not still blind his lordship's eyes. 4. The bishop hath in all these devices rather encumbred and entangled himself, and bewrayed his unconcionable desire to supplant the patent, than obtained his purpose. Whereupon Dr. B. will stand under indifferent hearing and judgment of law. What those publick instruments are, and how authentical, upon the sight and scanning, will plainly appear. Whereunto Dr. B. referreth himself.

To the second; The patent remaining good and sound for his *sufficiency in skill of law*, it is either more than the bishop's hard opinion and judgment can disgrace, with the testimony of the university, and the best learned of that profession, and his former services in other places do afford him: or else, but his own avouching it cannot receive further credit. Would to God, both the bishop and every man else were groundly furnished according to the profession of their calling. But thus much Dr. B. may truly say without offence; he dispatched one hundred *sentences*, without reversing, before his lordship was towards his bishoprick. And thus not altogether so rude a chancellor.

Touching B's *corruption*, and *hunting after bribes*, whereby justice may be perverted; if his lordship mean

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since I was his officer, I answer, I never yet was suffered to intermeddle with his jurisdiction. And therefore need no further tryal. If his lordship mean in Norfolk and Sussex; to his lordship's general plea, I can shew so sufficient a discharge for both, as that he could do me no greater pleasure, than bring me into question. And to any particulars his son in law, or others, have lately hunted out, I am most ready and desirous to answer.

The favouring of such as are *enemies to the queen's proceedings*, when other slanders will take no hold, is commonly informed against the best subjects, and lovers of the gospel, by the professed enemy, and fained friend. Dr. B. thus answereth for himself to this point; That he did always, according to his duty, execute her majesty's laws: making yet, in discretion, much difference between the enemy and friend to her majesty's estate, so far as it pleased God to give him grace. As for Marberie, B. never knew the man, before the very day he was convented before his lordship at Litchfield, nor saw him since. And although his lordship, upon long and publick conference before many, grew into so great liking of Marberie's answers to all points then moved, that he not only offered him his license to preach within his diocese, but also wished him S. Michaels in Coventry: promising him to certify the lords of the council of his well satisfying his lordship in those points whereof he was unjustly charged. Yet B. in love and desire the man's gifts might be profitable to the church of God, so prest him in reasoning, that his dearest friends, there present, and hearing, thought well of his lordship, were greatly in dislike of Dr. B. And therefore in publick assembly at home to seem so plausible, and so bitterly severe here, is scarce answerable to the sound, constant resolution of a bishop: and to charge a man so heinously now of so dangerous matters, whom his lordship in publick audience did so greatly comfort then, (the time being one and the same,) savoureth not of that Christianity whereof bishops should be fathers and nurses; especially when it tendeth to the unjust accusation and prejudice of another.

To the third; B. *is the bishop's deadly enemy.* And therefore, though he had right, and were fit, yet not to be trusted. For B. defaceth the bishop in every place. Where manifest wants and blemishes in private dealings and publick government do proclaim open discredit, there a man may lament, cannot deface. B. *calleth the bishop beast.* What *beast* (but that the judgments of God are above reason, in besotting mens understanding and senses sometimes) would call an honest gentlewomans good name in question, who throughout her whole life was never noted with any suspicion of lightness; bewraying thereby a bitter desire of revenge, and a foul corruption and usage of a sensual man? And although his lordship's letters, written unto her with his own hand, April 15, 1580, to Lewys, [a town in Sussex,] doth apparently justify the oath so solemnly, with such execrations before the lords denied, yet what is *scelus sceleri addere*, if this be not, to recompence so great an untruth with so heinous a slander? Otherwise, perjured men, knaves, horeson knaves, are not to be justified.

If his lordship hath *simoniacally* laid hands upon mini- 26
sters; or by excessive encroaching, where law directeth service, (*gratis*,) be culpable; it is his lordship's guilt, not mine accusation. If his lordship's own folly and conscience burst not forth to his further condemnation, I charge him not. It is happy the pretended conspiracy was the very next day, with all their circumstances, committed to writing: when his lordship, by the humble and dutiful letters of the dean and chapter, was jointly beseeched to conference touching such untrue suggestions, informed his lordship for that timely satisfaction. Which was by hard and sharp letters unchristianly refused. At which I said thus much only, by occasion of his manifold vexations and deprivations of my self, and a great many more intended; "If her ma- "jesty's hand were as readily to be obtained, as the hand "and seal of ordinary patrons, it might, by the bishop's "title, fall out as doubtful as his lordship made many poor "men's." The very next morning the bishop himself publishing to Dr. Bickley and others a surmised effect [defect]

BOOK I. in his election, whereby he might be avoided from his bishoprick. When his lordship please to set down the particular devices to intrap him within danger of law, I will answer a truth.

B. in his own defence at the council table justified the great disorders committed, in making such a rabble of most disorderly ministers, contrary to all God's [word] forbid; and his lordship's publick advertisements, with such exactions as were strange and slanderous throughout the whole diocese. For reformation whereof, he divers times before, by letters and otherwise, had humbly beseeched his lordship in vain. When his lordship first provoked the dean of Litchfield by foul accusations at the council table, what time I discontinued one whole year out of the country, wise men may easily consider what moved Mr. Dean to take the course he did. If his lordship term the dean and chapter his enemies, and reckoneth my poor advice to avoid the first encounter with them for a money-matter, both by words and letters joyning with them, I hope his lordship, now finding the truth by experience, will alter his opinion.

B. thinketh, as Tully saith, *Chari amici, chari propinqui; sed omnes omnium charitate, una patria, et ecclesia Christi, complexa est.* A bishop, in watching and prayer, in preaching and zele, in comforting the good, and discouraging the enemy, going before in a painful streight course; I account him a treacherous and perfidious varlet, that will not with all faithful heart and service attend him. If his case be contrary, in ambition, vanity, covetousness, &c. whereby he becometh a step-father to the church of God; I hold it ever a most perfidious treachery, both to God and the party, to sooth and follow his humour. God must judge every mans heart. I thank God for that portion of his favour and blessing, that my services have not been altogether unprofitable to his church: and the better sort have received some comfort and liking of them. Now how B. is to be trusted with publick government, his lordship is scarce an indifferent judge.

Men commonly lie rebuked in the cradle of security,

when they may do what they list without espial or controulment. An enemy maketh more upright, watchful, and circumspect dealing. The trust that is required in a publick person is, so to dispose his government, *ut nulla alia potestas ab iis quibus præest, desideretur.*

To understand more particulars of this controversy between the bishop and Beacon, who sided with the dean and chapter against the bishop, see the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, book ii. chap. 3.

Number XVIII. 27

The complaints of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, concerning the hard dealings with him; the earl of Leicester his adversary: in a letter to the lord treasurer.

I HUMBLY beseech your honour to give me leave a little to lay forth unto you the manifold griefs and oppressions that are sought and brought upon me by my adversaries, and to crave help at your honour's hands for an end to be had therein, if by any good means you may work it. My lord of Leicester, for what cause I know not, except for *apostacie*, (wherewith both by his letters and speeches he hath divers times charged me very sore,) hath given, and doth still give, great countenance to those that work me all my sorrow; a nobleman, as your lordship knoweth, far above my power and ability to withstand. And therefore like sure to undoe me, if he will; if I should hold out, and have no stay. How his lordship made himself a party against me, in Mr. Boughton's case, openly before you all at the council table, when I first complained of him, your lordship, and the rest of that honourable table, cannot but remember. Since which time Mr. Boughton hath been so emboldened, that he careth not what suits he attempteth against me, nor what trouble and charge he putteth me to, to consume me. It is not enough for him to toss and tum-

Literæ episcop. penes me.

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ble me at quarter sessions and assizes in the country, and prefer bills against me in the star chamber, to my great vexation and discredit; but also he doth persecute me with actions of the *cause* in the court of common pleas, taking the ground of all out of my letters to my lord of Leicester: and that grieves me most of all, mine own counsil, for fear of displeasure, scarce dare encounter him in my causes; so that almost, I may say, I am denied that which every common subject may claim, the course of justice, and benefit of her majesty's laws. I speak it with grief; I receive injuries, and yet dare not complain, for fear of the exasperation of mens minds, and mine own further trouble.

Besides Mr. Boughton, Mr. Beacon also, who before feared me, doth now triumph over me; and upon the jollity that he hath conceived by the countenance of such as have set him on, maketh bold to sue and trouble me every where at his pleasure: in the star chamber, in the chancery, at the council table, before the archbishop of Canterbury, in the common place, at assizes and sessions in the country, yea, and in my own consistory, in my own house; and is not afraid to bring action upon action against me almost for every thing that I do, and for every word that I speak: such a glory he is in by the disgraces which he seeth are offered unto me by his friends; and yet his friends but for this time, only to displease me by him.

The lord Paget also, and his confederates, are not idle, but attempt most unjust suits and indictments against me and mine. Every clergyman almost that I deal withal in the way of justice is ready to quarrel with me, and to vex me with suits; so that there is, as it were, a conspiracy of my adversaries to load me with troubles all at once, and so to bear me, or rather beat me down. In the mean time, I say nothing of the dean and his suits, which by your honourable order are at a point now to be ended; nor of the city of Litchfield, which by your honourable letters is likewise grown to agreement with me.

But the suits that were, and the suits that are still, have and will so consume me, that I shall hardly be able to re-

cover it of long time, without some good way and means to be made by your honourable lordship for the ending thereof: and therefore I am most humbly to beseech your lordship, as you are of your self, and have been always, ready to do me good, so, by your honourable motions and persuasions, to draw others, that are not of like minds, not to hurt me. For mine own part, though I never before the time I was bishop received any benefit by my lord of Leicester, either for the advancement of my living or credit, as I have done by your lordship and others; yet for that I devowed my self unto him at the first, and have professed his name, I bear him that dutiful heart that becometh me, and will not touch his honour any way, nor wish him in honour to be touched. But yet, I must needs say, his lordship hath cast me off without cause, and I will win him again by your honour's means if I can; only I must crave pardon of his lordship, if I bear a dutiful heart unto others that have deserved of me as much, and more than he hath done; and beseech him to think of no apostasie, if I depend upon those that have been my antient honourable friends, and stick to me; still when my later friends, of whom I have deserved better, shall shake me off without any cause in my most need. 28

I received in king Edward's time, by your lordship's means, when I was scholar in Oxenford, one of his highness's exhibitions, given out of the abbey of Glassenbury, to my great relief and comfort. I obtained, in the beginning of the queen's majesty's reign that now is, by your lordship's means, one of the best prebends in Winchester. I had given me of her majesty, not long after, by your lordship's means, the parsonage of Rotherfield in Sussex; a thing better worth than 200*l.* by the year. Let my lord of Leicester shew any one thing worth two pence that ever I had by his means, either of the queen, or of any body else, and I will confess my self his debtor for all. And as for the bishoprick I now have, if it be any benefit unto me, your lordship knoweth, and I know, and must confess, I

BOOK I. had it as much by your lordship's means as by his; altho', I must needs say, first intended unto me by him.

And because I report this to those that object his singular deserts unto me, and withal do seek comfort and defence where I have most found it, I am called an *apostata*; but how unjustly, your lordship and others may judge.

Now because I am bound both to your lordship for your many benefits, and to his lordship also; because by first professions I have vowed my service and good will unto him, and may not loose him, if I may keep him; in all humble sort I beseech your lordship to recover and retain him my honourable good lord and friend as he hath been. And both to your lordship and him I shall shew my self every way in duty ready to perform that in duty I owe unto either.

And for the debt which I am cast into by these suits and troubles unto her majesty, I likewise humbly beseech your lordship I may have the favour, by your honourable means, that may be had in this court: and that mine arrearages, when I shall have made mine account, may be answered and satisfied upon the extent of my lands by 3 or 400*l.* by the year, till the whole shall be discharged, if so much shall remain behind, and unpaid.

Thus bold to lay out my griefs before your lordship, and withal to crave your honourable help, I cease any further to trouble your lordship at this time, most assuredly continuing a poor orator unto God for you during my life. From my poor lodging in London, this 20th of February, 1582.

Your honour's always most bounden,
W. Coven. and Litch.

I would not willingly have named, in these my letters, my lord of Leicester, but that he hath gone about, as your
29 lordship knoweth, to draw you from me by hard information; which forceth me to write, to say more than otherwise I would gladly do.

I would humbly beseech your lordship to put your hand, if it might be your pleasure, to the letters here enclosed; or to write else to the judge in my behalf what shall stand with your honourable liking.

Number XIX.

Overton, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, to the lords of the privy-council; with a certificate of convicted recusants; and concerning the ill state of his diocese.

MY most humble duty premised, tho' long first, yet at last I have accomplished your honour's letters, for the certifying of such *convicted recusants* as were to be found within my diocess: a matter, surely both for the shortness of the time, and for the untowardness of the people, so hard to be compassed, that almost I was in despair to have done any thing at all. As also now, when I have done all I can, it is nothing in comparison of that I might have done, if I had not been hindred in the service. The *peculiar* jurisdictions within my diocess are very many; and the recusants, either the most part or the chief of them, so hid and harboured therein, that I cannot, without further authority and assistance, search them out, much less certify them in such due sort and order as I should. Epist. episcopal. penes me.

The dean of Litchfield hath a *peculiar jurisdiction* by himself; every prebendary of that church (being well nigh forty in number) have *peculiar* jurisdictions by themselves; the dean of Windsor hath a great *peculiar jurisdiction;* a number of gentlemen, which have purchased the lands of the late dissolved abbeys and collegiate churches, have divers *peculiar* jurisdictions. To be short; there are so many exemptes within my diocess, that I cannot do as I would; and though I did, they would not obey. And yet were not this so much, if only they did withstand mine ordinary and episcopal jurisdiction; but they will not yield, nor stoop to your lordship's letters, nor to such special commissions as you send unto me from time to time, for the execution of these services.

BOOK I.

And therefore I most humbly pray your honours to pardon me, if either not so soon, or not so exactly as I ought, I have performed my duty herein; nor to blame me hereafter, if you see not such fruits to rise of my labours and travails as peradventure you will look for; sith my power in mine own diocess is so short and slender as it is. I have been and will be always ready to do the uttermost I can: and when I can do no more, I must stay there. Only it may grieve me to see things so far out of order as I do. But when I would remedy them, and cannot, I trust I have discharged a good conscience in the sight of God, and shall rest blameless in the judgment of all the godly. I am the bolder to run out thus far in mine own excuse, because I know my predecessor was touched with too much idleness, or at least with too much softness in this place. But I perceive he and I had both one lett: and therefore I must needs deliver both him and my self of this undeserved blame.

And as in causes ecclesiastical, so also in civil government, the charters and liberties granted unto us by her majesty's most noble progenitors are so usurped on, but impeached by others, that not only in the country, whereto-fore we might have done much good, but even in the city of Litchfield also, where most need is, both I and my predecessors have of late been utterly barred from the execution of our charge: whereby hath grown much decay both of life and religion in either place. And because I have occasion now to speak of Litchfield, I trust you will pardon me, if I report unto you that I have heard, and partly also do know my self, and therefore dare avow to be true.

Litchfield.

The city of Litchfield, since the temporal government hath been divided from the see, and translated from the bishop to the citizens, (which nevertheless hath not been long,) is in so far worse case than it was, as there is odds almost between somewhat and nothing; or at least wise between beggary and welfare, or between happy and unhappy estate. I speak, I say, upon the report of others that knew it then, and upon mine own knowledge, which see it

now; it is not the city it hath been. If your lordships ask me the reasons why, I might particularly set down divers causes of this decay; but, to avoid tediousness, I will generally answer in one. Their government is too, too bad. To use extortion, oppression, cruel dealing with the commons, regrating, forestalling the markets, liberty in the syze of bread and drink, with such other like, to favour themselves in searsements, [sessements,] to lay the heaviest burdens on poor men's backs, to impannel themselves upon juries in their own causes, to be inquisitors, presenters, judges, and lords in one court, to restrain the commodities into few men's hands, to breed beggary in the city, and set none aworke, every man to seek his own private gain, and no man to regard the publick state; if this be not bad government, what is bad? And yet this is their doing, and no man may controul them for it. To be short, they live as they list, both in the city and in the church. And therefore little reformation to be looked for, if it go on as it doth.

But you will say, these matters are impertinent. Most honourable, I will now draw them to the purpose ye know. Ye look for at my hands in all commissions a principal care, oversight, and furtherance of her majesty's service in causes, as well spiritual as temporal. Ye know also, I must begin first at the head and spring it self; which is the church and city of Litchfield: and then afterwards deal with the rest of the shire and diocess, where I am, as I may. Now if the church and city, with whom I should first begin, and from whence the rest are to fetch their light, shall be so exempted from my jurisdiction that I may have no power and authority to look into their matters, nor once to meddle with them; no, nor your commissions, which you send forth, may aucthorize me so to do, my labour is soon at an end, and my service sooner done than begun.

And therefore if now, for the better performance of my duty, I resume into my hands again my auncient liberties, which of late days have been but slenderly conveyed from

BOOK I.

me, or rather not at all conveyed, but encroached upon by evil neighbours; I say, if I resume them again into my hands, and use the benefit of mine own charters for the better service of her majesty, and more profitable government of her people, as now I have begun to do; I trust your lordships will likewise hold me excused, and pardon me in so doing. Yea, that you will give me your lawful countenance and assistance therein, so far as my right and just title shall reach. It may be they have prevented me in complaint, because I have already attempted suit against them for redress of their government and recovery of mine own right. But I hope your lordships will suspend your honourable opinions till you hear further of the matter; and I desire no better judges than your selves, if it would please you to be troubled with it.

Surely the whole diocess is to be looked unto in time, (for we have many things amongst us far amiss,) but yet Staffordshire more than any part else; and most of all the city and church of Litchfield, with their *peculiar jurisdictions:* out of which, as out of a full fountain, floweth all corruption, both of life and religion, in my diocess. We had here in Staffordshire, even the last day amongst us, such a notable bold attempt made, and so daungerous for the example of others, as I may not pass it over with silence. The matter is this: Sir Walter Aston and I, with divers other justices, being met together at Sondon church, on Wednesday last past, for the publick service of the country, and having a great part of the county before us, one Hugh Eardeswick, lord of that mannor, and the sorest and dangerousest papist, one of them in all England; who otherwise cometh neither to the church nor churchyard, but keepeth himself and his family close at home from the divine service, in contempt of her majesty's laws; yet at this time, in the church yard, and before us that were justices, and openly in the sight of the whole country, was not afraid to strike a justice of peace upon the pate with his crabtree staff. Whereupon immediately began a number

Staffordshire. Litchfield.

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Hugh Eardiswick, papist.

of swords and daggers to be drawn: and had we not with diligence applied our selves forthwith to appease the outrage, or rather, had not God blessed our business at that time, and stayed the hands and hearts of the people from further mischief, I think there had been such a bloody day as hath not been seen this great while in Staffordshire. A matter, doubtless, worthy sharp punishment and animadversion. A papist to strike a justice of peace, sitting in the queen's service, and the affairs of his country, and in the churchyard, and before the whole multitude; it was a very bold and malicious part. And what further reach they had in their heads that begun it, God knoweth, and I leave to your wise considerations: only we have bound him in two hundred pounds, to make his personal appearance at the next general assizes, before the justices that then shall sit. If in the mean time your lordships think good to have him further called and dealt withal, we would be glad to know your pleasures therein.

And upon Easter day last, being not long before this broyl, there was such disturbance likewise in a certain church of this shire at the time of divine service, and at the very communion time, when some had already received, and some were to receive, that (if such boldness of men be not repressed and punished with speed) the example will grow very far, and be very daungerous. Certain of the lord Pagett's servants or officers, (by whose commaundment and appointment I cannot tell,) under the pretence of serving of writs, came into Colewich church that day, and arrested divers persons, some that had received, and were newly risen from the Lord's table; some that were coming to the table, and ready to receive. And besides this, made such a coursing of the people that were in the church at the time of the epistle and gospel reading, that it is wonderful to see the bouldness and spitefulness of the papists, if they may have any colour at all to bear them in their violent and contemptuous behaviours against the service of God and his holy sacraments. I am credibly informed, and by examination also have tryed it out, that the parties

Lord Paget.

BOOK I.

arrested were every day passing to and fro by the said officers which did arrest them: and yet having the writs in their hands a month or two, or more, would find none other time to work their feate but on Easter day in the morning, and at or about the communion time.

Much like part also was played by others of the lord Paget's officers within this shire at Burton upon Trent, about the same time of Easter: at which time there was great disturbance of the communicants. For that the lord Paget being bound to find the parishioners communion bread, his officers would have forced them to use little *singing cakes*, after the old popish fashion, varying nothing at all in form from the massing bread, save only somewhat in the print. A patterne whereof I my self do keep, to shew to your lordships if need be, being brought me by the lord Paget's officer his own self, whom I called before me for the same matter.

Surely this argueth great courage in the adversaries, if they may be suffered: and for mine own part I dare not meddle with them, as ordinary, because they pretend *peculiar jurisdiction* within themselves; but am feign to use the secular power committed unto me, and to deal with them as justice of peace: by which authority nevertheless I cannot do much good in such matters. And some indeed think I am busier than I need to be; and so I get great displeasure for my doings; but I weigh not men's displea-
32 sures. I seek to please God, and the queen's majesty that is appointed under God, and your honours, that are appointed under her, to govern the people of God, to his glory, and the comfort of his church. As for me, I seek not to please them: and if I did, I could not, but be evil as they are. And therefore, howsoever they report me from hence, (as I am sure they will say the worst they can,) I beseech your lordships, judge of me as you find me. And I desire nothing more, than to have your selves the only judges of all mine actions. For so my troubles should be the less, and my credit the greater: where now I spend and toyl, and do all I can to little effect; and yet am ill

spoken of when I have done. For if I correct for their evil life, (as no country, I think, is more out of frame that way,) the worst I can do them is excommunications; and then they appeal, to mine infinite trouble and charges, if I follow it.

Excommunication of recusants.

If I correct them for religion, (wherein they are more out of frame,) they sit out the excommunications willingly, and are glad they have so good occasion to be cut off from the church; thinking to avoid the penalty of the statute, because we forbid them *ingressum ecclesiæ*, when indeed they meant not to come there at all, tho' they had been bidden never so much. For if by the ecclesiastical censures they be excommunicated out of the church, they think it no reason to punish them for not coming, when by our selves, and by our own laws, they are forbidden to come. And so they make our excommunications to serve their turn. And yet, as I say, in the mean time they cry out upon me, as an hard and cruel man, and do laugh ae my doings to scorn.

I eftsoons most humbly desire your lordships to devise the means I may be better strengthned and comforted in these my toyles; or else I shall never be able to hold out, the troubles and charges are so great. I trust you are not ignorant of this diocese, that it is large and wide; of the people, that they are stubborn and quarrellous; of my living, that it is very small for so great a charge, scantly four hundred pounds by the year, for these first years. I trust likewise that you consider, that my diocess is the den of *fugitives*, the very receptacle of all the refuse that is thrown out of other diocesses round about me. They fly hither out of Cheshire, out of Lancashire, out of Yorkshire, out of Lincolnshire, out of Huntingtonshire, yea, and from London side, and from all places. And such as other bishops drive away from them, I must harbour here with me, whether I will or no, except I should write up to your honours for every particular person that I hear of: which would be infinite trouble and charge unto me; neither were I able to undergo the burthen of it.

Fugitives.

BOOK I.

And therefore, if I shall not have the helps that other bishops have, (all the premisses considered,) I must give over my former travails and charges, which are intolerable, and only wish all were well; and so rest there, as my predecessor did before me. Thus much I am bold to write unto your honours, to shew you the state of my country, and mine own hard case; and would be glad to amend it, if I knew how; or will hereafter, if I shall be better enabled.

Much more I had to write unto your honours at this time, but I am afraid to be over tedious: only it may please you to consider of the certificate, which I have here sent you, touching the *convicted recusants;* and to pardon me, (for the causes premised,) if not so soon, or not so perfectly as you look for, my duty to be performed in that behalf. And so I humbly commend your honours to the gracious protection of the Almighty, and most blessed government of his holy Spirit. From Eccleshal castel, the 20th of May, 1582.

Your honours most dutiful to command,
W. Coven. and Lichf.

33 Number XX.

Interrogatories ministered to sir Robert Stapleton, knt. in the star-chamber: concerning abuses done to the archbishop of York at Doncaster, by Scisson the host, himself, and others.

MSS. Burg. *IMPRIMIS*, Did not you in Lent last make means to the bishop by his chancellor, [Dr. Lougther,] that he would account of you as one that greatly honoured him, and esteemed greatly his good nature; and therefore was very ready to shew him any pleasure or service you could; which you desired might be signified unto the bishop?

2. *Item.* Did not you in May last know, believe, or hear say, that Scisson's wife of Doncaster, by the allowance and consent of her husband, and in the night time, came to the

bishop's bed, her husband immediately following, his dagger naked in his hand, which he laid unto the bishop's breast, his man Alexander being in the company [with him?]

3. *Item.* Did not Scisson send for you immediately by his man; and you forthwith came in your apparel as in the day before?

4. *Item.* Did you, being then sheriff of the shire, and one of the high commissioners for matters ecclesiastical, denounce this fact to the president there, or to any magistrate elsewhere?

5. *Item.* Did Scisson that night beat his wife, as you believe; or rather went not to bed to her, as at other times?

6. *Item.* Did you after this time dislike the bishop; or rather, knowing his innocence, did not you offer your self and your service to the archbishop, and signify that you were careful to get his good opinion?

7. *Item.* After your return from London, did not you often and friendly frequent the bishop's house? And as though you had travelled with Scisson for the bishop, at length brought Scisson to the bishop's house: when Scisson seemed inexorable, called him aside; and having him under you on the ground, drew your dagger, held it to his throat, as though you would kill him?

8. *Item.* Did not you shortly after come to the bishop, and said, that you had ended all matters with Scisson; and that whereas he asked 600*l.* you had brought him to 400*l.* having received before at Doncaster of the bishop 50*l.* and in that lodge, after breakfast, brought the bishop to a chambre, where only Scisson and his man were; and after their denial to receive 500*l.* you said, that you would pay the odd 50*l.* of your own purse rather than they should break; and the day following did not you send your man Constable to the bishop to his house to receive the 50*l.*?

9. *Item.* Did not you then and there give an oath to Scisson and his man upon a Bible, that they should not by word, writing, or any other means utter this matter during their lives; and if they did so, by what authority?

BOOK I.

10. *Item.* Did you not then take a bond of Scisson, made to your self in 600*l.* leaving out the condition, which was by *word* recited, that he should forfeit that bond to the use of the bishop, if he performed not his oath? And did not
34 you then and there swear upon the Bible, that you in your conscience believed that the bishop was most clear in that cause; and no cause why he should pay one penny?

11. *Item.* Did not you after this a good while break with the bishop to have a M. £. [a thousand pounds] on a lordship? which being denied you, did not you will the bishop to see to himself; you would keep your own promise for concealing, but you would take no charge of any others; and so departed?

12. *Item.* After this, when Scisson had received 200*l.* of the bishop at Bishopsthorp, did not Barnard Maude borrow to your use of the bishop 200*l.*?

Number XXI.

The public confessions at the assizes at York, made by sir Robert Stapleton and others, of their slander and abuses of the archbishop. And his answers to each of them.

Sir Robert Stapleton's submission and confession.

MSS. Burg. WHEREAS, by special order of the queen's most excellent majesty, I appeared lately in Easter term last before the lord chancellor and honourable lords counsellors of the state, in the star chamber; and there was, by her majesty's attorney general, charged with sundry conspiracies by me and other evil disposed persons, associates with me, most maliciously and unjustly practised against your grace, my lord archbishop of York; tending to the great discredit of your good name and estimation; your self being innocent, and guiltless of any unhonest attempt or meaning in that fault and crime, that I and my associates, for gain to some of our selves, and spoil to your grace, and for the revenge of some, of our cruel malice conceived against your grace, sought most unjustly to lay upon you, to your utter confu-

sion in this world, if God of his goodness, through her majesty's great care in searching out the truth, had not otherwise provided. Which things being proved most evidently against me, I have been justly found guilty of the said malicious and injurious dealings in the judgment of the said most honourable court.

I do therefore upon my knees most humbly confess, that forgetting of my duty to God, and the due respect and regard of your grace, I was thereby lead to the said malicious and wrongful dealings, purposed and put in practice by me and my associates against your grace, without any desert thereof offered on your grace's behalf; whom I acknowledge to be most innocent and guiltless of that wicked and vile matter at Doncaster; whereof the purpose of our ungodly, unjust, and unadvised dealings tended to have burthened your grace. For which my ungodly and unadvised dealings, as I have been most justly punished, so am I most heartily sorry for them; and before you all here present do ask forgiveness; first, at the hands of Almighty God, whom I beseech his mercy to pardon these mine offences: then to her majesty, whom I have greatly offended herein: and lastly, of your grace, whom I have very wrongfully and unjustly sought to slander and abuse. And having none other way to make amends for the great slander, which by me and others might have most wrongfully touched your good fame and credit, I do earnestly, and from the bottom of my heart, desire your grace, that it would please you to accept this mine humble submission, and forgive me these my bad attempts and dealings against your grace.

The archbishop of York's answer to sir Robert Stapleton's submission. 35

Sir Robert Stapleton,

YOU have greatly wronged, and given a great wound by your late ungodly practice to yourself, to me, and especially to the church of God. I am right sorry for all. *For you*, in respect you were a gentleman of a good house and coun-

BOOK I.

tenance, towardly in the actions of the commonwealth: one that professed the gospel, and pretended to be my friend.

To my self: That having lived all my life hitherto without spot or touch that way, after my long travail in the word of God, having preached the gospel these xxxv years, and suffered for the same as great persecutions as any Englishman now living hath done; as loss of my livings and goods, long and hard imprisonment, exile, with other afflictions of like quality; that now, when I am in body so feeble, and by number of years so aged, that I am daily hereby put in remembrance of my grave, I should by your means, or rather by the means of Satan, the original author thereof, be set upon the stage of the whole world to be wondred at, as a vile, wicked man; and yet (God witnesseth with me) without desert of mine; nay, not only to be called into question, and arraigned in all consistories of Christendom, in all assemblies, in all taverns and alehouses; but to have been condemned and judged as guilty, and faulty of that wicked crime, by you and others devised, and laid upon me: if the good God, the God of my righteousness, (who yet never failed me,) had not, chiefly by the means of her majesty, my most gracious sovereign, and by the careful diligence and great wisdom of the lords and others of her majesty's most honourable privy council, deciphered this wicked counsil, so ungodlily devised, and unchristianly practised against me.

For the church of Christ: a thing that hath most greatly grieved me, both in respect of the enemies of the truth, who, building chiefly upon the credit of you, sir Robert, mine accuser, the rest being men of no credit, took occasion not only to condemn me, but to insult against the gospel of God, of long time by me professed and preached: and also in respect that the weaklings, and ungrounded scholars in the truth, began to hold the doctrine suspected, when one of the chiefest and auncientest teachers was set forth to be vile and wicked.

This offence and injury to me was great; the greatest that ever I felt; yea, a greater than death itself could have

been unto me. But as the testimony of mine innocent conscience, to my great comfort, ever kept safe that perfect peace which is between God and my soul; so praised be that Lord for ever, which of his great goodness hath so brought it to pass, that this day, even in this place, even by your own mouths that stounge me, I am cleared before the world, as I was at all times before my God; and may now think and say, the church hath taken no hurt. For God, by disclosing this malicious and unchristian attempt, hath delivered the innocent, comforted and satisfied the church, and gotten to himself the glory.

To conclude; Sir Robert, touching mine own person, though, as flesh and blood, it is hard for me to bear this injury, far surmounting all injuries that can be imagined; yet, as a Christian, as a child of God, I did at the first, for his cause that commanded me to forgive, as I will be forgiven, banish from me all rancour of mind, and set aside all malice and desire of revenge. And therefore this which you do is seemly in you, yet it is needless in respect of my self; for I have forgiven it, as it is personal to me, long since. But that which is done, or hereafter further to be done, touching the better satisfying of the church, in further clearing of me by occasion of the vile slander you have 36
laid upon me; or the order set down by the honourable court of star chamber, either touching her majesty or me; I may not, nor do not, presume to meddle with it, but leave it in the form of their honourable order. Only this I say now, I do not nor will not malice you. I will pray for you; and I do pray to God even now, that in his mercy, and for his Christ's sake, he will forgive you, and never lay this fault to your charge. And for my part, so far as God requireth of a charitable and Christian conscience, I do heartily forgive you.

The archbishop's answer to John Malory.

THERE hath been great cause why you should favour me: never any cause given by me why you should malice me, or deal ill with me. But evil company, wicked persuasion,

BOOK I. and your own frail youthful nature, hath brought you to so great inconvenience; and in such vile sort to practise against me. A plain declaration, that you were too careless in serving God, and too ready to cast his fear from you. The prodigal child ran far, and followed his youthful and unbridled lusts, yet God called him back, let him see himself, repented, and was received unto mercy. God still continueth merciful. Turn home unto him; forsake your lewd life; flee unto him for mercy, and no doubt you shall find mercy.

And as touching your offence committed against me, so much as appertaineth unto me privately, as a Christian, not presuming by remitting to alter or change the order of the superior magistrates, I freely forgive you; God make you his servant.

The archbishop's answer to Barnard Mawde.

Mawde,

IT is true, that you confess, you have greatly, and in the highest degree, offended God, the church, the queen's majesty, and me. At request I took thee into my service, when thou wast in base state: I put great trust in thee; and thou untrustily servedst me, by indiscrete getting, enriching thy self. And livedst in great countenance and jollity, far passing the measure of thy calling. At length thou rannest from me, and robbest me of my revenue. Which, with other by-helps, maintainedst thy great prodigality. Thou felledst into further fault; thou hatedst me without cause; thou slanderedst me every where; threatning, that thou couldst and wouldst deprive me; practising with other thy companions to that end. At length thou grewest into such perfect hatred against me, that thou devisedst, by what means thou couldest, to work my confusion. And that which thou hadst long before devilishly devised, by aid of others at Doncaster thou puttedst in practice; traiterously conspiring against me; yet not so much for revenge, as to rob and spoil me.

But God hath in his good time revealed this monstrous

treachery, and forced thee to confess thy great fault, to clear me from crime, and to acknowledge mine innocency. And if this confession proceeded from a penitent heart, no doubt but God, according to his promise, would shew mercy: Christ died for great sins, and his mercy passeth all his works; ever ready to forgive all such as shall truly repent. But, alas! there appeareth no such mind in thee, which thou dost evidently declare. And I perceive, and I doubt not but my lords are of the same judgment, I fear me, God hath stricked thee with his grievousest judgment, and given thee *cor pœnitere nescium*, a heart unpenitentable.

Divers of my good friends, and of great honour, abused by thy feigned shew of great repentance, have written to me in thy behalf, upon thy most humble and unfeigned 37
submission, to spare thee the pillory. I never sought nor wished thy punishment for my private revenge, (far hath that been from me,) but for the publick satisfying of Christ's church. And now, tho' thou give cause of the contrary, yet will I not requite thy evil with extremity. I have long ago learned another lesson. *Non quid alii meruerint, sed quid nos decet, spectandum est.* I will respect that which is fit for me to do, following my master's example, not what thou deservest to suffer. Therefore for this private practice by you wrought against me for my utter discredit, so much as appertaineth to me as a Christian, (not presuming, by remitting to alter or qualify any thing pertaining unto me, laid on you by the honourable and grave judgment of the lords of the star-chamber, specified in the orders, or competent unto me hereafter upon your ill behaviour by the benefit of the law,) I do freely forgive you; and request you, my lords, to spare him the pillory; which he hath well deserved.

The archbishop's answer to Alexander Farby, the Scot.

YOUR villany hath been great; but God's mercy is greater. God, for his Christ's sake, forgive you and your offence

BOOK I. against me, so much and so far as appertaineth to me in charity and Christianity.

This was the only man that shewed himself penitent.

Number XXII.

The state of the bishopric of St. David's, and revenues thereof: sent up to the lord treasurer, upon the decease of the bishop.

THE bishoprick of St. David's was by commission, *ann. 27. r. reg. Henrici Octavi*, valued *de claro* CCCCLVIII*l.* 22*d. obq.*

According to which rate and value, the first fruits, tenths, and subsidies have ever since been paid.

MSS. Burg. And yet hath it been since that time so decayed, fleeced, and impoverished, that at this day, besides tenths, subsidies, and fees going out of it, it is not *de claro* CCLIII*l.*

For first, whereas in the same 27th year of king Henry VIII. the bishop had *jura regalia*, and *perquisitiones session.* &c. those royalties and prerogatives have been taken away by act of parliament.

Item, by the suit of Mr. Edward Carey, one of the grooms of her majesty's privy chamber, and Mr. Dodington, his sollicitor, not only the gift and patronage of Llandewy Braby, and twelve other churches, have been taken away from the said bishoprick; but also the parsonage of Llanarth, and chapel of Llanyna, being of the yearly value of 32*l.* and for the space of divers hundred years appropriate *ad mensam episcopi*, and united to the bishoprick, and for which the bishop for the time being paid always first fruits, tenths, and subsidies, hath also been, by the said suit of the said Mr. Cary and Mr. Dodington, evicted from the said bishoprick, in this manner following.

First, the said Mr. Cary informing that the parsonage of Llandewy Brevie, of the bishop of St. David's diocess and parsonage, was a college, and concealed from her ma-

jesty, he obtained a lease thereof, *cum pertinentiis*, *an.* 8°. of her majesty's reign, for 40*l.* paying 40*l.* rent per ann. being the value of her highness records of that church only.

Whereupon he brought a writ of intrusion against Mr. Lewis Gwin, the parson and incumbent of the said church. And after long pleading, and issue joyned, a jury of sub- 38
stantial gentlemen out of Herefordshire gave verdict with the incumbent: and found it to be no college, nor concealed.

But the verdict notwithstanding, the said Mr. Carie began again; and upon the same matter and like evidence obtained another jury to pass against the former, and to find it concealed.

Afterwards he took a new lease of the premisses with larger words, and for the term of fourty years, and under the rent of 40*l.* by colour and vertue whereof he obtained twelve prebends and churches more; supposing them to be appertinent and belonging to the said church of Llandewy Brevie. And not thus contented, he brought a writ of intrusion against the bishops farmers of the said rectory of Llanarth and chapel of Llanyna: supposing that also to be parcel and member of Llandewy Brevie.

But after long suit, a verdict passed at the exchequer for the bishop and farmers. Whereby it was found no parcel, nor concealed. Yet Mr. Cary, by his said solicitor Mr. Dodington, revived a new suit, and continuing the same many years against the said bishop and the farmers, at last in Trinity term, *anno r. rnæ Elizabethæ*, &c. 23°. recovered the said parsonage of Llanarth also. And now sueth the poor widow and executrix of the said bishop, for the arrearages of the said 32*l.* rent for many years.

For these fourteen churches being valued in her highnesses records to 181*l.* 15*s.* there is 40*l.* rent answered to the queen's majesty; her highness loseth much more, *communibus annis*, in first fruits, tenths, and subsidies.

How these churches are let, and for what rent, to particular tenants and farmers, I cannot presently advertise your lordship in certainty: but I am sure they are worth by

BOOK I.

year about the sum of one thousand marks. For that one church and rectory of Llandewy Brevie it self is worth between two or three hundred pounds by year. And for the parsonage of Llanarth, now last recovered from the bishoprick, Mr. Cary refuseth an 100*l.* fine, and 100*l.* rent per annum.

And now, as it is reported, he hath all the said churches in fee-farm for the rent of 40*l.* So that the bishoprick at this day is in value about - - - £383 — 23*d.*

Inde, pro x[a] [*decima*] *episcopatus per ann.*	46	7	4
Pro subsid. quando conceditur - - -	41	14	7
For fees, about, to divers - - - -	32	0	0
Remains	263	0	0

H. Rhylyfnwyd.

Number XXIII.

Wright, a puritan, his answers to the matters urged against him, upon his own answers in the consistory: by notes thereof taken by the register.

MSS. Búrg.

FIRST, he most humbly desired, that it might be considered, whether any man by our laws be bound to accuse himself upon his oath for any deed or word, much less to declare his thoughts. *Item*, Forasmuch as he was driven to answer at the first by word, and not suffered leisurely to peruse the answers which the register set down; and for
39 that these notes did much respect those answers; he therefore with like duty desired, that both his answers before might be poised with the weight of the former circumstances; and also that if his memory failed him now in any point which then was answered, he might be charitably judged of, as he protested before Almighty God, that he meant well to speak the truth. Thirdly, he desired that it might be noted, that the collector of those notes dealt partially.

Then follow the contents of his answers.

To speak in general of the Book of Common Prayer, he thought it *good and godly*.

His practice of resorting to churches where ceremonies have been used, did sufficiently clear him in that point. [When being before demanded, what he thought of ceremonies, he was silent.]

About the *form* of ordination, he answered, he remembred not that he had read and perused any such form. He sent for it to the stationers, and could not get it: but he judgeth so reverently of those rites, that he acknowledgeth there is the substance of the ministry.

He did that private duty, [of preaching and catechizing in my lord Rich's family,] being thereunto requested by the householders, for their own and their families profit; and other means of instruction failing them. For where they had means to be instructed, they were reverently used: as Mr. Berriman, minister of Rochford, must needs testify, that both the prayers and preaching were resorted unto. And Wright conferring with him at first, meant no otherwise to deal in my lord's house, being there, but with the minister's leave, and for his assistance, in discharging the duty.

He prayed as preachers use to do in all places, and altogether in prescript words, but as the occasion fell out in some points. Yet he ever prayed for the queen's majesty, and for the lords of the council, and for all ministers of God's word; and so for archbishops and bishops, seeing they be ministers. [This was in answer to that article, that he used prayer of his own devising: and never used to pray as in the Book of Common Prayer: nor for archbishops and bishops.]

To the article that he had no *licence* to preach; he knew no law that requireth licence for those private duties, which had been used in king Edward's days, and all the time of our queen in many places. And without which, he doubted not but it may well be proved, that there had been many more papists in this land than are. If it be said, that it is inconvenient, tho' not unlawful; he desired first, that it

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might be considered, how he had preached seven years before, by order of her majesty's Injunctions, with approbation in the university. Which considered, with his full purpose of serving in the ministry, when God should call him thereto, he was not altogether in the common degree of laymen, as they call them. Secondly, that he used to repair both to sermons and sacraments, ready to shew the soundness of his belief, &c. that the want of others teaching might, as he hoped, procure a dispensation in some greater inconvenience. That when order hath set order herein, he will most reverently obey it; [that is, when this private teaching, catechizing, and preaching should be forbidden.]

To the article, That he said, the *election of ministers ought to be by the flock*; he only said, that he supposed it not to be an error, that the ministers should be chosen with consent of their flock; so that their flock were first well taught.

To the article, That he was chosen in this sort [by the family] in the house of the lord Rich; he confesseth that the late lord, calling his household together, (in the absence of the said Wright, and not moving him thereto,) to the end, it seems, that they might more willingly harken to good instruction, having one to teach them, whom themselves had before approved, asked, whether any of them could shew any reason, for life or otherwise, why he might not be their teacher. Whereupon no man objecting any thing, my lord sent for him, and perhaps esteemed him as his pastor. But that he took not himself to be any other than a private man to do them some good, till they might have a sufficient pastor. For at Rochford the minister was distracted between his two benefices. And at Leez his provision was worse.

It is true, that of the house of this lord Rich, he said, he took them for his flock; not by vertue of the former choice, but having been called since the death of the old lord unto the ministry. And this [present] lord being desirous to use his ministry, with promise that he would la-

bour to have it public: and my lord of London not utterly denying licence; but saying, he would first see some testimony, that the said minister was ordained minister. But he only did the duty of a private man; neither preached he publickly, nor ministred any sacrament.

To the article, That he preached on a holy day, Jan. the 24th *reginæ*, in the hall at Rochford, and divers people thereabouts resorted to his preaching; he answered, We did then as at other times; neither drawing nor shutting out any man, nor omitting any publick duties in the church.

Concerning his *ordination* at Antwerp, he said, not that he went over for that end; but being at Antwerp, whither he went to see the churches from whence idolatry had been lately driven, and English merchants desiring him to assist in the ministry, he was religiously ordained thereunto; and there did execute it. As also at Vilfort, where was a garrison of 600 Scots, by the earnest suit of their band, and a colonel, one Mr. Bombridge, governor of the town; and with consent of the ministers of the three several languages in Antwerp. The manner also of his admitting he declared, so long as they would hear him. And he is ready to declare it at all times, when it shall be demanded of him.

Touching that he said, *Every minister is a bishop;* it is true that he said he is ἐπίσκοπος, which we call *bishop*, according to the word of God. But he said not, every one is a *lord bishop*. My lord of London himself said as much in effect, when I was last before him in the consistory. For rebuking Mr. White for smiting one of his parishioners, he alledged that scripture, μὴ πλήκτην, 1 Tim. iii. 3. that *a bishop must be no striker*. There had been no reason in the speech, if Mr. White, only being a minister, had not been a bishop. First Monday in Lent, 1581.

To the last article, that Mr. Greenwood served the lord Rich, and did that which he did for him only: that he used the Book of Common Prayer; saving, that for brevity sake he read not all: he hath answered himself, that he con-

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tinued not a curate, for want of audacity and utterance: he being otherwise both godly and well learned.

Number XXIV.

Wright's answers to the notes of matters proved against him by sworn witnesses.

HE humbly craved, that the manner used in proceeding against him might be considered of. That the commission was sent down whilst he was in prison, [in the Gatehouse.] The commissioners were men appointed by special choice, that they might serve such a turn. Dr. Walker, archdeacon, who was never injured by him, had before notoriously slandered him. Others whom he knew not: but the one was a commissary, allied to the bishop; the other a gentleman, of whom he had heard indeed, that he went to the church. That the examinants which were godly disposed were sharply rebuked, when they would not speak that
41 which they knew not against him. That they which were brought in for witnesses were the only men that bare him displeasure. And his humble suit was, that the cause might be weighed. That he never abused any of them in word or deed: but they being all ministers, partly stomached him, because he shewed a mislike of those which had two benefices; partly for that he lovingly admonished one Mr. Barwick, his first accuser, who laboured to prove that God delighted in *mediocrity*, by these reasons: viz. Man was put *in medio paradisi*. A rib was taken out of the *midst* of man. The Israelites went through the *midst* of Jordan; and the *midst* of the Red sea. Sampson put firebrands in the *middest* between the foxes tails. Davids men had their garments cut off by the *middest*. Christ was hanged in the *middest* between two thieves.

Preached in two or three several parishes.

Another great cause of their ill will seemed to be this; that my lord, that was then with God, used him with great favour; as he did also all preachers whom he saw to be di-

ligent in their function. But contrarywise he shewed small countenance to these men. Yet lovingly (yea, perhaps also vehemently) told them of such things as he thought to be faults and negligencies in their ministry. And this they falsely attributed, as coming from him [Wright.] Now the chief cause of shewing this envy was the great person who desired to have Mr. Rich and him out of my lords house: as Mr. Barwicks letter did shew.

That touching the collections, [specified in those notes of what was sworn against him,] altho the witnesses indeed were as abovesaid, yet he could not think so ill of them, as that they would affirm the things which were there set down. Some being such as he never thought in his life, to his remembrance; as that *there were no lawful ministers in England.* That he was likewise charged, as it had been deposed against him, that he should say, *To have a sermon on the queens day, and to give God thanks for her majesty, was to make her a god.* He thought at the first, that perhaps corrupt men had testified so much: but when by Gods grace he got a sight of the commission returned, there was no such matter.

That here was a witness oft named, one Mr. Wardal; with whom he never talked but once only. And he had no other talk with him, but only where he had preached against my lord, and the exercises in his house. He saying, he did it upon my lords words: who told him and the other ministers, that he shewed in preaching, that *they were all dumb dogs*, &c. He told Wardel, that first he should have talked with him privately, before he had preached against him openly. Secondly, that he never spake any thing of him, or his neighbour ministers, but only spake generally against the faults of ministers, as his text led him, John x. *A thief cometh not but to kill*, &c. shewing, that indeed of such as sought only their own commodities and not Gods glory, nor the profit of their flock; of them he said, as the text saith, *They were thieves and murtherers.* At which time Mr. Wardel shewed no misliking of him, of his speech; but spake very gently unto him. Neither yet Mr. Harris,

BOOK I. a justice of peace, who, as he thought, talked with them all the while.

And therefore he most humbly sued, that first the collectors faith [who had gathered these notes of the depositions] might be tryed.

And then Wright proceeded to give his answer to each article set down in the notes, of matters deposed against him. Which follow.

Ad. 1. The phrase of *dumb dogs* (tho' used in the scripture) is, and always hath been, very seldom in my mouth in any sort. But I suppose it cannot be proved that ever I called any man so, much less a preacher, and that (as the collector setteth it down) as if it were only for following the Book of Common Prayer. Not preaching at all, when a man is a pastor, or so preaching for fashion, that the wolf is not known, much less barked at, I think this, in the prophet's speech, may deserve the term of a *dumb dog*. But I have always reverenced every godly and watchful minister that followeth the Book of Common Prayer: as also Mr.
42 Dent and Mr. Barker, named in the last note, (I persuade my self altogether contrary to their testimony,) can well witness: and all other, both in Essex and elsewhere, that shew forth the fear of God in their ministry.

Ad. 2. This doubtful speech argueth some evil affection. The collector or the witness would have an indefinite to be generally taken; for to say some ministers are thieves and murtherers; I would to God all fed their flock so well as it might be false. But that he would not have it understood of all, it may well appear. The master and fellows of Christ's college in Cambridge, being all, as I think, ministers, that time when I had lived there about fourteen years amongst ministers, with one consent sealed the testimony of my good behaviour. In Essex, I doubt not to bring twenty godly ministers, all preachers, which shall testify that they love me, and have cause to think that I love and reverence them. I know not how my speech may be taken, but I crave your lordships pardon, if, being thus pressed, I speak that which otherwise might seem arrogant:

for if a quest of godly and preaching ministers be required to quiet me in these and such like notes, I would be content to be condemned, if I bring not two hundred for my discharge. I trust this may well declare, that I take them not for thieves and murtherers; and yet I think not there are no lawful ministers in England. For I do as certainly believe there are lawful ministers in England, as I believe there is a sun in the sky.

Ad. 3.

Ad. 4. I desire that this note may be answered by that which goeth next before. As for this *common fame*, it must be taken from these persons, vicars or curates, that have set their hands to these notes: and yet I am sure two of them at the least will fail them. Touching those that are defamed in the judgment of those deponents, they are such ministers, as being idle altogether, and unmindful of their duty, are spoken of according to their deserts. As if a man should say, the prophet Zachary was a defamer of priests, when he cryed, saying, *Woe be to the idol sheephard, that forsaketh his flock:* or St. Paul a defamer of preachers, because he writ of some such, that they were *enemies of the cross of Christ; whose God was their belly, their glory their shame; which minded earthly things.*

Dent. Backer.

Ch. xi. 16.

Phil. iii. 19.

Ad. 5. That which is said here to have been in January last, was done January was twelvemonth: the matter was thus. My lord thinking on Sunday at night to have one Mr. Dent preach on the Monday morning, warned the clark over night to toll the bell: Mr. Dent either was weary, or otherwise unwillingly: my lord also was not well. Thereupon my lord would have his ordinary exercise in the house: and such as were in the church, and would hear, came and heard it. Otherwise we knew of none that was to preach in the church; neither was it a day of any church service.

Ad. 6. No magistrate examined me by what authority I preached, unto whom I might give any such answer. Neither is it set down where or when I spake the words. If I said any such thing in private speech within this year

BOOK I. (which I remember not) I might justly say it; tho' I took not upon me thereby to do any publick duty. But I hope this church will no more disallow the ministers of other reformed churches, (if in life and doctrine sufficient,) than they disallow ours.

Ad. 7. The thing being good and godly which we did, (tho' I remember not when I should use these words,) yet I trust in some sort, tho' not in general, I might speak them in truth, and with their honours good leave. But it is strange they should put up this as heinous to my lord of London, seeing he himself knew well of my being with my lord Rich: and was laboured to, both by my lord Rich that dead is, and by very honourable and worshipful knights, to have given me his license to preach publickly. Which, when he understood I was no minister, he would not grant. Yet spake he nothing that I heard of, to forbid me to do that which I did in my lord's house. But I continued without his check from Christmas was two years till Michaelmas last.

43 Ad. 8. I hope no indifferent man can charge me with unmodest speech: but if when they gave occasion, which were mentioned in the fourth note, (for no other hath ever yet complained,) some fault of theirs happened to be touched, tho' lovingly, it seems they took it as a taunt.

Ad. 9. I trust, seeing no *special* is here mentioned, the things already said may meet sufficiently with this *general*.

Ad. 10. When these preachers oft spoken of, left the profitable expounding of the scriptures, and gave themselves chiefly to inveigh against my lord, and the good exercises of his house, as if we had been anabaptists, or other hereticks, I desired my lord, that he would neighbourly confer with them, to know, whether they could charge us with any erroneous doctrine, that we might amend it. If not, that they might bend their wits to speak more for the edifying of the people, and not to the discouraging of any, nor to the defaming of my lord's house,

Which scope if my lord chanced in any word to pass, I trust they will pardon him, being dead especially.

Robert Wright.

Who most humbly craveth pardon, if in the writing there have been any want of duty.

Number XXV.

Ockland's character of sir William Cecil, lord Burghley, lord treasurer. In heroic verse.

ANTE alios, istosque omnes, instante sinistra
Fortuna, cujus princeps, instante periclo,
Est experta fidem, sincero corde profectam;
Primus adest, ducens fidos Cecilius heros,
Complures secum; ac in sacrum voce senatum
Principis eligitur primus. Nunc grandior ævo,
Confectus senio, studiis maceratus, et æger
Sæpe suis pedibus, graviora negotia canos
Ante diem accersunt crines, curvamque senectam,
Qui quater est decimus vix tunc expleverat annum.
Somni perparcus, parce vinique cibique
In mensa sumens, semper gravis atque modestus,
Nulliusque joci; semper sermone retractat
Seria; sive silet, meditatur seria semper.
Religionis amans veræ, studiosior æqui;
Ad magnas natus res nostra ætate gerendas,
In patriam cujus studium propensa voluntas,
In cives amor, atque fides in sceptra tenentem.
In magnis regni solers sapientia rebus,
Ultra Europam illi peperit memorabile nomen.
Nec jam consiliis pollens florescere primo
Cæpit, in Edvardi defuncti claruit aula
Regis, consultor prudens juvenilibus annis.
Inter primores regionis quando procellis
Exortis, cautus studuit sedare tumultus.
Dumque alii sulco subsidunt gurgitis imo,

BOOK I.

Et puppim feriunt stridenti flamine venti,
Prona ruit celeri lapsu pars una deorsum,
Ipse decus, sedemque suam, nomenque tuetur.
Quo pacto Maria prudens se gesserit Anglis
Imperitante, focos velo obducente, quod alto
Pendebat malo, (magnis quia cedere præstat
Fluminibus, contra niti aut obstare furori
Currenti, certum et parit exitiale periclum)
49 Denotat indiciis hominem apparentibus illum
Vere prudentem, mediis quod in hostibus annos
Sex totos Cayphæ multum exosusque cohorti
Degeret illæsus, per vicos, compita et urbem
Se ostendens populo, cum pars bona longius exul
Tempora contereret, Deus hunc servavit in almæ
Principis obsequium, nostrique in commoda regni.
Regum legatos orantes audiit aure
Attenta; responsa quibus dedit ore diserto.
Nestor consiliis, qui nunc Burghleius heros,
Sylvis, prædiolis lætis, et ab arce vocatur,
Et fisci custos æraria publica curat:
Cognoscens causas summo (res digna relatu est)
Et studio et cura lites secat ocyus, ut non
Præstolans spatium bidui triduique moretur:
Omnes exuperans hac laudis parte priores:
Ni poscat plures magni res ponderis horas,
Nec queat exculpi longo sine tempore verum,
Jure sit hæc magni laus prima et vera dynastæ.

Number XXVI.

A catechism; containing certain questions and answers touching the doctrine of predestination, the use of God's word and sacraments. Formerly bound up with some Bibles.

Q. WHY do men so much vary in matters of religion?

A. Because all have not the like measure of knowledge. Neither do all believe the gospel of Christ.

Q. What is the reason thereof?

A. Because they only believe the gospel and doctrine of Christ which are ordained unto eternal life.

Q. Are not all ordained unto eternal life?

A. Some are vessels of wrath, ordained unto destruction; as others are vessels of mercy, prepared to glory.

Q. How standeth it with God's justice that some are appointed unto damnation?

A. Very well: because all men have in themselves sin, which deserveth no less. And therefore the mercy of God is wonderful, in that he vouchsafeth to save some of that sinful race, and to bring them to the knowledge of the truth.

Q. If God's ordinance and determination must of necessity take effect, then what need any man care? For he that liveth well must needs be damned, if he be thereunto ordained: and he that liveth ill must needs be saved, if he be thereunto appointed.

A. Not so: for it is not possible that either the elect should always be without care to do well, or that the reprobate should have any will therunto. For to have either good will or good work is a testimony of the Spirit of God, which is given to the elect only; whereby faith is so wrought in them, that being grafte in Christ, they grow in holiness to that glory whereunto they are appointed. Neither are they so vain, as once to think that they may do as they list themselves, because they are predestinate unto salvation: but rather they endeavour to walk in such good works as God in Christ Jesus hath ordained them unto, and prepared for them to be occupied in, to their own comfort, stay, and assurance, and to his glory.

Q. But how shall I know my self to be one of those whom God hath ordained to life eternal?

A. By the motions of spiritual life: which belongeth only to the children of God. By the which that life is perceived: even as the life of this body is discerned by the sense and motions thereof.

Q. What mean you by the *motions* of spiritual life?

BOOK I.

A. I mean remorse of conscience, joyning with the loathing of sin, and love of righteousnes; the hand of faith reaching unto life eternal in Christ; the conscience comforted in distress, and raised up to confidence in God by the work of his Spirit; a thankful remembrance of God's benefits received, and the using of all adversities as occasion of amendment sent from God.

Q. Cannot such perish as at some time or other feel these motions within themselves?

A. It is not possible that they should. For as God's purpose is not changeable, so he repenteth not the gifts and graces of his adoption. Neither doth he cast off those whom he hath once received.

Q. Why then should we pray by the example of David, that he cast us not from his face, and that he take not his holy Spirit from us?

A. In so praying, we make protestation of the weakness of flesh, which moveth us to doubt. Yet should not we have courage to ask, if we were not assured that God will give according to his purpose and promise that which we require.

Q. Do the children of God feel the motions aforesaid always alike?

A. No, truly. For God sometime, to prove his, seemeth to leave them in such sort, that the flesh over matcheth the spirit: whereof ariseth trouble of conscience for the time. Yet the spirit of adoption is never taken from them that have once received it; else might they perish. But as in many diseases of the body the powers of bodily life are letted, so in some assaults these motions of spiritual life are not perceived: because they ly hidden in our manifold infirmities, as the fire covered with ashes. Yet as after sickness cometh health, and after clouds the sun shineth clear, so the powers of spiritual life will more or less be felt and perceived in the children of God.

Q. What if I never feel these motions in my self, shall I despair, and think my self a cast-away?

A. God forbid. For God calleth his at what time he

seeth good. And the instruments whereby he usually calleth have not the like effect at all times. Yet it is not good to neglect the means wherby God hath determined to work the salvation of his. For as wax is not melted without heat, nor clay hardned but by means thereof, so God useth means both to draw those unto himself whom he hath appointed unto salvation, and also to bewray the wickedness of them whom he justly condemneth.

Q. By what means useth God to draw men to himself, that they may be saved?

A. By the preaching of his word, and the ministring of the sacraments therunto annexed, &c.

[Number XXVI.]

Declaratio eorum quæ circa Mendozæ, catholici regis legati, missionem acciderunt; una cum responso ad ejusdem objecta contra suam majestatem.

CUM ita inciderunt, &c. In English thus: When the times so fell out, that her majesty of England saw that she must necessarily resolve with her self concerning sending home Bernardine de Mendoza, now for some years tarrying with her in quality of the catholick kings ambassador; and that the sentence of that decree might seem to his master too sudden, and besides expectation, by reason of past letters on the behalf of her majesty, significatory of so unthought on a chance, as letters revocatory by the same catholick king to his ambassador: whence it might be feared, lest that friendship might with neighbour nations and monarchs be rendred suspected, which from antient times was between the kings of England and the kings of Spain; Chart. Burghlian.

It seemed worth the pains to her majesty, as well publickly to testify a fuller belief of her purposes, as on that part to explain to the catholick king the causes of that sufficiently sudden decree, and to inform the king what the thing is; that she, overlooking all those acts that were com-

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mitted by Mendoza, and commending them to perpetual oblivion, was ready to cultivate that antient and long past amity, which both their majesties drew by an antient hereditary right from their most excellent ancestors, to the good and profit of both nations: to cultivate, I say, by all the best offices, as always hitherto, so for the future; if the catholick king will not be wanting in performing like good deserts with her majesty, as well in her own cause as in that of her subjects.

It is confest, that it can lie hid from none to whom the report of things done here in England hath come, how that, besides all duty due to the queens majesty, certain wicked plotters, as well domestick as those that lie abroad, have stirred naughty and more than wicked enterprizes against the queens majesty, and against the crown, to disturb the
44 peace of the most happy English empire, so odious and damnable in themselves, that no laws (the revengers of wickednesses and abominations) may bear many of them; and from which her royal majesty escaped safe and unhurt, only by the singular goodness of God.

Mendoza.

Which things while they were openly discovered and brought to the light, Mendoza was found: who, besides the office of an ambassador, to which he was given by the king, and accordingly the affairs of his lord, concerning which now for many months he had no discourses with her majesty, (but followed those studies by which he might lessen the amity and peace constituted between these crownes,) he is found a most diligent head and ringleader, by witness clearer than noon light, and by arguments beyond all exception, to disturb the quiet state of the common wealth.

Which deed, as being barbarous in its self, and against the law of nations, and contrary to his office, and quite estranged from it, her majesty doubted not how rejected and hated it was of his catholic majesty.

But according to that study of justice and honour that is in her majesty, she would not resolve to send back the man before that she had made it to be demonstrated to him, and that from the confessions of those whom he hath associated

in this conspiracy, the counsels which he had attempted and acted, having given for that purpose certain commands by the counsil of his secretary to the chief men, which lay the crimes to Mendoza that are in the next place recited.

To wit: That for some months he had communicated more secret counsils, as well by letters as by messengers, with the queen of Scots and her ministers. That he conferred frequent discourses with some of her majesties subjects; and so was author to them concerning means whereby the foresaid queen might be conveyed out of custody, in which she is detained by her majestys order, and recover her liberty. That, as well by himself as by his messengers, he hath not desisted to sollicite the minds of those to revolt whom he thought to be favourers of the Roman and popes religion, and that they should joyne hands together in society, to the exercising foreign soldiers, if any were sent by those princes, whom he named catholic, to make an irruption into this kingdom; giving his faith, that the catholic king his master would send auxiliary forces, and would bear half the charge of the soldiers. That he was conscious, and knew of his secretary, the return into England of Charles Paget, a runnagate out of this kingdom. Which said Charles being of the more secret service of the queen of Scots, being sent into these parts, came to Mendoza, (Francis Throgmorton relating the matter,) as well to sollicite the minds of the papists, as aforesaid to make a rebellion; and to describe the ports which seemed most convenient for landing foreign soldiers; as also to note their names who were favourers and aiders of the designed invasion. This the foresaid Throgmorton, altho' a strong and weighty testimony against himself, and that would touch his life, most freely confessed: which may be for an argument, that it was not maliciously made by the man, nor sought out by himself for some bad purpose. Lastly, that he had received a little chest or box from the said Throgmorton, being in fear of taking; which contained his foresaid descriptions and other writings: in which were noted the single heads of their conspiracies and practices; to wit,

Queen of Scots.

BOOK I. for that end, that the said cabinet or box should be preserved with him, as the head and chief of this conspiracy. For so Throgmorton related the thing.

These things, when they were repeated to his face from the confession of the conspirators themselves, he was so far from lessening them by some honest answer, that so immodestly, and beside the duty of an ambassador, boldly bawling out, *Dreams and trifles; and nothing else;* the point of his speech being turned against her majesty; loaded her by false accusations with some injuries, which he feigned to himself, proceeding from her majesty towards the catholick king. The heads of the calumnies are these. That beside the faith of friendship and the laws of nations, her majesty put under arrest the kings treasure, put in at certain ports of this kingdom: that she helped the states of Holland with soldiers and mony, at the intercession of the marquess Hautrecht and others: that she affected prince Anthony with very many honorary gifts and benefits: that she had sent some thousands to the duke of Anjou in his expedition at Cambray: that she had sent some noblemen of her kingdome in the said dukes march to Belgium, that for honours sake they might be present at the auguration of the duke for duke of Brabant: that a certain counsillor of her majesty, *with the brother of a certain earl*, entred into hidden counsils, with the brother of a certain earl, concerning killing of John of Austria: lastly, that one Drake, a subject of her majesty, in May, plundred the catholic king and his subjects to the sum of 200,000 crownes.

Earl of Sussex.

But now, altho' the hasty and rash conveyance of false crimes against her majesty signifieth nothing at all to wash off so wicked a practice, where he is held bound in the court of all judgments, and moreover to be past over as unworthy of answer: yet it hath seemed good to her majesty to testify to all men the honest conscience of her doings, and to draw down those objections with the faith of honour and sincerity, that it may appear to the catholic king and others, whosoever are not averse to truth, how, besides all her deserts, Mendoza hath endeavoured to draw her majesty into

hatred with good princes. Which that it may be, let it first be allowed to run over more sparingly, and less largely than is fit for the truth of the matter, the ingrateful deserts (as she persuades her self) which the catholic king and his ministers, provoked with no injuries before given, have laid down to her majesty.

Let first occurr that well known peace by the catholick king made with the French king, not much after the death of his wife, and the queen's majesty's sister, queen Mary. Which peace was very gainful to him, for the restoring of many things; but very dammageable to her majesty and the crown of England, by reason of the restoration of Calais, despised by him. Which yet he ought not to have neglected; because of the very fresh memory of the benefit of the auxiliary forces which he had received from her majesty's sister. And that at his prayer and entreaty also, the crown of England had joyned it self in his war with France. Whence followed the taking of that town out of the hands of the English, after the kings of England had possessed that town with much honour for the space of years. Calais.

Add, because that when the crown of England lived in the fullest peace with its neibour nations, and so with all the princes of Europe, yet for the sake of the catholic king alone, before that siege which was at St. Quintins, it cast it self into enmity with the king of France; whence that war broke out, which presently followed with the French and Scots, at one and the same time the realm of England bearing the assault of both: to which nevertheless, afflicted for his sake alone, the catholic king was so far from being an help;

That he favoured the Scots: permitted them free traffic in the Low Countries; passing by the most equal demands of the crowne of England, of not following the Scots with so great deserts; who had been enemies to her majesty by reason of the auxiliary bands, joyned with the catholic king against the French king. Strange things might be related, that the kingdom of England, so very wel deserving of the catholic king, that it cast it self into the hatred of the Scots.

BOOK I. French and Scots, might be objected against their arguments, to be forsaken in their straits and afflictions, unless the open desertion, and the kings decree concerning the Scots mens friendship, testified it.

D'Assonville, who now lyeth in the Low Countries, and took by the kings command count Feria his colleague of this office . . . . was come into England, [something here wanting:] hereafter after this maner, being compelled by very unequal conditions to make peace with the French and Scots. In the mean time, the catholic king and the duke of Savoy . . . . . [imperfect.]

46 Behold in one moment the crown of England placed in a double misfortune: Calais lost, an antient possession; and two neibouring nations, not to be despised, of friends made enemies; and, in short, a third, from the memory of man not easily to be wiped out, without a compensation of benefit.

Her majesty, born and made to all humanity of nature, who is wont to forget nothing but injuries, according to that study wherby she maintaineth amities with neibour princes; but so chiefly with the catholic king, for that friendship which from antient times was betwixt this crown and the house of Burgundy, the foregoing unkind deserts neglected, first by the lord Cobham mediating, who was queen Maries ambassador with the king; after that by two ambassadors of the queen with the same king, each in their time resident, Tho. Chaloner and Tho. Chamberlain, knts. she tryed the king's mind, and of some of the chief men that were present with him in his councils, of renewing the antient leagues made between the kings of England and the house of Burgundy, but in vain; neither the king nor the counsillors having regard to that matter. Not much after, her majesty reneweth her purpose; vicount Mountagu, and Tho. Chamberlain, kt. being sent away into Flanders, *re infecta.*

If those things do not openly enough shew the king's mind not well affected towards her majesty, Mr. Man succeded the former. Who how friendly he was received, and

with what wonderful expressions of humanity, in his first entrance upon his ambassy in Spain, witnes the opening of his chests and coffers; his access to the king put off to the third week from his coming into the king's court; his servants compelled to hear mass; his son and steward were compelled, with wax candles in their hands, to be present at their service; from his first coming into Spain to his return out of Spain, loaded with no better rewards. These things proceded from the king himself to her majesty, deserving and expecting better offices: and was any thing better or more courteous from the king's ministers?

In the year 1568, which followed the former, the duke d'Alva, in the Low Countries, put in arrest not only the goods and merchandizes of whatsoever subjects of England, but also the merchants themselves; pretending certain ships here, [stopt,] and of some merchandizes of Genoa, to belong to the catholic king. There came forth into light, now a good while ago, a most equal and ful defence of this arrest don by her majesty; which so far commendeth the faith and integrity of her majesty, that there is no body of all men who can want therefore restitution from her majesty in whole. For the letters of the Genoans (which are stil kept) are witnesses, that nothing in that case was don by her majesty but by the request of the catholic ambassador, and at the prayer of the catholic ambassador, and at their prayer who thought it as a thing very profitable to escape the hands of the French pyrate, who at that time, roving in the seas, laid wait for them. Of the arrest don by the catholick king [towards the English merchants goods] it seemed not so clear.

In the year 69 the civil fire brake out here into flames within the kingdom of England: whose torches and foreign *flabella* by certain were discovered. Duke d'Alva, and that Guenes Despensis, ambassador of the catholick king, (both whom are dead,) but both conscious witnesses of their own wickedness, to be condemned by their own free confessions: altho' they have left very many alive in the Low Countries, yet the head and chief among the rest, monsieur de la

BOOK I. Moth, governour of Graveling at that time, being sent out by duke d'Alva into England to further those businesses. It is certain, indeed, that the catholic king for that time in word disproved the deed, as don without his knowledg: altho' he make it believed on the contrary, that he did as yet maintain at his own cost the chief incendiaries and rebels in his dominions with him; where they fearing, withdrew themselves from the danger of their lives. And, but a little while ago, used, for that matter, the pains of some who are
47 with him in the chief magistracy. He that persuaded some of the former incendiaries to pass over into Scotland, to stir up innovation in those northern parts: where they were thought to be provided with the patronage and tuition of friends. The later wounds of violated friendship are those in confirming the minds of the rebells in Ireland, and by affording help to them.

And now the things being recited more discourteously don against her majesty by the catholic king, which it is enough shortly to have touched, let him weigh them with himself; and what may seem to have given the cause; and of those things, in the next place, which are said to have proceded from her majesty towards the catholick king, he will judge most rightly and easily: the kings conscience being witnes, that no prince ever, or any where, prepared and furnished so well to revenge injuries brought upon her, would or could so temper her self in so singular a number of the greatest wrongs, as her majesty hath tempered herself. But of these enough.

Now let us see concerning the calumnies of Mendoza. He objecteth first, That the States, at the request of Hautretcht, were aided with men and mony. Concerning this head enough hath been answered already of the queen's majesty by Tho. Wilks, one of her secretaries, being sent, at the same time and for the same purpose, ambassador to Spain. To which answer if any now should be added, what hindred (by how much the less he hath taken all Belgium) her taking the Low Countries into her power, on their own accord offered to her by the consent of the greatest part of

the nobles, common people, and cities, if she had carried in her mind the severe revenge of severer revenge. Add, that there were not wanting abetters, and such as persuaded to that thing, which at this day are in some place, and obtain countenance with the king.

But as her majesty is more desirous of good deeds, conscience, and honour, than of profit, she could be persuaded by none: neither persuasion, nor the tears of those that were opprest with his tyranny by the kings chief officers, nor by the surrender of all the Low Countries, throwing themselves down at her feet to usurp to her self the antient and hardest possessions of the catholic king, or suffer it to be usurped by others that were ambitious of it. Wherefore, that she might as well preserve intire to the catholic king that which was his, as she might not be wanting, more than too much, to the afflicted Belgic people, and might restrain them from casting off their obedience and allegiance due to the catholic king, and might keep them in their duty, ministred some mony to maintain an army, and helped them by some other not dishonorable means. In the mean time, by frequent embassies moving their minds to yield obedience to the catholic king, to come into favour with him; and on the other side, by entreating the king to suffer himself to be bent by the prayers of his friends, to forgive his people their error, to receive them into favour, to protect them in the good fortune of their laws and privileges. That he should give governours in the Low Countries who should be disposed to peace, not to civil broils; by such offices on the one side, and on the other, that the Low Countries might be preserved safe; which otherwise enclined to a change of their lords. Which was indeed afterwards don by submitting themselves to the rule of the duke of Anjou, when they saw their prayers, and the prayers of their friends, despised by the catholic king, and the queens majesty withdrawing her auxiliary forces from their afflicted concernes.

But as to the sending over of 3000 soldiers into the Low Countries, whom her majesty is said to send for the use of the States to rule his subjects, (whence he, [Mendoza] by a

BOOK I. certain study of evil-speaking, would cast a blot upon her majesty,) who is there so averse to truth, so mad, so ignorant of things done in England, who doth not understand, or might, if he would, that the transporting of soldiers out of this kingdom into the Low Countries had been prohibited from the first time of the civil tumults in Holland to this very day? That it is so far from it, that any at any
48 time should be furnished with royal authority sent for the States, that they waited for the expedition privately, and without the queens knowledg: having gotten for that purpose means very secret, not out of the public ports, but out of obscurer creeks.

'Tis true, the most fortunate times of happy peace, which her majesty obtaineth by the singular goodness of God, now
1583. five and twenty years and more, have begot a very numerous people. It is true, and that ease and great minds do not.....especially where things flowing according to peoples wills are wanting, or where there be but narrow circumstances at home. Hence it hath come to pass, that some few, the barrs of obedience broken, being not made for idleness, have withdrawn themselves from England to armes, and served in the Low Countries: some on the States, and some on the kings side. Not, as he [Mendoza] rashly, inconsiderately, and without thought hath dared to affirme.

53 Number XXVII.

The syndics and council of Geneva to the lord treasurer Burghley; to move the queen to relieve them against the army of the duke of Savoy.

MSS. Burg. MONSIEUR, nous avons entendu par le raport de seigneur Maillet, nostre bien aymé conseillier, l'affection, qu'il vous a pleu employer pour donner succes à ce que nous avons poursuivy vers sa majesté. Et comme nous vous recognoissons des principaux instruments de bien faict et liberalité de sa majesté envers nous; aussi n'avons nous voulu obmettre de vous tesmoigner l'obligation, que nous sentons avoir à vous, nous tascherons de conserver et perpetuer la me-

moire aux nostres, qui auront avcq nous tousjours une tres-juste occasion de louer Dieu de ce qu'il luy a pleu susciter tel seigneur de merite, que vous, monsieur, pour favoriser cest estat en une telle occasion. De cecy nous concevons esperance, que Dieu nous continuera son assistance selon les commencemens, qu'il nous en faict veoir, et ne permettra point, que ceux qui nous persecutant à cause de la religion, dont nous faisons profession, triomphent de nous. Ains prendra la cause des siens en main, et fera paroir sa vertu et puissance en nostre petitesse.

Cependant il luy plaist, que nous soions de present exercez par diverses menaces de nos enemis, lesquels taschent d'amener a chef la mauvaise volonté, qu'ils ont des long temps concevé contre nous. On mect de garnisons pres de nostre ville, et faict on passer de gens de guerre, qu'on entretient asses pres de nous. Ils empeschent aussi de nous apporter des granies: et en oultre sommes advertis du passage prochain de douze mil Espaniolz par la Savoye et Bourgogne. Ou ils doivent faire quelque sejour, pour dela (comme on dict) se rendre au Pays bas.

Toutes lesquelles choses concurrentes ensemble ne nous permettent aulcunq repos du coste des nos ennemis; mais opposans à toutes ces considerations humaines la puissance de Dieu, par laquelle nous subsistons, nous esperons, que nous garentira et conservera par sa gloire, comme nous l'en supplions.

Et quant à moyens humains, dont il plaist à Dieu se servir pour la deliverance des siens, nous nous assurons, monsieur, que vous et autres seigneurs, qui vous estes monstrés affectionés envers nous, continuerez de plus en plus à nous favoriser selon les occasions, qui se presenteront, et aurez nostre estat en recommendation, comme luy qui sera tousjours dedié à vous faire service; priant sur ce Dieu,

Monsieur, qu'en vous accroissant ses graces, il vous conserve longue et heureuse vie. De Geneva ce xxv^e^ de Decembre, 1583.

Les syndiques et conseil de Geneve, vos bien volontaires et affectionez amis, à vous faire service.

BOOK I.

51

[Number XXVII.]

Epistola serenissimæ Scotorum reginæ Mariæ; ab episcopo Rossensi, (ut videtur,) missa.

Rob. Turn. professor, Ingolstad. Epist.

CUM permulti (serenissima regina) me narrante, cognovissent, quibus miseriis implicita, quibus fraudibus petita, quam variis undique calamitatibus obsepta fueris, intimis sane sensibus angebantur. At cum id intellexissent te in istas molestias eo maxime nomine incidisse, quod in catholica religione tenenda constans, defendenda magnanima semper fueris, tantum aberat, ut tuam vicem dolerent, ut absterso penitus dolore, pietati, constantiæ, magnanimitati tuæ gratularentur. Siquidem vere statuebant in calamitatibus istis posse te esse ærumnosam, cum homo nata sis, sed nullo modo miseram, cum pie Christiana sis. Quis enim a Christi mente tam abhorret, ut quam Christus beatam appellet, hanc ipsam miseram putet? Nam si illi, qui propter religionem carceris pœnam, propter Christum capitis periculum, propter justitiam persecutionum procellas adierint, beati dicendi sint, qua ratione tu misera dici aut cogitari queas? Quæ ista omnia tanta mentis alacritate subiisti, ut nec carceris, nec exilii, nec alias fortunæ difficultates, asperas putaris, et duras; sed incredibili potius dulcedine delinitas; quasi essent non pœnæ ab hominibus, sed præmia a Deo meritis tuis, proposita et constituta.

Unde venerat mihi in mentem cogitare hanc tantam mentis tuæ æquabilitatem non aliunde fluere, quam quod virtus quædam in animum tuum cœlitus illapsa, ita omnes tuas cogitationes occuparit, ut rem non humano sensu, sed divina mente metireris. Nam supra humanam naturam, aut saltem supra hujus ætatis virtutem videtur esse; mulierem in flore ætatis, et regiæ dignitatis splendore constitutam, habere animum patientia ita vallatum, ut in acerrimis angoribus læta, in arctissimis custodiis libera, in summis miseriis felix ipsa sibi videretur: itaque tanta constantiæ significatione, ut hoc modo videretur velle semper esse felix; id est, propter Christum misera. Quæ res facit, ut credam, futurum brevi, ut ne speranti, nec cogitanti istæ tibi miseriæ

condiantur suavitate, et carceres periculaque compensentur summa felicitate. Deus enim suos, cum omni plane spe excidere judicantur, e periculis vindicat; ut et arctiori eos sibi beneficio devinciat, ut clarius ejus in ipsos emineat bonitas.

Quare etsi non videmus, cur nobis, si rerum humanarum lance omnia ponderemus, sit sperandum; tamen cum ad Deum animum cogitationemque meam refero, inducor, ut nullam causam putem esse, cur aut nos, qui Dei et tua causa libentissime omnia ferimus, de summis reip. bonis desperemus; aut tu (serenissima regina) in extremis istis malis extabescas plane. Idem namque Deus qui Davidem gravissimis Saulis vexationibus oppressum, Manassem carceris squallore pene confectum, et apostolum Paulum immanissimo Neronis, tanquam leonis, furori objectum, liberarat, te quoque potest reip. et rempub. tibi, et utrique ecclesiam, et in ecclesia summam libertatem, et in summa libertate summam jucunditatem, restituere.

Quid enim frangaris, aut animo concidas? Nonne idem Deus, Malcolmum, Robertum et Davidem Brusios, Jacobum tritavum tuum, aliosque majores tuos arctissima apud Anglos custodia comprehensos, in libertatem asseruit; ac amplioribus quam antea honoribus cumulavit? At quam, quæso, ob causam istorum fortunam, pene prostratam erexit Deus? Ut tibi et omnibus suis ostenderet, se illis nunquam defuturum, quam diu manent sui. Macte igitur animo, (piissima regina) horum exemplo spera meliora, pacatiora, ampliora. Non te frangant, sed, ut antea semper, sic nunc maxime excitent, curæ, labores, pericula. Omnipotens enim Deus, multorum precibus in humilitate cordis, toties rogatus te ex istis periculis ereptam, honoribus longe majoribus, ornabit; ac horum laborum curarumque, quibus aliorum mentes frangi solent tua ne angi quidem potest, præmium longe amplissimum proponet, libertatis suavitatem 52
augebit, regni fines proferet: nunquam denique desinet tibi esse pater, si tu illi pergas esse filia.

Quare ut id, quod summa quadam cum laude nunc facis, serio et constanter semper facias, et literis absens, et verbis

BOOK I.

præsens, sæpissime tecum egi. Ad quam rem, cum plurimum momenti allaturam historiæ lectionem putarem, res gestas posteriorum regum, quas nullus antea tetigerat, Anglice scriptas, cum legationis munus apud Anglos obirem, ad te miseram. Verum cum temporis nostri calamitas me publicis reip. muneribus excluserat, nolui in hoc meo otio ita languere, ut nulla plane ex meis laboribus utilitas ad rempublicam nostram manare videretur. Quare ne hoc meum otium sine ullo fructu reip. periisse existimetur, non solum quæ lingua Anglica festinans effuderam, Latino sermone explicavi; verum etiam anteactæ ætatis integram historiam in unum volumen ad nostrorum utilitatem, arctius compressi. Quæ eo nomine ad te jam mitto, ut inde seligas exempla, quibus te ad pietatis et religionis studia magis et magis inflammes; et virtutes, quibus tu flores maxime, in aliis tuis majoribus admireris, in te autem ames: ea quoque ex hoc nostro labore effluet utilitas; quod ille optimæ spei ac indolis princeps, filius tuus (quem reip. nostræ salvum, et ecclesiæ Christi salutarem fore, quotidianis a Deo precibus suppliciter contendo) hinc promat, et vitiorum, quæ fugiat, et virtutum, quas sequatur, præclarissima exempla.

Is namque finis exemplis proponi et solet et debet, ut bonos bonorum præmiis ad virtutum studia, et malos malorum pœnis ad vitiorum fugam, incendant. Quæ domi apud nos potius nascantur, quam foris ab exteris petantur; aculeos in animo tenelli tui filii relinquent, altius defixos. Verissimum enim est, quod trivit communis doctorum sermo, majorem habere vim ad movendum, domestica quam externa exempla. Quare cum omnes jam ubique te suspiciant, ut piam, ut constantem, ut religiosam, id si tua diligentia effeceris, ut religionis et pietatis exempla in filii tui mentem instilles, non minorem profecto laudem consequeris, quam si ipsius imperium alio regno amplificandum curares. At cum id pietatis officium præsens præsenti non possis præstare, in eam curam incumbe sedulo, ut illum ad parentum suorum vestigia in religionis et virtutum studiis persequenda literis et scriptis, si languet, excites; si currat, in-

cites. Neque sane satis fuerit, te illum in tuis visceribus delitescentem, ab hostium insidiis ac furore immunem conservasse, nisi editum jam, et præclara suæ indolis indicia præ se ferentem, pietate et virtute inbuendum opportune, importune, scriptis, nuntiis, omnibus denique modis, elabores.

Id quod si feceris, (facturum te spero) futurum est, ut qui, anticipato regii honoris tempore, omnium in se oculos converterit, omnium item judicium et expectationem de sua virtute conceptam, non solum præclare sustineat, sed etiam crescente ætate, multis quoque partibus vincat et superet. Verum si hoc pietatis officium nullo modo ex te, omni opportunitate exclusa, proficisci poterit, nos, quicunque utrique vestrum, ac in vobis reip. toti prospectum esse cupimus, hanc illi operam scriptis ac libris, qui ad virtutem incitent, fortasse navabimus. Vale feliciter, et hoc nostros labores boni consule.

Number XXVIII. 54

A proclamation against retainers.

The queen, weighing the great inconveniences and enormities that have universally grown within her realm by unlawful retaining of multitudes of unorderly servants by liveries, and otherwise, contrary to the good and antient statutes of this realm, hath therefore by her proclamation notified the same, and the dangers and penalties of the said laws unto her loving subjects; giving them express admonition, that if they should not therupon forbear any further to offend therin, her will and pleasure was, that the said laws and statutes should be straitly put in execution, and the penalties and forfeitures growing thereby to her highness for the offences committed against the same to be duely levyed. Whereof notwithstanding their neither hath followed such reformation in that behalf as was expected, but the said mischiefs and enormities have rather more and more encreased. Neither have the said laws hitherto been duely put in execution, according to the former proclamation. Wherein had appeared most wilful contempt in the

BOOK I.

offenders, and great negligence and lack of dutiful care in those to whom the execution of the said laws was committed; which might justly move her highness to use herein hereafter all severity and extremity. Yet nevertheles her majesty having an earnest and most godly intention to procure speedy reformation of so pernicious a sore in this commonwealth, and of her gracious and merciful disposition, tendring more the quiet reformation of the faults, than to enrich her treasures by the great forfeitures, which by justice are due unto her, meaneth to make some further tryal before she procede to severe execution of the same.

And therefore to the end that such as have offended in this behalf, (either by unlawful *retaining*, or by being unlawfully *retained* by livery, badges, promise, or otherwise,) being eftsones admonished of the dangers and penalties of the said laws and statutes, and of her majesty's will and pleasure for the strait execution of the same hereafter, may have convenient time and respit to reform themselves, and to eschew the peril and dangers of the said laws, she doth by her proclamation notify to all her loving subjects, of what state or degree soever they be, that whosoever, after the last day of May next coming, shall unlawfully *retain*, or be *retained*, &c. shall not have any manner of favour or grace of her majesty for any such offence committed or to be committed against the laws and statutes; but that the whole penalties, forfeitures, and punishments, limited and appointed by the same laws, shall with al severity be extended against them, as well for their offences committed before the said last day of May, as after, &c. And she charged all her justices and officers, to whom the execution of the same appartained, to cause inquisition and examination, according to the same laws, to be made in all places of the realm assoon as conveniently they might after the same last day of May, &c. And in every sessions inquisition to be made by a sufficient jury of all points and articles of the statutes in force against unlawful *retainers;* especially of the statute 8 E. IV. and the 3d of her majesty's most noble grandfather, king Henry VII. &c. Given at her manour

of Greenwich, the 19. of April, the 25. year of her reign, 1583. BOOK I.

Number XXIX. 55

Archiepiscopus Eborum Cestriensi episcopo.

Gratia, pax et salus a Deo Patre et Domino nostro Jesu Christo.

INTUENTI mihi, (frater venerande) cursum et conditionem hujus impietate perditi seculi; quantos agat triumphos Satan, quam longe lateque dominetur scelus, quam innumeri sunt ac frequentes improborum hominum flagitiosi greges, quam exilis, quam arida, vel potius quam nulla, sit in terris fides, nulla pietas, videmus, in ultima et impia mundi hujus, jam interitui vicina tempora, devenisse: Biblioth. Coll. Gonv. et Cai.

Cum porro mihi in mentem venit, zizaniam, horum peccatorum semen, nulla re magis in agro Domini vel spargi, vel succrescere, quam agricolarum somnolentia, colonorum desidia, nec aliunde tantam cladem invectam esse Hierosolymæ nostræ sanctæ civitati (qua et muri sui evertuntur, et ipsa pœne capta cedit inimicorum violentiæ) quam quod excubiæ, quæ deberent vigilare somno sopitæ, suis muneribus desunt:

Adhæc, cum recolo, nos etiam ipsos, quibus curam suæ vineæ commisit Dominus, officio nostro parum satisfecisse, vitas nimium secure, tanquam in alta pace transegisse, neque hostibus Christi satis fortiter resistendo, neque Domini fundum arando satis diligenter, neque pascendo gregem satis fideliter, neque satis vigilanter in specula consistendo, munus nostrum prout decuit, adimplevisse; uti meipsum negligentiæ coarguo, testeque conscientiæ cogor succumbere veniamque petere, (quanquam dissolutum, et penitus desidem me nunquam fuisse, novit Dominus;) ita charitate pia fraternaque benevolentia commotus, meum esse duco te cohortari: uti quemadmodum idem nobis incumbit onus, eadem est administrandæ provinciæ reddenda ratio, sic conjunctis animis, quales nos esse decet ponderemus, securitatem et somnolentiam discutiamus, redimamus tempus, accin-

gamus nos ad prælium, gladios et arma Spiritus capiamus, hostem communem profligamus, et Christi fidem, vel ad sanguinem et cædem, defendamus.

Præfecit nos Deus gentibus et populis, ut extirpemus et eradicemus, ut perdamus et dejiciamus, ut ædificemus et plantemus. Ideoque nostrum est, fibras superstitionis et idololatriæ radices falce divini verbi resecare, bonas etiam fruges evangelii propagatione per animos hominum conserere, arces et turres Jericuntis tuba cœlestis Spiritus evertere; muros autem Jerosolymæ sacrumque templum, quantum in nobis est, erigere; sævitiam et tyrannidem Antichristi summa contentione convellere, regnum autem et imperium filii Dei sedula prædicatione stabilire.

Neque vero solum hunc in pascendo suo grege laborem, videtur Dominus a nobis postulare, verùm etiam flagitat; ne solutis legum sacratarum vinculis, impune peccatum volitet. Vult enim Dominus libidinem comprimi, scelus constringi, dissolutos mores contineri, quæque dilapsa jam defluxerunt severis legibus, et dignis suppliciis, coerceri. Ita et saluti præcipitantis patriæ melius consulemus, et eorum furorem, qui afflictam eam cupiunt, opprimere, felicius concutiemus. Hic igitur fideles et justos nos esse convenit, æqua lance quod suum est cuique tribuentes. Non debemus nos quenquam, vel ob opes divitem, vel ob authoritatem potentem, vel ob amicitiam charum, vel ob commoditatem utilem, sic respicere, quo minus opus Domini strenue compleamus.

Qui ergo sunt contumaces et præfracti hostes, virga sunt ferrea comminuendi; saltem, ne lepra sua sanos inficiant, constringendi. Capiendæ sunt vulpeculæ, quæ demoliuntur vineam, et pandenda venabula, quibus errones Papani, seditionum faces, et ecclesiæ pestes, irretiti cadant. Hoc enim genus hominum pessimum est, et nostri fundi calamitas; qui nimia licentia fiunt deteriores, et impunitate jam
56 feroces, audacter cum summo discrimine bonorum omnium insolescunt. Est misericordia crudelis: et cur non cogeret ecclesia perditos filios ut redirent, si perditi filii cogerunt alios, ut perirent? Ut autem hæc omnia facilius eveniant,

ac partitis operibus facilius optatos exitus sortiantur, non alienum arbitror, si pro authoritate nobis concessa, quisque nostrum quos apud se noverit pietate præstantes et fide sanos, convocet, eorumque strenuam et diligentem operam in his ecclesiæ reique publicæ, tam incertis et dubiis rebus, exposcat. Lumbis enim succinctis (frater) oportet nos sedulo negotium Domini conficere. Multi sunt hostes; multa nobis quærenda sunt consilia. Nec in hisce difficultatibus omittendum quicquam, quod ullo modo saluti communi possit conducere. Neque debemus extimescere quenquam, cujus est in..... ipsius Spiritus. Dominus omnipotens nobis aderit et dux et vindex; simus modo pro domo Dei zelo ferventes, flagrantes studio neque aliqua necessitudine complectamur, quos aliena in Dominum nostrum et suam ecclesiam esse mente. Nam qui perfidi sunt in Deum, in principem fideles esse non possunt. Quas nacti sumus provincias ornemus eas, nobisque ipsis, et universo gregi diligenter caveamus. Aderit enim proculdubio brevi Dominus; qui nos præfecit ecclesiæ suæ, proprioque sanguine redemptam eam e gehennæ faucibus eripuit. Ante cujus tribunal stare nos oportet, nostræque dispensationis districtam rationem reddere. Qua tempestate felix ille, qui intrepide coram Filio Dei mortuorum et viventium judice, poterit consistere.

Hæc mihi in mentem venerunt, de quibus tuam dominationem admonere, mei esse officii putavi. Sperans humanitatem tuam fidele hoc meum consilium et amicam animam, bonam in partem esse accepturam. Deus Opt. Max. ecclesiam suam protegat, hostes veritatis conterat, nostrisque piis studiis felices et prosperos exitus concedat. *Amen.*

Bushopthorpiæ, 13. Febr. 1583.

Tuus in Christo frater,

E. Ebor.

To the right reverend in Christ, my very good lord, the bishop of Chester.

BOOK I.

Number XXX.

The lords of the council to the earl of Darby and bishop of Chester, concerning the weekly collections to be made in his diocese, for maintenance of popish recusants in prison.

After our hearty commendation to your good lordships.

WHEREAS, by direction from us heretofore by sundry letters written unto you, you have proceeded to the levying of a certain contribution by 8*d.* by the week upon every parish within the diocess of Chester, levyable by the statute of the xiv^th^ year of her majesty's reign, for the feeding and maintenance of prisoners committed to the common goals of the counties within that diocess; which contribution not having been, sithence the stablishing of that statute, collected, and (as we have been informed) we did conceive, that the same might have been gathered, and employed in the maintenance of such prisoners, as being persons dangerous to the state, and committed to safe custody, to the end they should not pervert her majesty's sub-
57 jects with *popery* and disobedience; but that certain of the justices of the peace of the counties of Lancaster and Chester have been here with us, and declared unto us, that the inhabitants of either county do murmur and find themselves grieved with the payment of that contribution, as well for that the same is conceived not to be agreeable with the meaning of the statute, as that it is not indifferently laid among them in respect of the parishes, being of unequal numbers of householders; some containing many, and some but few; and yet the tax equal, both to the great and to the less.

Upon consideration whereof, we think it not convenient to lay any charges upon her majesty's subjects more than the law may warrant, or the necessity of her majesty's service, with regard to her prerogative, may be allowed. So in case of such necessity as this is, the same tending to the benefit of her majesty and her estate, we did little expect any such disliking of the inhabitants of the said counties, as by some

of the justices hath been declared unto us. And so much the less, because we never understood thereof from your lordships, and the greatest number of the best affected of the justices of those counties. Who, as we are informed, did joyne with your lordships in the acessing of the said collections. Of whom many have lately written unto us for the continuance thereof, shewing the benefit already grown thereby. Considering also, that by yielding thereunto, the whole diocese was to have been eased of the number of rogues, vagabonds, and masterless persons wandring and pestring the same. Who, by the erecting certain houses of correction, were to have been set on work, and employed in honest and commendable arts and exercises.

And albeit upon this information upon the pretended grievance of her majesty's subjects, wee do think it convenient to have the said collection of 8*d.* by the week to be stayed; yet before we would give any direction therunto, not knowing what your lordships and the rest, by whom the same hath chiefly been dealt in by our directions, can say to the information in that behalf delivered unto us, we have thought good first to acquaint you therewith, that we might receive your answer, knowledg, and opinion therof: which we pray you to certify with as convenient speed as you may. And so we bid your good lordships right hartily farewel. From the court at Greenwich, the 6. of July, 1583.

Signed, Tho. Bromeley, canc. W. Burghley, A. Warwike, Rob. Leycester, and divers more.

[Number XXX.]

The bishop of Winton to the lord treasurer: clearing himself against sir Richard Norton, his officer, that had accused him that he was covetous.

MY credit, right honourable, hath ever been more dear unto me, than either living, or other worldly benefit, especially with them that I know to be honourable and wise. Wherefore I desire your lordships favourable interpretation,

BOOK I.

if at this time I shew my self somewhat more jealous than needeth in this respect.

Sir Richard Norton, my officer, hath threatned, that he would complain of me unto your honour; and it is given forth in the country that he hath so don. I know your honour always keepeth one ear for the defendant. My onely desire is, if any such information be made, that it may please you to be so good to let me understand the par-
58 ticulars, and I doubt not but I shall answer them with good credit. Because I will not suffer sir Richard to overrule me in mine own, and to make a benefit with my great charges, he spreadeth in all places of the country, that I am hard and covetous, and maketh many to conceive that opinion of me, to my great discredit. If I were as far from all other faults, as, I thank God, I am from that, I should be far a better man than I am.

Caute et prudenter.

I never yet was whorder of money or purchaser of lands, nor ever mean to be. My only desire is, moderately, without waste, so to maintain the countenance of my place as I may not run in debt in mine old age. I thank God I am out of debt, and so I mean to keep me. But that I have some causes extraordinarily to make somewhat of that which is mine own, your honour may in part gather from the scedule here enclosed. Where it is evident how small a portion of the revenue of the bishoprick remaineth to me toward all charges.

If any sinister information hath been made, this bearer is so well acquainted with my state, as I doubt not but he will reasonably satisfy your honour. Sir Richard Norton is nigh [a near man] himself, and of a great stomac, and useth broad speech, thinking belike to make me afraid, as he doth some others. But I cannot be feared of him, so long as my conscience doth not accuse me of any offensive matter don, either against law, honesty, or conscience. But I cease to trouble your honour, desiring Almighty God to preserve the same to his glory. This 3d of July, 1587.

Your honour in Christ to command,

Thomas Winton.

The schedule was as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
The whole charge and value of the bishoprick of Winchester - -	3114	0	5 *ob.q.*
Ordinary reprizes and allowances deducted - - - - - -	3389	0	11 *ob.q.*
Remain of rent of assize of the same bishoprick - - - - - -	2773	10	6 *ob.q.*
Paid to her majesty for Taunton -	400	0	0
My lord of Leicesters fee - -	100	0	0
The principal officers of the said bishoprick yearly - - - -	99	7	6
Paid yearly in annuities granted by bishop Gardiner and bishop White; wherin sir Fr. Walsinghams fee is contained - - - -	218	6	8
The first fruits after three years -	837	0	0
The tenths - - - - - -	279	6	6 *ob.*
The subsidies - - - - -	250	0	0
A yearly almes to the poor of Magdalens by Winchestre - - -	25	19	4
The expence of the audit - -	26	13	4
For ingrossing the great pipe, and some other things at the same time -	7	1	4
The benevolence lately granted -	133	6	8
Sum total -	2377	1	4 *ob.*
Sic remanet clare of rent of assize -	398	9	2 *q.*

Number XXXI. 59

The bishop of Meath in Ireland to the lord treasurer, for the erecting of a free grammar school.

MAY it please your honour to give me leave to remember your lordship, that at my last being in London, in two several sermons at court, I moved her majesty to begin the foundation of an university in this barbarous and unhappy land. With what joy and general liking of the matter that MSS. Burg.

BOOK I.

cause was heard, both of her highness and you, the lords of the council and court, and in what good and great forwardness it was to be performed, your lordship, I know, can best remember, being chief patron and best furtherer thereof. Insomuch as your lordship (upon some speeches had with me) did make choice of Mr. Elmer (now bishop of London) to be the fittest man for to be, as it were, *provost* or chief overseer of the whole work and cause.

But, alas! my lord, who would have thought that a matter so grateful to her majesty and you all, so requisite and necessary to Gods glory, and comfortable to his church, and so highly advancing her and your everlasting fame and praise, should so suddenly be dashed; and not only dashed for a time, but also, as it were, buried in everlasting oblivions. But such is the malice of that common enemy of man against this miserable and woeful country, and so great is the heavy and just displeasure of God against us, as that which is best meant for us commonly taketh least effect; what good would have come to this ruinous state by performance of that motion, your honour, as chief patron and favourer of learning, can best judge. And what tumult and rebellion, what calamity and misery hath happened here since, and with how much bloud of her subjects, and charge of her treasure, things have been pacified, your honour, a chief pillar of both states, needs not to be informed by one that have had more leisure to bewail it than any wise foresight to prevent it. This I hope I may, with your lordships leave and liking, safely and truly advouch, that if that good work had gon forward, the living therunto appointed had been better bestowed then since it hath been: less tumult had happened to the state, and many a young gentleman had there been taught to know his duty to God, prince, and country, that now, for lack of good bringing up, remaineth void and barbarous.

And therfore again, my good lord, I have undertaken a suit to that end: and tho' the success of my first motion discourageth me to sue again for the beginning and foundation of an university, yet I have presumed to become hum-

ble petitioner to her grace for a private grammar school. Wee have had an act of parliament passed for erection of grammar schools; but so small hath it prevailed, as at this day, within the whole English pale, there is not so much as one *free school* where a child may learn the principles of grammar. Yet have the deputy and council here from time to time, both by exhortation and commandment, don their best for execution of that statute. Yet such is the misery of our state, that no good can be don; and therefore if now, after so many and long troubles, it would please her highness to grant me authority and some help, to build a school in her own name and foundation, in the poor town where I was born, lying in the very midst of the greatest part of our best and most civil gentlemen of the pale, I do not doubt, but ere long her majesty and you, the lords of her honourable council, shall perceive it to be worthy to be accounted among the best and most gracious grants that ever her grace gave to this woeful people, both for the good of the church and commodity of the country: for I doubt not, but her majesty beginning so graciously, the nobility and gentlemen of our country will to their power go forward for 60 maintenance and encrease of learning.

And in this suite, my good lord, which, God is my witness, I undertake rather for my countries relief than my own private gain, I am enforced of very need to crave help and ability of her majesty. For, I hope, all those which have served her highness, both in highest and meaner calling, will bear me witness, that that portion of living her grace bestowed upon me hath been wholly spent both in entertainment of the state, and in the relief of my poor neighbours. And am therefore most humbly to crave your honours good help and furtherance to her majesty for somewhat wherewith to enable me to perform this good and godly work. For of my self, God he knoweth, I am not able. What it is I seek for, and in what sort, the bearer hereof shall give your lordship to understand.

It is the first suit that ever I had to her grace since my

BOOK I.

coming hither; and I hope not the worst that came to her out of our country. I humbly beseech your honour, even in the behalf of our poor church and common wealth, to grant your helping hand. I am not able any way to deserve to be so bold with your lordship. Only my prayer shall be continually to God for encrease of honour and happiness to you and yours. And I hope the goodness of my cause, and the unfeigned care you cary to learning, and maintenance thereof, shall easily procure pardon for me. And so, with consideration of my duty, I take leave. Dublyn, the xv. of October, 1583.

Your lordships ever in his prayer to God,

H. Miden.

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Number XXXII.

Dr. Tobie Matthew, dean of Durham, to the lord treasurer Burghley. Thanks for his counsel, upon his going to Durham. The condition of the deanery.

Epist. episcop.

RIGHT honourable, and my singular good lord. As I cannot but acknowledge my self most bounden to your lordship for my placing here, and for that sundry letters your honour wrote thither in my behalf, so do I take your late honorable letter I received by Mr. Tonstal for one of the greatest arguments of your special favour towards me, agreable to that grave and godly counsil it pleased your lordship to give me at my departure from the court. Al which, I trust, the grace of God will as well enable me to follow to the discharge of my calling, as it hath persuaded me to like therof, to the contentation of my mind. Wherin if any defect shall at any time appear, specially coming to your lordships ears, I shall most humbly beseech your lordship to make me know it; and do promise and desire to be reformed by your authority, and directed by your wisdom therin, and in all things else, even as by the Socrates or Solomon of our age.

Concerning Pittington, mentioned in your lordships said letter, I did, according to your lordships appointment, conferr with Mr. Tonstal, as by our letter, joyntly written by him and me unto your lordship, it may appear more particularly. I was most glad at the first, that any occasion was offered me to shew the readiness of my service to your honour; which I would have made as willingly, as ever I did otherwise in my life. And so I presume of my brethren of the chapitre, who are all, tho' not so deeply as I, much bounden to your lordship. But when I perceived, both by view of the register, and by speech with Mr. Anderson of Newcastle, that there is a lease or two of the said Pittington for many years enduring, I thought it not meet to make your lordships motion a chapitre matter, until Mr. Tonstal and I had certified the state therof, and received some further notice of your lordships plesure.

For mine own part, bethinking my self very seriously of 62
the cause, I mervail they would give your lordship the note of that mannour; which, altho' it be simply the best thing belonging to this church, and lying within two miles therof, yet they could not but know it is in lease, single or double: and at what time they made in dean Whittington his days a lottery, as they termed it, of threescore leases at the least. And again, in dean Wilson's time, demised threescore and twelve leases, or thereabouts, within the space of one month, or not much more: some presently to commence, and some in reversion. It is nothing probable, under your lordships reformation, they should so carelesly have over past Pittington, but that they believed the estate therof in possession to be good enough: especially being by the nowe surveyor so diversely conveyed over by sundry assignments, as I hear it is. Howbeit I have purposed, for the better insight into the case, before your lordship shall be seen therin, to hold a court of survey there, before my return to the next term, that I may the more likely declare how it stands, and take your lordships best directions how to procede.

BOOK I.

And thus, till then and ever, I humbly betake your honour to the grace of Almighty God. From Duresm, the 28 Sept. 1583.

Your lordships most humble,
Tobie Matthew.

Number XXXIII.

George Withers, of Danbury in Essex, to the lord Burghley; concerning church controversies, and subscription to the Book of Common Prayer.

MSS. ecclesiast.

MY duty unto your honour in most humble maner premised, with most earnest prayer to God for your health, with encrease of heavenly wisdom, and all other Gods most excellent gifts, wherewith he hath most plentifully endued your lordship, for the benefit of his church and his common wealth. You may justly mervail what toy hath taken me in the head to trouble you, that are so greatly prest with weight and multitude of the common affairs, with these also our ecclesiastical contentions. But the general care of the church, which you have evidently declared unto the whole world, together with your special good will towards my self, which by good experience I have found, have partly encouraged me, and chiefly the importunity of some of my friends, suffering no repulse, nor taking any nay, hath enforced me thus to pass my bounds, and to be too bold with your lordship, in writing these few lines, concerning our church controversies.

The Devil, whensoever God bridleth his open rage in giving some peace and rest unto his church, always hath politickly devised to set debate, strife, and dissensions in the bosome and bowels of it. Which thing, as it cannot be unknown to the learned, so I much mervail that so few take heed of it; and that generally, instead of seeking the peace of the church, φιλονεικία is planted and rooted almost in every breast. I have long time wished the church rid of some things, in the having whereof I see no profit.

But seing God hath not granted that desire, I have with all my heart wished, that in these outward things (contention layd apart) men would conform themselves to her majesty's law and pleasure. And herein there have been faults on all sides. For as in the one there hath been an overearnest standing in trifles; so in the other too severe and sharp punishment of the same. For wheras they that omitted the chief duties of good ministers laid upon them, both by law of God and man, escaped freely unpunished, the only sticking at trifles is severely punished; as tho' that only and alone were disobedience. Secondly, the manner of the punishment is such, as that the innocent people not offending, are rather punished, than the person faulty. For he, retaining his charge, is suspended from executing his office. Which is all one, as if a man being angry with his shepheard, forbids him to deal with his sheep, and appoints none other: and so they sterve in the fold, afore they be let forth to pasture. 63

The care of your honour to have insufficient ministers removed is commendable and godly. And herein I wish that respect in your articles had been as particularly had to the book of *consecration* of ministers, as to the statute of 13 *reginæ*. For by that book it will appear, that all unpreaching ministers are *insufficient* ministers; and that this fault hath been in the makers of them, and not in the law. But how shall your honours be certified of them? Sure, it is hard for them that made them to accuse themselves.

But now to the chief occasion of this my letter; which is the present *subscription* to the Book of Common Prayer, now urged. I do think reverendly of the book, and of the authors therof: and yet notwithstanding, I think with Augustine, that it is a reverence due only and alone to the canonical books of scripture, to think, that the authors of them, in writing of them, erred in nothing; and to none other books of men, of what learning or holiness soever. The things in that book which I wish to be amended be of two sorts. The first such as cannot be defended. The second be such as tho' with favourable exposition they may

BOOK I.

stand and remain, yet they give the adversary shrewd advantage, as well to confirm in popery them whom they have already won, as also to allure and intice others therunto. Besides, some other inconveniences of the first sort are *private baptism;* and the last part of the rules for the communion of the sick. For where there are none present but women, it is all one to say, a woman shall baptize, as one of them that are present shall baptize. And the imagination that a minister may be sent for, cannot stand with the words of the book. For what time can they have to send for any, which have not leisure to say the Lord's Prayer before they baptize? Besides, that minister which (if any be) is most likely to be sent for, must by the book be ignorant of the whole action, til the child be brought to church. Further, how the necessity to baptize at home can stand with the doctrin of our church, publickly by law established, I see not.

The other, that the minister may with the sick man receive alone, is contrary to the nature of the communion; contrary to the doctrin established; and is cosin german to the *private mass.* And therefore is by the defence therof, as an old corruption, alledged by Mr. Harding and his fellows, as well generally against our doctrin, as especially against Mr. Juels Chalenge. The which things, with some others, in the beginning of her majesty's reign, some of the bishops then being, were charged with by the learned of foreign churches. Who in this wise excused themselves, as I my self saw in their letters of answer, which by Mr. Bullinger, and Gualter, were shewed me at Zuric, anno 1567; namely, that they nor none of them were of the parliament house at the passing of the book; and that therefore they had no voice in making of the law: but after it was past, they being chosen to be bishops, must either content themselves to take their places as things were, or else leave them to papists, or to them which are not much better, that is, to Lutherans. But in the mean space they both promised not to urge their brethren to those doctrines; and also, when opportunity should serve, to seek reformation of them.

The second sort of things, being taken out of the *Portuise*, and translated into the Book of Common Prayer, the papists urge in that sense in the which they were used by themselves, from whom they were taken. And these expositions which we now give, they say, they are violent, and wrested from the true, native, natural, and ordinary sense. Wherby they make the ignorant believe that the book favoureth divers of their errors. Which weapon I wish were pulled out of their hands. 64

Further, it is an inconvenience that the translation of the scripture, in the first Great Bible, is by the bishops corrected, and yet remaineth in the Book [of Common Prayer] uncorrected. Likewise, that the interrogatories in baptism, in the primitive church directed to men, are now directed to infants. Lastly, where unity is to be sought, the urging of this subscription, I fear, will make our division greater. For I think that many, who both in their ministry obediently use the book, and in other things shew their conformity to the laws present, will hardly yield to subscribe in that form which is set down.

Thus beseeching your lordship to pardon my rude boldness, I commit you to the protection of Almighty God.

At Danbury, the 19 of February, anno 1583.

Your lordship always in Christ to command,

George Wither.

Number XXXIV.

A private letter of one Touker to the lord treasurer, lord Burghley: informing him of Englishmen in Rome; and of some matters relating to them.

RIGHT honourable, since my last being with your honour, I have been three times at the Marshalsai's: where I find one Tither, who was acquainted with me in Rome. This Tither, at my request, profered Christophur Taters wife to write unto the rector of the English seminary in Rome, for the delivery of her husband out of the gallies; MSS. Burg.

BOOK I.

who was condemned with Peter Backer. He said also, with some travail she might have the queen of Scots letter to the pope, or Fecknams to the cardinal. He profered me to convey my letters at any time to Nicholas Fitz Harbord, in Rome. I think the conveyer of these letters would be known with some diligence. Tither hath written two times since his imprisonment; but not answered. He warned me to beware of one Robert Woodward, who served sometime D. Wenden in Rome. They have great intelligence, and fear him much.

In April last, there came from Rome to Naples an Irish man, whom the pope created bishop of Ross in Ireland; and gave him authority to make priests. By which authority he gave orders to as many as came; and got mich money. The archbishop of Naples forbad him; but the nuntio maintained his doings. This bishop stayed in Naples only for passage into Spain; and so directly for Ireland. He caried with him great store of pardons, and *Agnos Deis* to the popes friends in Ireland. He hath to his servant one Thomas Galtrope, a merchants son of Dewlin. This Galtrope pretendeth to leave the bishops service, and return to his father at their coming home.

65 Also there dyed one John Davies, in Rome; who served the lord William Howard, as he said. This Davies said in Rome, that happy shall they be one day that have languages. For when God taketh our prince from us, there will be mich trouble in England, and great revenging of old quarels. But he said, if the earl could get Norwich on his head, they did not care: with many like words.

Upon Sunday next I go towards Exeter, and return by the end of August. If it be your honours pleasure that I shall come to you before I depart, Mr. Cope may let me know of it.

Francis Touker.

Number XXXV.

The vice-chancellor and heads of the university of Cambridge to their high chancellor; concerning their printing-press, hindered by the stationers of London.

Our most humble duties to your honour remembred.

WHERAS we understand by your honours letters, MSS. Burg. that certain of the company of the stationers in London have sought to hinder the erecting of a print within this university of Cambridg, and to impugne that antient privilege, granted and confirmed by divers princes for that purpose, to the great benefit of the university and augmentation of learning: these are in most humble manner to desire your honour, not so much in respect of Mr. Thomas, [their printer,] who hath already received great injury and dammage at their hands, as in behalf of the university; which findeth it self very much aggrieved with the wrongful detaining of those goods, wherewithal, as we are persuaded, in right and equity they ought not to meddle, to continue our honorable patron, and to direct your favourable warrants to the warden of the stationers, that he may have his press delivered with speed; lest that by their means, as he hath been disappointed of Mr. Whitakers book, so by their delays he be prevented of other books made within the university, and now ready for the press.

As for the doubts which they caused, rather in respect of their private gain and commodity, and to bring the universities more antient privileges in this behalf than theirs under their jurisdiction at London, than for any other good consideration, the deciding or peril wherof also pertaineth not to them; we dare undertake, in the behalf of Mr. Thomas, whom we know to be a very godly and honest man, [it was in respect of schismatical books, in danger to be here printed,] that the press shall not be abused, either in publishing things prohibited, or otherwise inconvenient for the church and state of this realm. And this we promise the rather, for that his *grace* [viz. his grant to print] (wherof

BOOK I. we have sent a copy to your honour by himself) was granted unto him upon condition that he should stand bound from time to time to such articles as your honour and the greatest part of the heads of colleges should ty him unto.

And for the conference, wherunto your honour moveth us, if it shall be your honours pleasure, wee, as desirous of peace and concord, (the premisses considered,) shall be ready to shew our willingness therunto, if it shall please the company of stationers in London to send hither some certain men from them with sufficient authority for that
66 purpose. Thus most humbly desiring that the press may no longer be stayed, and hoping that your honour will further our desire herein, we do in our daily prayer commend your lordship to the blessed tuition of the Almighty.

From Cambridge, this 14th of June.

Your lordships most bound,

John Bell, Vicechancellor.

Robert Norgate, Andrew Perne, Thomas Legg,
Edmund Hownds, William Fulke, Edmund Barwel.
Thomas Nevyle, John Still,

Number XXXVI.

An abstract taken by the lord treasurer Burghley out of the instructions given to monsieur de Gryces and Ortel, agents from Holland to the queen: to take on her their protection. In four papers.

MSS. Burg. THE first paper contained these heads; viz. The answer of the States to her majesty's propositions. That count Maurice is chief of the affairs, with a council adjoined. That her majesty would send aid speedily. The States mind to yield 330,000 florens monthly.

Whereof { Brabant - - - 60,000
Holland, Zealand, Utretcht 200,000
Frize - - - 36,000
Gueldres, Overissel - 30,000 } monthly.

The enemy's forces,

Besides the garrison, are in three bands.

In Gueldres and Zutphen, 3000 footmen, 23 com. of horse.

About Antwerp, 5000 foot and horse.

About Gaunt, 3000.

At the siege of Dermont, 5000.

The States forces,

In the field about Zutphen, 3000 foot, 25 com. of horse.

They look for forces out of Almain, 3000 foot, 300 horse.

Their power by sea certified by Mr. Edward Dyer.

The second paper.

Answer of the Hollanders; a part to Ortelius. They require her majesty to receive in general all the Provinces United into her protection; or particularly Holland, Zealand, Freezland, and Utrecht: and that in general. That the French king laboured to be accepted as their lord in general. Therefore to prevent this, that the queen's majesty will send 3 or 4000 under a good conduct.

The third paper. 67

For Zealand. The hearts of the people will be the more inclinable to her majesty, if her majesty will presently assist them with 4000 footmen, and munitions of war.

The fourth paper.

Out of private instructions by Ortel. To set the elector Truwis in his seat of Colen. To send forces speedily: for the country will yield to them that will send forces first. To joyn with the French king with like conditions, as monsieur [the king's brother] had by the treaty of Bourdeaulx: or else to yield 20 or 30,000*l.* monthly to the contribution of Holland, Zealand, &c. without intermeddling with the French.

The demand of three townes by her majesty shall not be hard to grant hereafter. But without the consent of the

BOOK I.

common, the same cannot be don; for that mistrust is had of the English, that rendred Alost[a] to the enemy. But her majesty may have assurance, in taking the oaths of the magistrates and garrisons. Which may be don in bestowing upon the collonells 2 or 3000 — at the first pay, besides their ordinary.

[a] Vid. Camd. Eliz. anno 1383.

To have consideration of the house of the late prince of Orange.

To grant licence for 3 or 4000 tun of munition of iron.

Number XXXVII.

Queen Elizabeth to the duke of Monpensier: upon the murder of the prince of Orange. For the bringing up of his daughters.

MSS. princip. penes me.

MONSIEUR, mon cousin. Comme le feu prince d'Orange, prévoyant le danger imminent, auquel il estoit tousjours subject par le secretes menées et embusches que luy tendoyent ses enemys, nous eust de son vivant bien instamment prié d'avoir ses filles pour recommendées, et de les prendre en mon protection, s'il luy advenoit de les laisser sans pere: se reposant (comme à bon droit il pouvoit faire) sur la faveur et affection, que luy avons du tout temps portée. Nous avons advise après cest infortune accident de la mort dudit prince de ..... *And then follows the queen's appointment of the prince's daughters to divers ladies of great protestant families.*

Dont vous avons bien voulu particulierement advertie pour l'interest qu'avez en elles par le droit de nature. Esperant que ne trouverez mauvaise la disposition qu'en avons faicte; ains plustost quaures pour agreable le soing qu'avons d'elles. En quoy vous de nous seconder, et y a porter aussi de vostre part tout l'advancement que pourrez, comme leur plus proche parent du costé maternel: prenant et acceptant la tutele de vos dites niepces; et vous rendant protecteur et conservateur de ce qu'elles ont de bien en France: afin qu'elles en puissent estre subvenues pour leur entrenement. Et que a ceste fin il vous plaise requerir le roy de son com-

mandement et autorité pour leur faire savé, s'il en sera de besoing, &c. Escript à nostre maison de Hampton Court, le 16 Oct. 1584. Vostre tres affectionée bonne cousine, et tres assurée amye à jamais.

Elizabeth.

Number XXXVIII.

An original letter of Mary queen of Scots own writing, to the treasurer Burghley: to favour her cause with the queen, and to assist Mauvesier, the French ambassador with the queen, in that affair.

MONSIEUR, le grand thesaurier. Ayant écrit ces jours passées à la royne, ma dame, ma bonne sœur, pour luy ramantenoir la sincerité de mon intention vers elle, et la grand necessité que j'ay de son octroy en mes requestes passées; je pançois par mesme moyen vous faire ce mot pour vous prier me y ettre favourable en son endroit, en tant que selon son service, et ma commodité, elle pouroit me favoriser, et d'avantasge obliger à elle. Mays me trouvant un peu mal, et laschée de ma depesche je fus contreinte de la remettre jusques à present, ayant prié cependant le sieur de Mauvesiere, ambassadeur du roy tres Chrestien, monsieur mon bon frere, de vous communiquer le tout, et impetrer votre ayde et support vers la ditte dame, ma bonne sœur. En quoy m'assurant qu'il n'aura manquer, ne vous troubleray de plus long discours, si non vous prier d'avoir esguard à ma longue captivité, et à la verité de tout ce que l'on a voulu me mettre a subs. Et si je ne suis privée de tout sense ce que je puis pretendre pour mon meilleur, et de ce que j'ai le plus cher voiant l'estast où je suis, et à l'heure je m'assure tant de vottre sagesse, que vous jugeray aysement, que je ne tands a meriter destre tant soupsonnée, et en cet endroit je finiray, par mes recommendations à vottre bonne grace, et de celle de ma dame de Burley votre famme: priant Dieu vous donner à tout deux le contentement que desirez. De Shefeld ce xx de Nouvembre. MSS. Burg.

Vottre entierement bonne amye.

Marie R.

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Number XXXIX.

68 *Petitions digested into 34 articles, to be humbly offered unto the queen and parliament: for a learned ministry to preach the gospel, and to be residents in every parish: and for further regulation of the bishops, officers, and governors of the church.*

MSS. ecclesiast. penes me.

CERTAIN humble petitions, which are in most humble manner to be presented to the godly consideration of our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, &c. for the help of the poor untaught people of this realm; and for the reforming of some other disorders which are in it.

I. That there may a view be taken of all the market townes, and other townes of most inhabitants within the realm of England, to see what hable preaching pastor is now resident among them, and in every of them. And also to know what sufficiency of living there is now provided in them, and in every of them, for the maintenance of such a learned, godly, preaching pastor, to be resident among them. And what want there is in every of them, as well of such a pastor, as also of a sufficient sustentation or living of a meet pastor. Thus shall the truth of our former complaint appear concerning the want of teaching. Which we English subjects of this land do not endure.

II. That there be also a consideration had of other little townes and parishes, that they may, by some union of two or three parishes together, be made sufficient congregations, and have a competent living appointed in them for a preaching pastor to be resident on them, being so united.

III. That if in this view there be found a want of hable persons fit for to supply the office of preaching pastors in every congregation, this want be helped by some of these ways. First, it is known there are at this time in this church of England some godly, approved, and allowed preachers, which are not tyed to any special charge of any particular congregation: if to every one of these preachers a several parish, which is now unprovided of a pastor, were assigned, and each one of them tyed unto a special congre-

gation, some churches would be well provided of meet and sufficient persons, which are now unprovided. Then, if both the universities may be diligently searched, and such men be taken out of them as are to be found in the colleges, or studying in the said universities out of the colleges; such men as are endued with gifts meet for a preaching pastor, and be orderly called, and placed each of them in a several charge, they will yield some help to fulfil this want.

There are also other men to be found, both in the court and in the services of some noblemen, or in the innes of the court, or some godly gentlemen dwelling in country or elsewhere, men which are godly, learned, and apt to serve the church of Christ: which if they were sought out, and had every one of them a lawful calling to the ministry, and a charge committed to them, in which they may exercise their gifts, there will be found greater store of meet men to serve the church of Christ in England, than is now thought on. To that, if that be liked of, which is hereafter set down, concerning the families of bishops; and also, if all the free grammar schooles, which have been decayed sithence the first year of king Henry VIII. may be by his daughter, our queen, repaired and restored into their old state: furthermore, if there were good order taken for the maintaining and promoting of such scholars in godly learning, as after this time shall be left remaining, or shall come to the universities; (which may be well done by some exhibition to be ministred unto them, not only out of the cathedral churches, but also by the bishops and other churchmen, which do enjoy livings ecclesiastical of great yearly revenues, if they be bound for every one 100*l.* they may dispend by the year, to give yearly 10*l.* towards the finding of some poor and towardly scholar in the university, there to be maintained in the study of divinity;) there shall, God willing, hereafter be found no want of godly ministers for to exercise the pastoralty of the congregations of this church of England. Thus meet pastors being had to execute the pastoral office, the want that shall be found of sufficient liv-

Article 31.

Grammar schools.

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ing for their maintenance may in this wise (if it be so thought good to them which are in authority) be supplied.

IV. That it be ordained, that every dean and chapter of every cathedral and collegiate church of England, which do now pay yearly wages to singing men, choristers, and musicians in their church, do cease to pay the same in such sort any longer. And that they be appointed from henceforth to pay the same wages in yearly pensions to such pastors, being resident on their benefices, which shall be found to want sufficient sustentation of living, in such portion of money yearly as the queen, by her commissioners appointed to take order herein, shall limit and assign to them. We do humbly desire, that this little help to maintain necessary preaching among us may by authority be drawn out of all cathedral churches which are in England. And also we pray, that they that are in authority will, by a godly visitation, take knowledge of the whole state of the said cathedral churches. And then we believe there will be found some other helps, which they may minister yearly to maintain godly preaching among us; if the *quotidians*, dividents, and such like commodities, which they now receive among themselves to maintain their residence, may be employed to maintain true and diligent preaching, in such places as shall be found to want the same. All this is by authority to be ordered and commanded to be done, any ordinance heretofore made in the said cathedral and collegiate churches to the contrary notwithstanding.

V. If this will not suffice for the provision of all the resident preaching pastors which shall be found to want a sufficient living, then let the prebends of all the cathedral and collegiate churches, by the bishops of the dioces, or by him or them, in whom the gift of such prebends are, be annexed to the said offices of the preaching pastors, which do remain unprovided of sufficient livings. That by this annexion a further provision for a sufficient living may be made for the said preaching pastors. And in this behalf it would be provided, that those prebendaries which have not any benefices impropriate belonging to their prebends, either

should be compelled to be resident upon the same benefice, to teach and guide the people in understanding there by the word of God, or severing the benefice from the corps of the prebend, the same parsonage impropriate should be united with and joined unto the vicarage of the same benefice. So that he, the said vicar, having the whole charge of his flock, may have also the whole living appointed to the teaching pastor.

VI. And if all this will not serve for a sufficiency for all the resident preaching pastors, then let the bishops be appointed to pay yearly some such stipends out of their own lands and revenues, as shall suffice to make a full and sufficient living to such resident preaching pastors as shall want the same within their diocesses.

VII. And if by all these means a full sufficiency cannot be provided for every resident preaching pastor, to be maintained sufficiently upon his charge, then we desire the rulers, which are godly wise, to take order, that of the impropriations a full supply of living may be made for all such resident preaching pastors as shall want. If none of all these ways be sufficient, nor the restitution of impropriations to 70
the pastors or vicars which have the charge of the parishes will suffice to make a sufficiency for the necessary sustentation of all preaching resident pastors; then we do pray the godly rulers, by their authority, to tax the people of the parishes, among whom the said pastors do labour, in such sort as to make up that which wanteth for them.

VIII. And for the avoiding of the great danger which the people of Christ do sustain in this church of England, by the nonresidence of them which are their ordinary pastors, we do humbly beseech, that it may by strait law be ordained, that none of these preaching pastors, which are to be furnished with a sufficient provision of living in any of the maners or formes aforesaid, do absent themselves from the benefices and flocks, whereof the charge is committed to them, nor to make any abode, either at the cathedral churches, out of which they do receive the augmentations

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of their livings, either with any of the bishops by whom they do receive the encrease of their livings, as is aforesaid. Nor that any of them, nor any other pastor of a congregation, do absent himself from his flock and charge of his parish, to make his abode in any college of either of the universities, Cambridge or Oxford, in any respect; or in any other places in respect of service, in the court, or in the house of any nobleman. But that all and every pastor do remain upon his own charge; doing diligently his office, in feeding the people committed to his custody, according to the word of God.

IX. That every archbishop and bishop of this church of England and Ireland, if it be found by the examination, (of which mention is made hereafter,) that the office of the archbishop or bishop, as it is now, is both necessary and profitable for the church of Christ in England and Ireland; then that every one of the said archbishops and bishops shall, within the space of six weeks next after his or their *consecration*, (as it is called,) have assigned, nominated, and appointed unto him (by the same authority by which he is chosen archbishop or bishop) eight, ten, twelve, or more preaching pastors, doctors and deacons, such as are resident on their own parishes and charges, within his and their dioces, together with some other grave and godly men of worship, or justices of peace within that shire, in such a certain nombre, as shall be thought good to the queen and her council, which may be assistant to him, the said archbishop and bishop, in the government of all those causes ecclesiastical, which now the archbishop or bishop, with his chancellor or archdeacon, do use to hear and order alone. And that the said archbishop and bishop shall, with them, and by their counsil, advise and consent, hear and determine every cause ecclesiastical, which is now used to be heard before any archbishop and bishop or ordinary. To the end that he, the said archbishop and bishop, and they with him, as his senate ecclesiastical, may call before them all controversies touching religion, which shall be found to

Article 29.

arise in the dioces of the said archbishop and bishop, and to decide the same by their common consent, according to the word of God.

X. And that it may be lawful for every pastor, resident on his charge, and that all and every such resident pastor, within six weeks next after that he be inducted into his benefice, shall, by the advice and direction of the bishop of the dioces, and of his associates, present to the said bishop and his associates, 4, 6, or 8 inhabitants of his parish, such as shall be thought by their age, wisdom, godliness, and knowledge, to be meet to be the associates and seniors to and with the said pastor, to govern his said parish with him; to hear and order with him such quarels, offences, and disorders in life and maners, as should be among the same parishioners. And if the causes and quarels arising in his parish be such that the same pastor and his associates or seniors cannot determine the same among themselves in the parish, then 71
shall the said pastor, and his associates and seniors, bring the said cause before the bishop of the dioces and the elders, which are to him associate, as is before said, that he and they may hear and determine the same.

XI. And wheras now there are in this realm of England some cities which have many parishes in them; boroughs, townes, and towns corporate, which also have many parishes in them; and also many great townes in the country, which have divers hamlets and little villages belonging to them, and depending upon the charge of the pastor of the chief church which is in the townes; we do humbly beseech them which are in authority to devise how each of these parishes, having in them a resident preaching pastor to instruct them by doctrin, may al have a sufficient *seignorie*, to joyn with the pastor, not in teaching, but to have a care with him that the doctrin may have the course which it ought to have. To take care also with him how to remove such offences as do rise among the people against the doctrin. For surely each parish and pastor have need of such help as is to be had by a godly *seignorie*.

XII. That all and every of the said pastors be bound to

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be resident upon his own charge; to teach and to govern the people committed to him, according to the word of God. That not only he, but al other pastors, do both faithfully preach the word of God in his and their congregations or parishes, and also catechize the youth, and all the people committed to his and their charge, diligently. That by the diligent travail of the pastors, the Lord blessing their labours, we, which are the people of God, and your subjects, may be brought to some good understanding of the truth of the religion of God; both to believe it in heart, to confess with mouth, and to practice it in doing, in our lives reformed. That by this means blasphemy and al abominable loosness of life, with al kinds of bribery and lewd doing, may be utterly banished from us which are subjects, as out of the court, and out of the houses and families of noblemen.

That also no popish idolatry be suffered to be exercised in them, nor by any of those persons which do serve our sovereign or them, in any office. And to this end we do humbly beseech her highness and every one of them, with godly judgment deeply to consider that which the kingly prophet David doth write in that Psalm which is in numbre CI. that we all thus being godly and diligently taught and exercised in the word of the Lord, may the better see, hate, and with sorrowful hearts lament our former ignorance and blindness, in which we were carried away in popery to adore that shameful idol of the popish altar, with that blasphemous mass, and to admit the intolerable tyranny of the primacy of the bishop of Rome, with the whole abhominations of popery, as we did of late. That we now, seeing our former fall herein, may both penitently confess our said former faults, and also publickly protest to stand hereafter against all popery: promising with all our hearts al dutiful obedience to the Lord our God, according to the truth of his most holy word. That by this means we, who are the people of this land, may be brought at length to have a stayed, grounded, and settled conscience in the religion of God; and not be left wavering and inclinable to all such

A solemn protestation.

chaunges in religion as men shall make. There are at this time some to be found in this land, which do fully content themselves to be so religious as the politique laws do prescribe: but they procede no farther. Their loyalty to good laws is not to be discommended; but they must in religion procede further, with desire to attain to that faith which is firm, sure, stable, and constant in God and in Christ our Saviour. Otherwise these loyal and politique subjects are not unlike to chaunge their faith and religion so oft as politique laws are chaunged. Which is indeed to have but a temporary faith: it is not to be fast in the religion of God.

A fearful example of this chaunge was given in this land, 72
when queen Mary did succede her brother king Edward. Now, if there be no more sure hold taken of the religion of God by us, nor that his religion doth take more sure hold in us, than politique laws can procure, we may fear, that if another Mary should succede our queen Elizabeth, the like chaunge would follow. Therefore we humbly desire our rulers, which are godly, to devise how by al godly means we al and every one of us may be bound to the true religion of God, now received and professed among us. So that as God himself is one, and not to be chaunged; and his religion is one, and not to be chaunged; even so we, by Gods grace and good means, may be fast tyed to God and his true religion; that we do never depart from it, nor chaunge it for any other. It hath been the dutiful and necessary care of them which do bear rule over us, under the queens highness, to prevent al such daungerous practices as have been attempted against her royal person, state, this church, and common wealth. And it hath pleased God to bless their labours so, that all these do stand safe and firm this day. Now we humbly beseech our queen and the rulers, that she and they will together consult and devise how the kingdom of Christ Jesus may remain fully established among us and our posterity ever, to the end of the world. That as we are taught to pray, *Thy kingdome come*, so al humain policy and power may serve to maintain and advance the kingdom of Christ Jesus among us, and to

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withstand all the tyranny of that popish Antichrist of Rome, and al that is contrary to the kingdom of Christ our Lord.

2 Paralip. xv. 2 Reg. xxiii. 3. 2 Paralip. xxxiv. A holy league.

In this necessary duty we do humbly desire, that both prince and people may openly and religiously enter into an holy league with the living God, after the godly examples of king Asa, of king Josiah, and other godly rulers. It is well known what solemn and just oaths were required, and in policy taken of us in the days of that famous king Henry the Eight, and of his son king Edward the Sixth, a king of most blessed memory. It is also well known how the whole state of this realm openly, and that in parliament, in the days of queen Mary, did unjustly depart from their said most lawful oaths. Our unfeigned repentance for this foul fall is to be put in practice before God and his whole church. In which, whiles we do not shew our selves hearty, bold, forward, zelous, and ready, nor do give that open and full defyance to Rome which we ought to give, but do shew our selves faint, cold, and not fervent herein; we seem not to seek how to please the majesty of God as we ought to do. And we do give courage to that Romish Antichrist, our antient and capital enemy, to feed himself with an hope to recover us once again, to be his prey; at least when the chaunge of the prince doth come, if not before. And therfore he is buisy even now in this blessed time, not only to send forth his curses, but to use also cursed means by his espials to steal the hearts of the subjects of this land to him; and so to make the way open and easy for his more ful return to his old place.

And experience hath taught, and daily teacheth, what mischief is wrought in some unstable minds, whilst that Antichrist of Rome doth sow by his seminaries the promises of his popish absolution among them, which do not know the poison of it; and doth promise his favour to them which wil be reconciled to him. A thing which none can accept but they that wil fal from God, from their prince, and natural country; and so become apostates from God, rebells to their prince, and common destructions to their country. It is time, therfore, and it is our bounden duty, solemnely

in the sight of God to confess and lament our former fall: and therewith both to give an open and ful defyance to the Antichrist of Rome for ever, and also to bind our selves again, both by oath and promise, to the Lord our God most gracious; seing that his mercy is such towards us, that he doth stil (and hath done now many years) call us by the voice of the gospel to be reconciled to him; *This day therefore if yee hear his voice, harden not your hearts*, &c. We do with dutiful thanks acknowledg, that by publique laws made in parlament, holden in this blessed time of our queens government, the old laws, made sometime for popish idolatry and tyranny, are wel revoked; and that new laws, 73 made for the freedom and sincerity of Gods most holy religion, are by just authority made and established: which is some fruit of open repentance. But our repentance hath not yet proceded so far as it ought; seing that notwithstanding those laws, the people once offending in popery are not yet brought to the practice of a ful, publique, and perfect repentance.

Psalm 95.

For a nombre of us do not only hange doubtful between popery banished and the gospel now by Gods grace restored, but are inclinable to popery. Because we do not yet tast the power of the truth of God. We do not embrace it heartily and only. We want that hearty calling upon us al to come closely to the Lord, and to joyn our hearts to him only; and that by his word. This requireth a practice of our selves inwardly and publicly in the open congregation of God. It is not wrought by publique laws only, but by the power of the word of God, taught and preached with power, believed heartily, and confessed freely. To bring this to pass is a service verily which we al do owe to the Lord. It hath been of us al too long neglected. It hath not been called upon earnestly. It hath not yet been don so fully as it ought. The Lord forgive this and al other our sinns, for Christs sake.

Now therefore it is high time that the godly rulers do themselves yield thir obedience herein to the Lord God Almighty; and also do both require and exact the same of

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us, who are the people of God committed to their government and direction. And likewise, that they do by their authority command al the pastors of this church of England to do their office accordingly; and to give them full authority by godly law to execute the same: so that we may attain, by Gods grace working with this profitable ministry, to a conscience bound to the religion of God, taught us in his holy word. And that by this mean we may in true understanding be hable to discerne the difference which is between the holy religion of our Lord God and the filthy superstition and strong abhomination of popery. That we may cleave fast to God by his word, and depart wholly from all popery, with ful detestation of it. So shall our rulers and ministers do their bounden and dutiful service to the Lord God Almighty, and draw us, by their good example and order, to do the like. So shall the wretchless, careless, and wilful people be brought into the dutiful obedience of the Lord God Almighty, according to his holy word: and so that Antichrist of Rome and his supports may be put out of al hope to recover the place, for which he practiseth in England, so long as there is left any one English man alive to withstand his popish attempts.

XIII. That no one bishop do hereafter procede in admitting or depriving of any pastor by his sole authority; nor in excommunicating any faulty person; nor in absolving any person that is excommunicated; nor in the deciding and determining of any cause ecclesiastical, without the advice and consent of the aforesaid seniors and associates joyned with him. And that their consent may be testified by their own names in writing, set to every act and actes, which shall be determined and ordeined by their common consent.

XIV. Moreover, that it be established, that it shall not be lawful for any man to appeal from the sentence and judgment of the bishop, given with the advice aforesaid, to any maner of person or persons, but only to the next provincial synod, which shal be kept in this church of England.

XV. And that it may be lawful for the provincial synod,

being called by the queen, her heirs or successors, to admit every appeal so made; to hear, decide, and determine the causes; and to give sentence upon it by the word of God. From the which sentence of the provincial synod it shall not be lawful for any man to appeal in any respect, but only to a national and general council of the whole nation.

XVI. That such a provincial synod be called every year 74
once, both in the province of Canterbury and also of York. And that the said synod may have ful authority to cal before them any disorder or controversy, which ariseth in any cause or matter ecclesiastical within that province; and to hear and determine the same according to the word of God and the laws of this realm. And that a national or general council, for the whole English and Irish nations, be called ever hereafter once in seaven years, by the queen, her heirs and successors, in such place as she or they shall appoint. And that from henceforth the yearly synods, visitations, and courts, kept ordinarily for mony by the sole authority of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, officials, and other like officers, do cease.

XVII. That it be commanded to the archbishops and bishops of England and Ireland, that neither the said archbishops within their provinces, nor the bishops within their diocesses, do hereafter, by their sole and private authority, make and publish any injunctions touching religion or church government; nor by their authority cal and command the pastors, preachers, and clergy, subject to them, to subscribe to the same their devices, with such interpretations or qualifications as they shall think good to make, or to allow of the same: nor to compel men to yield to their devices by threats of suspension or deprivation. Neither that they, nor any of them, do set forth any other injunctions than such as have been beforehand consulted upon and concluded, according to the word of God, by common consent in a Christian and free synod, holden and approved by royal authority in this church of England.

XVIII. That it be utterly forbidden to any bishop hereafter with his associates, and that upon some great penalty,

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to give the holy orders of the church to any unlearned persons, or to persons unmeet for the same, or to any that is not by just examination found sufficient in knowledg to do that appertaineth to the duty of a pastor; and that hath not sufficient testimony, by the judgment of the bishop and his associates or seniors, of his honest and godly conversation of life. And also that no bishop, with the consent of his associates or without it, do hereafter give the title of any of the offices of the ministry of the church to any person, before there be some place provided within the diocese for the person ordained; in which he may exercise the same order of ministry to which the bishop doth cal him.

This order being observed, a nomber of unmeet and vagaring ministers in calling (as they are called) shall be cut off, with which the church of England is now pestered.

XIX. That it be by some sharp law provided, that patrons of benefices do give their presentations to such men only as shall be found meet by the bishop and his associates to take upon them that pastoral charge to which the patrons do present them. And that the said bishop and bishops, with his and their associates, be charged that they shall to the uttermost of their power examine and try whether the patron doth give his presentation freely, simply and only regarding the edifying of the flock in the knowledge of Almighty God. That so it may be well and plainly known, that neither he, the said patron himself, nor any other person for him, or by his means, do reap any worldly commodity for the same presentation: nor that he nor they do thrust upon the people of the parish any such person for his or their own private gain, affection, or pleasure; against whom either any of the parish to the which the patron doth present his clerk, or any of the *seignorie* of that parish, can take any just exception before the bishop of the dioces and associates or seniors. That the bishop of the dioces, with his associates, assisted by the *seignory* of every parish to which any person is presented by any patron, or by colour of any advocation, be commaunded both diligently and publicly to try and examine every per-

son so presented to any benefice: and also that they may have authority by their mutual consent and assent, testified by writing, subscribed with their own hands, to admit al and every person so presented, if they do find in him the sufficiency and fitness which is meet for the office, or to reject him for the insufficiency and want of fitness which they shall find in him. And that neither the said bishop and his associates, nor any of them, be molested, sued, or vexed with suit in law, by the patron or any other that claimeth by advocation or otherwise, for their just and lawful doing in this behalf. 75

XX. That it be forbidden, that any man, having one benefice with charge of souls, do either take any other such benefice to it, or be absent from it, unless it be for a time. And that by the advice of the bishop of the dioces and his seniors; and with the consent also of his own congregation, and his own associates there.

XXI. That al and every parson and vicar, that is now resident upon his cure, being for his ability approved by the bishop of the dioces and his associates to preach the word of God, do himself in his own person preach to his people, and catechize them and their youth diligently and truly, according to their duty. Or if he be not, either thorow age, impotency, or want of skil, hable not to do his duty himself in his own person, then we pray, that it may be commanded by authority, that the same impotent and unable person may and shall, by the said bishop of the dioces and his associates, be constrained to seek and find out some other learned man, who is not otherwise tyed to any other charge: which said person shal be by the advice and approbation of the said bishop and his associates authorized to joyn with the said impotent parson or vicar in his charge, to be his coadjutor in the discharge of his duty and execution of his office, during all the time of his impotency. And that the same his coadjutor may have allotted unto his sufficient maintenance out of the living of the said parson or vicar that is found unhable to do his duty himself. And that this coadjutor may enjoy the same portion of living so long

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as he doth help the same parson or vicar in his office, as is aforesaid.

And if any parson or vicar, resident on his cure as is aforesaid, refuse to do any of these former things, then we pray that the bishop and his assistants may be authorized and commaunded by law to expel the said parson or vicar out of his said benefice for ever. And also to provide and put in the said office some other meet man to occupy and discharge the same office; notwithstanding the right or claime that any patron can make to present his own clerk to that benefice, or that may be made by any former advocation to the said benefice.

XXII. That it be not lawful from henceforth for the archbishop of Canterbury, nor for any bishop of this church of England and Ireland, nor for any judge of the court of Faculties, Audience, Prerogative, or other court whatsoever, now established in the said realms, to grant any licence of plurality of benefices, nor any dispensation to any beneficed man of non-residence, nor to any man that doth enjoy any living ecclesiastical, a licence to keep that living, and not to take the orders of the church, if he be found meet to serve in the ministry of the church. Nor by inhibition to let or hinder the proceeding of any cause which doth hang in controversy before any bishop and his *seniors* or associates in his diocess, any act, law, constitution, or provision in this behalf heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.

XXIII. That such as either are unwilling or unmeet to serve the church of God in the ministry of the word and
76 sacraments be not suffered to enjoy any living ecclesiastical, whether it be prebend, benefice, deanery, parsonage, vicarage, or any such like: and again, that from henceforth no such living ecclesiastical be given to any other person, but to such as have already taken some degree of the orders of the church; and hath also given some open shew and token by public preaching (being therunto lawfully called) of their forwardness and meetness to serve the church of God in the holy ministry.

XXIV. That at and in every synod hereafter to be called by the authority of the queen, her heirs and successors, the bishops, deans, archdeacons, clerks, and such as shall be called by order to the synod, do all sit together brotherly in one house: and that they do chuse one of themselves to be the *moderator* or *prolocutor* of the synod. That the said *moderators* or *prolocutors* may have power to se comely order kept amongst them in sitting, each one according to his degree in learning and godly gravity. And that they of the synod may and do orderly and freely give each one of them his advice and sentence in any matter that shall be brought before them, or that is to be handled among them. That there may be also, by the appointment of the queen and her council, joyned to them, to sit with them in the synod or convocation, some other godly learned men which are not in the order of the ministry, to hear the causes in controversy, to reason with them, and to give their consent to the conclusions which shall be made in the said synod, as the rest of the ministers there do.

XXV. That it may also be lawful for the said synod (after that all former restraints of the liberty of synods or convocations be by some new repelled, and the synod now to be restored to that Christian liberty which a Christian synod ought to have) to cal any cause or controversy ecclesiastical which now is or hereafter shall be in this church of England and Ireland, to their examination, which do touch any part of doctrine or ceremonies of the church, and namely, the Book of Common Prayer, which is now established to be the Book of Common Prayer of the church of England. That they of the synod may be commaunded to try and examine the same book, and every part of it, by the holy word of God; and both to cut off that which is doubtful or superfluous in it, and to add to it that which is necessary and wanting to it. So that the blockes that are in it, at which some godly men do now stumble, may be removed; and such a book of divine service be framed, commended and commaunded to the church of England, and to all the members of it, as is wholly found-

Common Prayer.

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ed upon true divinity, taught in the word of God; and so be commaunded to us subjects, by royal authority, as a thing commaunded first of God, and then of the prince.

That we the people may both understand what it is that the majesty of God doth commaund, and what it is that the queen by royal authority doth commaund; and so to be taught in true understanding, to give Cæsar the things which are Cæsars, and to give to God those things which are Gods. That we may religiously do that which God commaundeth, and also dutifully that which in this behalf the queen commaundeth.

The book of ordering bishops, &c.

We do also humbly desire, that the other book, in which the order of making of bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers in this church of England is set down, may also by a Christian and free synod be examined and rectified, where it departeth from the right way of the Lord. And that the said synod may have full authority to call before them all such other controversies which do touch the ceremonies and rites of the church of England, and the conformity or difference in the same; and all doubts which do touch the state of marriage, and divorcement or contract of marriage. And that the synod may without restraint of liberty, or prescribing what the pleasures of men are, freely debate, order, and determine the same according to the word of God. That they may also present the same their determination to the queen, her heirs and successors, to be by her and their royal authority ratified and confirmed. And that every thing and cause so concluded by them, and ratified by royal authority, may be of sufficient force to bind al the subjects, the members of the church of England and Ireland, to obey the same; any act or acts, statute, privilege, or restraint whatsoever heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.

Rites and ceremonies.

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XXVI. That in every congregation and parish there may be such godly order taken for the provision of the true and very poor people of God, by the common almes and offerings of the rich, and by the godly ministry of the deacons, as is ordeined in the word of God. And that bi-

Deacons.

shops and cathedral churches may be charged by such commissioners as the queen shall appoint for the ordering of this affair; to pay yearly pensions towards the supply of the want which shall be found in those common almosses, in such a proportion as shall be thought meet by the said commissioners. To satisfy that old order taken and concluded of the fourth part of the yearly revenues of the churches, which were wont to be paid by them to the poor yearly. C. 12. Q. 2. Mos.

XXVII. That by law severe punishment be appointed to be laid upon them which do usually in swearing take the name of God in vain; and upon blasphemers, common swearers, and perjured persons: as also upon common drunkards. Swearers, blasphemers, &c.

XXVIII. That it be not suffered, that any maried man do hereafter put away his lawful wife from him: nor that any maried wife do depart from her husband upon their own private wil, and so live separate the one from the other, as many now do. But that such persons living one from another be by law compelled to bring their cause to be heard before some competent judge, as the provincial synod, or the bishop and his associates of the dioces where the parties so separated do dwel: who may have authority to compel them to live together, as man and wife ought to do; or else by order of law, upon just cause alledged and proved, to separate and divorse them the one from the other.

And that known adultery, and sufficiently proved by two or three witnesses, may for ever hereafter be punished by death; and the faultless party have free liberty to mary again in the Lord. That also al incests, and al unnatural and beastly copulations against nature, be likewise punished by death without redemption. And that some more sharp law be made for the punishment of fornicators, than is only to stand in a white sheet, as the maner is now. Adultery, incest, &c.

XXIX. That there may be some godly, learned, and zealous men appointed by the queens highness, with the advice of her honorable council, to visit the present state of all archbishops and bishops of England and Ireland. And The state of archbishops and

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bishops to be visited.

first, to consider of such doings and actions as have passed by the authority of the said archbishops and bishops, and through the hands of their officers, under the name of the said archbishops and bishops, sithence the beginning of her blessed and peaceful government: that so the queens highness may perfectly understand how the said archbishops and bishops have, sithence the beginning of her majesties happy reign, behaved themselves in their offices. And whether they have in all actions faithfully discharged their duty according to the trust which was reposed in them, served the church of God faithfully, or have don unfaithfully, and neglected their duty to God, to his church, to her highness, or not.

Again, that the said commissioners or visitors may have authority, and that it be given in streight charge to them, to look godly into the very state it self of the said archbi-
78 shops and bishops, as it is now: and to consider, whether it be such as the state of those old true bishops was, of whom God himself doth speak by St. Paul in his holy word, and of such other pastors as were called bishops in the first and sincere age of the primitive church. And if by just examination they do find that it was the device of the Devil in popery to transform the holy office of the first Christian bishops into a profane office; and to draw that order into such disorder, that it should be most unlike to that order of godly bishops which the Holy Ghost hath ordained, as we are taught in the word of the living God; and that they do find in the said archbishops and bishops, and in their offices, more stately and worldly pomp than becometh a Christian bishop, les pastoral care and diligence than ought to be; then let the said commissioners and visitors make true report therof to her highness, according to their godly wisdome, learning, and good conscience.

Upon which their faithful and sincere report, considering that by Gods great grace, under the happy government of our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, Christs gospel is now preached, and by it both bishops, ministers of the word, and al other Christians, are taught their duties, christianly

and truly; we do humbly pray and desire that, as the Lord God Almighty hath by the service of his chosen servant, our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth, banished the head, the heart, and other great parts of popery, so she may do the Lord God this princely service yet remaining to be don; that all such officers and offices, as in the abuse of popery crept into the church, and are yet after a sort retained in it, under a pretence to serve God in his holy gospel, may have their discharge; for it is meet that the Lord be served with his own officers. And then is his holy Majesty best served of men, when his own officers, by himself ordained to be his officers, do execute their offices faithfully, according to his holy wil, written in his most holy word.

Therefore may it please the queens highness, with the advice of her honorable council and authority of parliament, to take order for the removing of all that which shall be found but abuse in the offices of the said archbishops and bishops of this church of England and Ireland; and provide that hereafter bishops may be pastors in humbleness, diligence, and sincerity, to feed the flock of Christ: and not be *stately bishops*, bearing lordship among politic lords; overlooking the flock of Christ more like stout prelates than fatherly pastors. And to the end that the said bishops may hereafter do that office which shall be committed to them the more sincerely, we desire that all they, and every one of them, may be delivered from the burthen of all worldly pomp, honour, and charge; and not to be puft up any longer with the swelling titles and dignities of worldly honour and lordship: and that they also be set so free from the administration of all civil causes and offices, that they may wisely apply themselves to the labour of the gospel and ecclesiastical function, in diligence and sincerity.

Stately bishops.

That bishops, by doing the duty of bishops evangelical, may get themselves the honour meet for a bishop, by doing themselves the business of the gospel, and by helping others to do the same; as did the old godly bishops in the primitive church. That so the Lord God Almighty may be served in his church with his own officers. So shall Christs

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church in England and Ireland be better served; and the desire of the queens highness to have her people wel taught be better satisfied. And to be short, so shall our bishops depart clean from al that perversity of Antichrist which doth yet remain, and submit themselves to do their duties according to the rule of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose gospel they do now profess.

The sabbath.

XXX. That the Lords day, even the sabbath day, which we do barbarously cal Sunday, may hereafter be kept so holily, that it be not abused, nor mispent, neither in open feasting, nor in making or using any public shews, plays, or pastimes. Nor that there be any fairs or markets kept 79 upon any sabbath day hereafter. But that if any fair or market hath been heretofore ordained to be kept upon a sabbath day, either it may be put off to be kept within the next two days after the said sabbath day; or if, by the long accustomed continuance of the time of any fair, a sabbath day do fal in the time of the wonted continuing of the fair, the rulers of it be commaunded and authorized to stop the course of all buying and selling publickly during the time of the sabbath day. And that al games and pastimes of shooting, bowling, cocking, bearbaiting, dancing, prices of defence, wakes, Maygames, and al other such rude disports, be utterly forbidden to be used upon any sabbath day: and that upon great punishment to be laid upon the offenders. So that the Lords day may be kept holy, as it is commaunded. That then the people may learn, as the prophet saith in the name of God, *to choose the thing that pleaseth God, and to take hold of his most holy covenant.*

Isay lvi.

Bishops' families.

XXXI. That bishops, being enriched with such lands and livings as now they do possess and do enjoy, be not compelled, either by law or custom hereafter to keep in their family so great a nombre of idle gentlemen and serving men as now they use to do: but that they be commaunded to take into their families a sufficient nombre of such young men as are the sons of poor fathers, and such as have good capacity, and are apt to receive learning. That they, the said bishops, may be commaunded to traine up

these youths in learning, and in the most profitable exercises of all kind of good learning in their houses and families. That so by serving the said bishops for their living, and by learning in their families, they may be framed to be in time meet ministers, to serve the church of Christ in the ministry of the holy word and sacraments.

And so shal our bishops houses become more like to Christian schools than to princes courts, as now they are. So shall the bishops also have a store of wel framed and tryed youth, to be preferred to the ministry of the church, when it shall have need. And so shall the goods of the church, which are in the bishops hands, be hereafter profitably bestowed; which are now for the most part unprofitably and prodigally spent, spoiled, and wasted.

Universities.

XXXII. That the chancellors of the universities may be appointed to take such order with the heads and the fellows of the colleges, which are in the said universities, that neither they, nor any of them, nor any other person for them, do hereafter admit or receive any scholar or fellow into any of the said colleges for mony or reward. And that no fellow nor scholar of any of the said colleges do resign or sel the place which he hath in any of the said colleges to any other person for mony. For it is meet, that all elections of fellows and scholars into the said colleges be made freely: and that the electors have a respect to the aptness simply, and to the poverty of them which are to be elected and chosen; according to the good meaning of the first founders of the said colleges. And that like order may be taken with the provosts of the colleges of Eaton and Winchester; and with the posers yearly appointed for the election of scholars in the same.

XXXIII. The church of Christ is to be governed by such Christian laws as are meet for the government of the church of Christ. Therefore seeing that the church of Christ in England is once again by God's grace crept out of the payles of Antichrist, and hath need of such Christian laws as are meet for the government of it; may it please the queens highness, and the parliament, to assign some

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learned preachers, and such other men of godly wisdome and learning as shall be thought to their godly wisdomes to be most fit for this purpose, in such a competent nombre also as shall bee deemed to suffice. And to give to these chosen commissioners power and authority to consider first and principally of the laws of Almighty God, which are set down in the word of God, for the government of the church of Christ; then, of such laws as our neighbours and brethren in Germany, Zuitzerland, Savoy, France, Scotland, and other churches reformed by the gospel have set down for the government of the church of Christ, which is with them. Last of all, to consider as well of such laws as are already established for the government of this church of England, by public authority, as also of that book intitled, *De Regno Christi:* which that worthy servant of God, D. Martin Bucer, did once make for the church of England, to have been presented to king Edward the Sixth of blessed memory. And also of other such books as have been written sithence that time, as well by some of our countrymen as by other learned men born out of this land, touching the church, the disciplin and government therof. And that the said commissioners may be commanded to gather out of all the same books, one book of such canons and rules as they shall think to be most meet for the government of this church of England. Which their collection, by them signed, they may be commaunded to present to the first synod which shall be kept in England, next after the compiling of the said book, that the same their book and collection may there be examined, tryed, corrected, or approved.

Discipline of the church.

After which examination, correction or approbation, we desire that the same book of collection may, by the same synod, be presented to the queens highness and the high court of parliament; that the same book of canons may be by their authority ratified and authorized, to be the law ecclesiastical. Whereby this church of Christ in England and Ireland may be thorowly governed and ruled, touching all persons, al causes, and all places, none exempted. So

Book of canons.

Peculiars.

that all peculiars (as they are called) and places priviledged, and the persons dwelling in them, may be brought under the government of the said law. And that all other constitutions, customs, ordinances ecclesiastical, heretofore established or used, may be utterly void and of none effect. That so the church of Christ in England and Ireland may be fully freed from the *canon law* of the popes making. By which now the bishops and their officers do order causes ecclesiastical, tho not in the popes name; yet, as officers, they put his laws in execution.

For it doth not agree with the nature and majesty of Christs kingdom, that the laws of Antichrist should be the laws of his holy church, which is his kingdom. Let us at length shake off all the tokens of the tyranny of Antichrist, and yield that whole glory to Jesus Christ, which is due unto him, according to our duty: and in humble obedience let us *kiss the Sonne*, as we ought to do. Psalm ii.

XXXIV. Last of all, we English subjects most humbly beseech the most high and excellent majesty of the Lord our God, by whom all kings do reign, and common wealths do stand, to move the hearts of our noble queen Elizabeth, and her nobility, and of the high court of parliament, with due care to provide in time for the sure establishing of the gospel among us and our posterity: and also for the continuance of civil peace in this land among the inhabitants thereof, by setting the succession of the crown of England safely, surely, and in quiet; where it may rest after the death of our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth. And that they may both foresee carefully, and prevent speedily, all such daungers as do now draw nigh to us; threatning to bereave us of all the benefits which we do enjoy, by the singular goodness of God, under the happy government of our dear sovereign queen Elizabeth; and do menace to bring upon us the plague of popish idolatry, foreign government and tyranny, with such other calamities, as we by our manifold sins do justly deserve.

O! Lord God Almighty, wee do humbly beseech thee in 81
the name of thy beloved Son our Saviour Jesus, to save

BOOK I. *our queen Elizabeth, and to be merciful to our country, England. Amen.*

Number XL.

A writing of the bishops, in answer to the book of Articles, offered the last sessions of parliament, anno regin. 27. *for ecclesiastical causes: concerning ministers, excommunication, dispensations, &c.*

I. *Concerning ministers.*

The first article.

MSS. episcop. THAT it may be enacted, that none be admitted to be minister of the word and sacraments, but in a benefice having cure of souls, then vacant in the dioces of such a bishop as is to admit him.

Answer to the first article.

This cannot possibly be performed without altering the whole state of the church of England. First, because there must be *curates*, and that of necessity. Secondly, because there are other ecclesiastical livings which require ministers of the word and sacraments, as well as benefices with cure: as deanries, prebends, masterships, and fellowships in the universities; and petty canons in cathedral churches.

The article is grounded upon a false principle of T. C. [Tho. Cartwright] against ministers having no pastoral cure; which neither he nor any man else is able to maintain, either by the word of God or antient authority. For by *ministerium vagum*, the old councils and canons did always understand such as were ordained *sine patrimonio aut titulo:* that is, not having any stay of living. As 'tis manifest in the council of Chalcedon.

Such as have great cures shall be overburthened with saying of service, preaching, ministring of sacraments, al themselves: for they shall be destitute of a curate to help them to say service, to visit the sick, to administer the sacraments, to catechize, &c. By this means fellowships in

colleges, which by their statutes must be in orders, are overthrown. BOOK I

The second article.

That before the admission of such minister, the bishop give public notice by writing under his seal, to be fixed on the church door, that is destitute of a pastor, upon some Sunday or holy day, in the time of divine service, signifying the name of the person presented to that church, or there to be admitted: with intimation, that such as within 26 days after wil object against the admission, shal appear at a place certain before him, and alledg such matter as shal only concern his conversation of life; and therby his insufficiency for that place.

The third article.

That the bishop shal not procede to the admission of any to be minister of the word and sacraments, before due certificate made in authentic form and public place, by him to 82
be assigned, that the process of notice and intimation was executed in form aforesaid; nor before the expiration of the said 26 days: nor without calling for and hearing of such, as upon return of the said process shal and will object, as aforesaid.

The answer to the 2d and 3d articles.

This is unnecessary and in vain, unless he that is to be admitted had been dwelling in that parish before; which wil happen very seldom. The writing and sending to the benefice void, and the return therof in authentic form, wil be very chargeable to the minister; especially where the place is far from the bishops mansion house. It also protracteth time, and will administer occasion of quarelling.

The charges also and delay will be also encreased, if the party to be admitted do stand upon the purgation of the objections layd against him.

This testimony required of the parishoners, lacking their pastors, is an introduction to bring the patronage to the people, and to set a fire among them, for testifying or not testifying; and that many times of a person they know not.

The objecting of the people wil fal out many times to be

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mere malice; whereby immortal hatred wil rise among them.

The person indeed had need be a very ill man, that a number of the parish wil come a long journey to the ordinary, on their own cost, to object against him that is to be admitted.

What if the parish wil be negligent, and wil not return? Shal they lack a pastor stil? The patron, if he be mighty, may enter, let the return, or procure such as he shal like of. And who and how many of the parish shal return?

The fourth article.

It is here to be provided, that where in certain colleges and cathedral and collegiate churches, the foundation or statute require such as are there placed to be ministers; it shal be lawful for such as are known to profess the study of divinity, or otherwise be lawfully dispensed withal, to retain, as before this act they might, any fellowship or prebend within the said colleges, notwithstanding they be no ministers.

The answer to the fourth article.

1. This utterly overthroweth the foundation and statutes of almost all the colleges in Cambridge and Oxford, being founded principally for the study of divinity, and encrease of the number of learned preachers and ministers. And therfore not only the master, provost, warden, president, &c. by the said foundations and statutes are bounden to be ministers, but divers others also of such societies are likewise bounden to enter into the ministry by a certain time, or else to yield their places to others.

2. It wil deprive the church of England of the worthiest, best learned, and wisest ministers and preachers. For there is no comparison between such ministers and preachers as the universities continually yield in respect of such foundations and statutes, and others, being no university men, or not entring into the ministry while they remained there; as at this day it is notorious. For altho' there are divers that can preach, &c. yet they have no substance of learning in them, neither are they able to stand with the adversary,

either in pulpit or disputation: a thing as wel required in a minister as exhortation is.

3. If this device take place, where the universities yield now great number of preachers and ministers, they would not then yield one for twenty. And so the number of preachers, which now are thought to be very few, would 83 then be much less, and at length the utter decay of the study of divinity, and the very next way to bring in popery and ignorance again.

4. It overthrows the degrees of the university which are taken in divinity, as the bachelourship and doctorship. For even sithence the first foundation of them both, it hath been perpetually used, and it is by statute required, that none should take any of these degrees, but such as are in the ministry. And indeed it is both inconvenient and absurd that it should be otherwise.

5. At this day there are in the university of Cambridg an hundred preachers at the least, very worthy men, and not many less in the university of Oxford: and the number daily encreaseth, both to the great benefit of the church. But if this might take place, within this seven years there would not be five ministers in either of them.

6. It would cause men all their life time to remain in the universities. So that there should be no succession.

7. It also overthroweth the foundation and statutes of all cathedral and collegiate churches, and taketh away the chief and principal reward for learned preachers: for the best livings for worthy men are in such churches.

8. It taketh away the wisest, best learned, and gravest divines; such as do, and are most able to withstand, not only papists, but other sectaries also.

9. Every one, to keep these places, would openly profess the study of divinity, and secretly study the one law or the other, or physic, or some trifling study, al his life long.

10. There will be no care of profiting, when there is no tryal therof. Which is most special by open preaching: which were absurd to be don by no ministers.

11. Any which hath been a student may, under pretence

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of studying divinity, without any tryal obtain deanries, provostships, prebends, &c. And being a layman may live idly on the spoil of the church al his life, except he taught a benefice.

12. There shal want sufficient tryal of the abilities of preaching of such as are to be bishops, except they be chosen from some benefice: which breedeth smal experience for governance.

13. It would greatly diminish the number of preachers and sermons, which the universities, colleges, and cathedral churches do yield, both at home and abroad, in every country; in the respect that those which now have the livings are bound to be ministers.

14. It taketh away daily service used in these churches (which were impiety) unles it might be said or songe by such as are now ministers: which is absurd.

15. To conclude, it wil breed a beggerly, unlearned, and contemptible clergy and ministry. It is the very way to overthrow al colleges, cathedral churches, and places of learning: it will extinguish the study of divinity, diminish the number of preachers, and breed a great confusion and alteration in the church and common wealth: and it is a piece of T. C. his platform.

16. By this the reward of divinity will be taken away, and the divine thrust to a benefice of 40*l*. This is covertly to shove at the gospel, to place the lawyers and others as they please.

17. Note, that hereby they would have dispensations to take place against the statute of colleges and cathedral churches.

The fifth article.

That none be made minister, but upon some Sunday publicly, in the cathedral church of the dioces where the minister is admitted.

84 *Answer.* That he be made public, it is not amiss; but to observe the precise place of the cathedral church, it wil be inconvenient; because divers bishops dwel far from their cathedral churches.

The sixth article.

That the bishop make no minister but such as be of his own dioces, and have there continued by the space of one whole year; except such only as come from the universities, and bring testimonials of their meetnes under the university seal.

The seventh article.

That such as be of the bishops own dioces shal bring with them such a testimonial as is limited in the statute of anno 13. Elizab.

The answer. 1. These are very expedient and necessary, and even so provided for by the law. 2. It were more meet also that these things were observed, when patrons present to a benefice: and that as the testimonials do witness their conversation, so the bishop should without any impeachment of *Quare impedit*, &c. be judge of their ability in respect of the cure which they desire.

The eighth article.

That after the receit of the said testimonial, the bishop shal not procede to the making of his person minister which bringeth that testimonial, before he shal declare before the dean and chapter of the cathedral church, that he wel knoweth the persons, by whom the testimonial is made, to be such as is by the said statute exprest.

The answer. This is unnecessary, and altogether needless, neither can it be performed.

The ninth article.

That he shall not make any minister, but such as shall by the dean and chapter, or the more part of them, or six learned preachers of the dioces, then present, be allowed for a man meet and sufficient, by subscription of their hands to some writing, declaring their assent, in allowing of him.

The answer. 1. It wil breed great trouble, and not work that effect which is looked for; neither can it by al in place be performed. 2. It would also be very chargeable, upon the absence of the most of the chapter, if the party should procure the hands of six preachers, dwelling in dispersed places.

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The tenth article.

That none shal have a benefice with cure, being of the value of 20*l.* yearly in the queens books, except he be a master of arts, or a preacher allowed, notwithstanding that he be made a minister before of some mean cure.

Answer. It is to be liked of, so that diligent heed be taken, that none be admitted preachers, but such as be worthy.

85 II. *Concerning excommunication.*

The first article.

Excommunication is at this time the pain of contumacy; and hath place where a man appeareth not upon process, or satisfieth not some order prescribed by the judge: as, not taking some oath, or not paying legacies, tiths, &c.

The second article.

The offences that grow by the practice hereof in this manner are great: one, that being the highest censure left by the church of God, it is profaned by applying it to temporal and civil causes: another, that it is executed by men that have no calling in the church, as chancellors, officials, &c.

Again; forasmuch as the church may not be left without this censure of excommunication, it is to be provided, that for enormous crimes, as adultery, and such other, the same be executed either by the bishops themselves, with the assistance of grave persons, or else by other persons of calling in the church with the like assistance; and not by chancellors and officials, as hath been used.

Answer. Excommunication hath been used by the ecclesiastical judge ever sithence there hath been either discipline in the church, or jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical magistrate, and is the only punishment therof. For the antient law-makers, thinking that blood and bodily pains ought to be far from ecclesiastical magistrates, have given them this mild spiritual sword, to divide that person from the ecclesiastical body, that refuseth to do his ecclesiastical duties, and to obey the ecclesiastical judge. Not excommunicating every man for *twopeny* causes, as is surmised; (tho' indeed

there be as much in 2*d.* as in 200*l.*) but in excommunicating them for not obeying the order, decree, and sentence of the judge, according to her majestys ecclesiastical laws. Even as in a temporal cause of 2*d.* the party is outlawed: and consequently his fruits and goods of his lands are at the princes plesure, if he appear not, or obey not. And yet it is not to be said, that a man is out-lawed for 2*d.* but for not obeying the law, process, and judge in a twopeny matter. For the smaller the matter is, the greater is the fault of contumacy and disobedience, saith the law.

Excommunication for process, order not obeyed, taking some oath, &c. is not for civil causes. But these causes are ecclesiastical: and what can be more against the church, than when men will not be ordered by it, nor obey it? In Gods law, such as would not be ordered by their judg, or high priest, were stoned.

There is no law nor function in the world void of exception and imperfection. And to have it void therof *est optandum magis quam sperandum:* as in Plato's Commonwealth.

If excommunication be either taken away or changed, the whole course of the common law of the realm concerning that matter, and touching the writ of *Excommun. capiendo*, must be changed. Wherin many things not yet thought on may happen, and insted therof some convenient temporal penalty must be devised. Which how unliking and unpleasable it wil be, and how ful of difficulties, the wise can consider.

And if excommunication be thought fittest to continue, (for that there wil be as many inconveniences, or more, in time found in other things, as in that,) and that for the better credit of the proceding therin the bishop be arched to sit in consistory, his whole life will be spent in his jurisdiction, and in study of law; that he might be able to discern, whether the process be according to law, before he 86
inflict the censure: which will be as great decay of preaching as it hath been in fore time. For the jurisdiction alone requireth *totum et integrum hominem.*

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Touching the execution by men of no calling in the country.

The jurisdiction in the beginning was joyntly in the bishop, dean and chapter. Which bred so many opinions, such impeachments and confusions in proceding, that, by the general custome of the world, generally the jurisdiction was thought convenient to be exercised by the bishop alone: which growing great, as the church and ecclesiastical causes encreast, and consequently calling the bishop from his function, the law and constitutions ordered, that the official, or vicar general of a bishop or archbishop, should have the same consistory or jurisdiction that the archbishop or bishop had, and the same authority to excommunicate. Which by the statutes of this realm is also allowed to doctors of the law. For that in later times divines have wholly employed themselves to divinity, and not to the procedings and study of the law: wherunto in fore times the clergy were more addicted than to divinity; in respect of the gain, and offices exercised under bishops, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical callings, which drew them wholly from divinity.

This excommunication by law was never used, nor could be used, as a punishment of any crime, saving of notorious heresy, usury, symony, piracy, conspiracy against the person of the prince, of his state, dignity, and crown, perturbers of the common peace and quietness of the church or realm, wilful murtherers, sacrilegers, perjurers, and incorrigible and notorious committers of incest and adultery, false witness, and suborners therof, violent layers of hands upon ecclesiastical persons, and such other great and horrible crimes: which were called *sententiæ canonum*. Wherin, besides the particular penances that the bishops and their officers did impose, it was for more terror provided by antient canons, that there should be a general open denuntiation of this excommunication in every cathedral church and parish church twice in the year.

For other light faults there was no excommunication permitted or used as a punishment, other than for manifest

and wilful contumacy or disobedience, in not appearing, when persons were called and summoned for a cause ecclesiastical, or when any sentence or decree of the bishop or his officer, being deliberately made, was wilfully disobeyed or not performed.

Such wilful contumacy and disobedience to authority is in the law accounted so great, that it is called a contempt of that *quod est in jure extremum.* That is to say, if the judge cannot have appearance of the parties, or execution of his judgments, here he is at the wal, and can go no further.

Of very antient time this was the maner of proceding in this realm, and the only mean of reducing obstinate persons to the obedience of the law.

It may appear by the antienter statute or act of parlament in the 9th year of Edward II. that it was the old custom and usage of the realm long before that time. The words are these: *Si aliqui propter suam contumaciam manifestam excommunicentur; ac post* 40 *dies, dies pro eorum captione scribatur; et prætendunt se privilegiatos; et sic denegatur breve regium pro captione corporum; responsio regis, nunquam fuit negatum, nec negabitur in futuro.*

It is to be considered, whether this manifest contumacy and wilful disobedience to the magistrate and authority, be not as well punishable, when the original cause or matter is as weighty. The difference wherof doth nothing alter the nature of the disobedience.

In this our realm of very antient time it hath been observed from time to time, that there was never alteration made of any law ecclesiastical, altho' it had appearance to benefit the state of the clergy; but that it turned ever to some notable prejudice.

III. *Concerning commutation of penance.* 87

That there be no commutation of penance for sin, but by the order and appointment of the bishop, with the assent of the dean and chapter, or the most part of them, or with the assent of six preachers of that dioces.

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The answer. 1. The bishop is sufficient for this matter. 2. It were good to inhibit justices of peace to commute; but to permit them only to punish corporally. And yet notwithstanding, the parties offending, not to be received into the church, til they have don such penance, wherby the congregation may be satisfied.

IV. *Concerning dispensations.*

The first article.

The faculties which did the greatest hurt in the church of God were three; viz. dispensation *De non promovend.* dispensation for pluralities of benefices, and dispensation for non-residence.

The second article.

These two last named faculties have bred the disorders of making *vage* ministers. Whereof have ensued two great incommodities: one, and the chiefest of al, that the people is not taught: the other, that the ministers placed in benefices, where the pastor is absent, and having for the most part smal allowance, do post from place to place, for their better preferment; and resting no where, respect neither their life, nor encrease in knowledg. For men be careful for their conversation, where they are to have continuance. And smal account can be taken how he profiteth that abideth no where long.

Answer. The faculty *De non residendo* is so rare, as by the present archbishop there was never any granted. And by the last archbishop never any yielded unto, but by special requests and warrant from my lords of her majestys council: and that to men qualified in her majestys service, or otherwise greatly employed in the common wealth. And therfore it needeth no such provision by law.

The faculty of non-residence is also so rare, and granted in such respects, as sithence the time of this archbishop there hath not been above one granted; and that to a man of 80 years old; with whom the law it self dispenseth.

Beside, that the statute of the realm provideth so sharp a penalty for non-residence by the forfeiture of 10*l.* a

month, to be recovered in the exchequer, as no man careth to sue for the faculty: and if they do, it profiteth nothing. For that the statute inflicteth the punishment, al faculties and dispensation notwithstanding. And a more severe punishment cannot welbe devised.

Touching the faculty of *pluralities*, the ground therof is this. Men of excellent gifts and extraordinary vertue oftentimes have no livings, or very smal living; and when they cannot attain so great as their quality deserveth, the policy of the church hath thought fit to grant to such an one two livings, as an extraordinary reward for extraordinary vertue. For if al men could be made fit for all livings, or al livings for al maner of men, there should have needed no dispensation of pluralities; but forasmuch as that cannot be, it is lawful in such case of necessity, and for such extraordinary causes, to recede from the strait and common course of the law. And so hath it been used in al ages. Neither can it bee better policed nor more restrained than of late it hath 88
been, in respect both of distance of places, and the value of their parsonage, with great caution both for their hospitality and preachings. Besides that the laws being positive that forbid plurality, the difference in reason is very smal between the little benefices not far distant and one great benefice. And therfore no strange thing, if by like positive law there be admitted by mitigation a dispensation of the rigor of law.

Moreover, the number of benefices in England being about 18000, and the universities not able to furnish the third part of them with sufficient men, it is better that one worthy man have two benefices, than to be unfurnished of living, or be obscurely placed in a smal parish or poor living, or the same benefices committed to two unlearned men.

The third article.

That no chaplain have two cures if both amount above 40*l.* in the queens books, or be 20 miles distant.

The fourth article.

That none enabled to have two cures shall enjoy the

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same, unless they be under the value aforesaid, and within 20 miles distant, and be resident upon one of them.

The answer to the third and fourth articles.

1. The distance of miles is not to be misliked; but the limiting of the value is unreasonable, and tendeth only to the impoverishing of the ministry: being a state as worthy of living in many respects as others of other calling whatsoever, in respect of their calling.

2. The best gifts deserve the best rewards; and therefore it were better to make a limitation, what degrees of schools shall only be enabled for the best livings.

3. Dignities, prebends, and places in colleges (as before) are required by dispensation for lay-men. Here the *divine* is set at 40*l.* If a man would deal covertly to pul away religion, how could he do it better?

The fifth article.

That no dean of cathedral church, prebendary, or other having dignity, shal have more than one benefice with cure, besides his dignity.

The sixth article.

That no one have mo dignities or prebends than two.

The answer to the fifth and sixth articles.

1. It is very unreasonable, and tendeth to the same end with the third and fourth article, and wil discourage men from the ministry, and make a beggerly clergy: far unapt to give hospitality, or to do many other things required of them, and lookt for at their hands.

2. It is also very inconvenient: for most of these dignities are decayed within these last fifty years very much. Greater impositions for the service of the realm are layd upon them. Every thing to be required at double or treble prices in respect of that it was then at; and yet as great or greater hospitality looked for.

89 *The seventh article.*

That they which may have chaplains shall advance no more than their number, til the advanced dyeth, or otherwise one of two benefices become void.

The answer.

1. This is not to be misliked, unless the party be otherwise qualified than by the chaplainship.

2. And yet inconvenience may arise of it. For if a chaplain doth not behave himself as appertaineth, no reason he should be retained in service; and it were hard not to allow another in such a case.

The eighth article.

That none shal be chaplain, enabled to two beneficcs, except he be master of arts, or allowed by the ordinary as sufficient.

The answer. It is very convenient.

The ninth article.

That none shall be non-resident but such as be continually attendant in the houses of such as they are chaplains unto.

The answer. 1. To be attendant the greater part of the year were sufficient. For the other part of the year they may be at their cure. And besides, some have chaplains which attend by course. Which is very convenient.

2. This is very prejudicial for grave men, required for government in the universities. Which may very wel discharge both duties.

3. This overthroweth residence in cathedral churches, colleges, deanries: so that they cannot be attendant there, except they wil leave their benefice, tho' it be but one.

The tenth article.

That they shall preach in person yearly two sermons, and four sermons beside, *per se vel per alium.*

The answer. It is too easy. It is requisite that they should preach mo sermons, even in their own persons.

The eleventh article.

Lastly, To consider whether it were not meet to abate the numbers of the chaplains of the archbishops, and others under that degree, that may by the statute keep more than one chaplain.

Answer. It is not meet. For those of the clergy that have chaplains allowed, the statute sets down a good con-

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sideration. And there are not many such. Besides, it is lookt for, that they should have preachers about them, to furnish the want that is in most diocesses.

The twelfth article.

That in cases of pluralities and non-residences, the bishops shall have the allowing of the minister that shal serve
90 the cure in the absence of the incumbent: and the stipend of the said minister to be appointed by the bishop, according to the sufficiency of the minister: so that the same stipend do not excede the third part of the clear yearly value of the benefice.

Answer. This is very reasonable, and according to law.

The thirteenth article.

There is one faculty of great inconvenience, granted not only by the court of faculties, but by the chancellor of every dioces, viz. the dispensation of mariage without banns asking. By occasion wherof children make disordered matches without the assent of their parents; and orphans are left to the spoil of unthrift persons.

The answer. 1. It may be so qualified, that no inconvenience shal ensue therof. 2. There be divers reasonable occasions that daily happen which may hinder the thrice asking of banns: which causes are meet to be considered of, and allowed by the ordinary, or his deputy. 3. The inconvenience that is proposed is in most dioceses already met withal, by putting these conditions in the faculty, viz. That they have their governours consent; that there is no suit for matrimony depending; no precontract, nor no other impediment: which the party is by a bond with sureties bound unto. So that by this means this inconvenience is better met withal than by asking the banns thrice; which may be don, and yet these impediments remain. 4. And since the bonds have been qualified as is above said, being about one twelvemonth past, experience doth teach that none of the pretended inconveniences have happened.

A general answer to al the articles of excommunication, commutation, and dispensation.

Generally, this alteration, confusion, and abridgment of

exercise of that jurisdiction wil shortly decay the profession of the canon law and civil law together. Whereby divers now are bred up in learning, in languages, in studies: so that they are enabled to serve the realm in any foreign service, as wel as any one sort of learned men in the realm besides.

Number XLI.

General propositions; to be supplied with proofs, by such as his grace should appoint: and other particulars to be gathered. Drawn up by Dr. Drury, a civilian, and sent to the archbishop of Canterbury; in order to prevent a commission of Melius inquirendum; *endeavoured by a bill in parliament.*

THAT the greateness of the revenues of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, may more justly and with greater reason (if there were either justice or reason in the one or the other) be carped at, than the bishops and clergy, for the portion by the conqueror, and before and since, committed to their dispensation; if right dispenseth to an heir, sometimes of mean qualities, and unable to perform those parts that first moved the prince to that allotment. And it often falls out, that the infinite charges to erect a lay man (whose wisdome and learning oftentimes descends not with his lands) into honour and government, serveth but for one generation: whereas the bishopric is transferred by perpetual succession to the fittest in wisdom, learning, and vertue, for government of the church and commonwealth; to be nominated at the princes free wil and pleasure, without any charge to the prince at al. And for this cause the colleges, bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical dignities, were endowed with so great revenues. Hence may be inferred, how necessary and profitable a thing it is, for her majesty and the commonwealth to have the bishopricks, dignities, promotions, and persons ecclesiastical, to be raised to the former state and dignity, and to serve in those honorable places, as heretofore they have don.

Chart. archiepisc. Whitg.

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And here must be collected, by Stow or any other, what bishops and clergymen were counsillors or officers in court, and at Westminster and elsewhere, and ambassadors, ever since the conquest.

That the taking away of the livings of the church, the dissolutions of archbishopricks and bishopricks, and cathedral churches, wil bring religion into contempt, withdraw the subjects, wanting instruction, from their obedience, and hazzard the kingdom. And that necessity hath enforced the princes, where such dissolution hath been, with infinite charges to erect the same again. Here especially proof would be made out of the scriptures, and out of the stories of this and all other countries, as wel Christian or others; where in all ages a clergy hath been and now is so necessary, that without it the common wealth could not stand. And therfore were ever, and still are, in great honour and reverend estimation.

The premisses being true, her majesty, the great men, and favourers of the church and state, have just cause to direct or procure special choise of knights and burgesses for the next parliament. And if by choise of burgesses the ruine of the church cannot be prevented, then whether it be convenient that the enforcement, proof, and publication of some of the premisses be set forth by story and scripture, at the court and cross, by special preachers, and otherwise by printed books, I leave to your graces wisdom and better consideration.

And because that it may be suspected, that in every dioces observation is taken of the least breach of any law ecclesiastical, and with single intent, by procuring the offenders punishment, in the natural place, and with the express pain, to work reformation and amendment, (which they would be loth to see,) but of malicious purpose, by exclamation, to overthrow both law, persons, and jurisdiction, in the great assembly of parliament; where no particular cause, unles remediless in ordinary courts, was (as I have heard) wont to be produced, or come in debate: therfore, to meet with such malice and exclamation, a collection into briefs of

al the abuses, fees, exactions, and oppressions in the courts and officers temporal, and of al disorders whatsoever in this common wealth, and in the government, uses, customs, laws, and procedings, and touching the counsillers, or any matter of state, is most necessary; to the intent, that some of both the houses may thence, for one proposition in parliament, against one petty disorder in the clergy, be ready with twenty in the same kind, as neer as may be, against some abuses in the temporalty, of more pernition to the common wealth, and of greater weight and consequence. That so good acts may be provided for reformation of both; or both rest under the coertion of the law, sufficiently already provided.

For there is no abuse in the clergy or church not punishable, either by statute, canon or ecclesiastical law, or by both. And therfore it is a very malicious and perverse course, to make complaint and exclamation to the lawmakers against abuses in general, and not to procure the offender in particular to be punished.

If her majesty were truly informed in these, and the notes by me delivered to your grace the last parliament, upon petition, or otherwise, to be by the whole state of the clergy exhibited, and not faintly or fearfully pursued; it cannot be but restitution of the state and persons ecclesiastical to former dignity and estimation would follow; or at least no further depression.

If in this course suspition of danger or displeasure be 92
conceived, it must be with sound judgment considered, whether long forbearing complaints, and prayer for the redress of rough dealing, and concelement of the difference between the advancement and service of the one and the other, be not far more and down righter danger. That it wil bring al down, as hitherto it hath don by piece-meal one half.

Tho' the specification of these generalities, and the proofs and confirmations to be drawn from so large a scope, seem tedious, yet being divided among many, the burthen wil be very light, and the thing don of great use and profit.

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Number XLII.

Fraternum et amicum de resartienda inter Anglicanæ ecclesiæ doctores et ministros pace, consilium.

MSS. ecclesiast. pen. me.

SI alii alios mordetis et devoratis, (ait Paulus,) videte, ne vicissim alii ab aliis consumamini. Ego vero, si Gallos a Gallis dissidentes (inquam) mutuis vulneribus confectos extremam pene ruinam minitari; si Græcas ecclesias cum Græcis ecclesiis de ritibus et ceremoniis primum, tum vero de primis nostræ fidei articulis rixantes, quasi ex opinato misera Turcæ servitute oppressos, occubuisse, videtis; cavete, viri fratres, ne alienis periculis minus edocti, vestro tandem malo sapere cogamini. Nec vos, obsecro, decipiat, quod de summa apostolicæ doctrinæ inter vos convenientes, quod arctissimum pacis vinculum bonis omnibus esse debet, de rebus minoris momenti discrepare videamini. Ea est enim in controversiis omnibus multis periculis comperta humanæ naturæ imbecillitas, ut ex tenuissima simultatis scintilla discordiæ flagrantissimum incendium nascatur. Idque præsertim in religionis causis, ubi Dei [gloria] salus propria cujusque et proximi charitas prætexitur, quorum seu studio, seu zelo, ut quisque inconsiderantius ardet, eo vehementius semel conceptam opinionem urget. Quam ut ponat non flagris, non flammis, sed recta tantum ratione, errorisque patefactione, obtinebimus. Immo, quod veteri proverbio dicitur, *Ignem gladio ne fodito*, in hoc negotio, vos id experiri non sine mærore video; nempe lites ex litibus seri, et ex logomachiis seria tandem dissidia creari.

Quid? non videtis quo res vestræ sint progressæ; ex quo vis illis disceptandis, vel potius excitandis cæpit adhiberi? Jam factionum nomina, seditionis veræ faces, utrique parti imposita sunt. Jam non tantum famosis libellis, utraque ex parte acerbissime scriptis, intestina vestra discordia plebeculæ innotescit, sed sectatores novis nominibus comparantur, suggestus sanctissimo Christi evangelio publicando dicati, vocibus debacchantium in fratres, rabularum instar, perstrepunt. Denique, ut a ceremoniis, ita sacramentis alii aliorum abhorrent altera pars antagonistarum (quos putat)

frustraneos labores et temerarios ausus ridet. Altera risum istum, tanquam Epicureum, et Christo, de cujus sincero cultu agitur, contumeliosum odit; et non sine multorum applausu, apud vulgus traducit. Altera regia authoritate, carceribus, proscriptionibus. Altera querelis, contumeliis, et quibuscunque modis potest, suas partes tuetur atque defendit.

Itaque fit, ut sensim malum serpat, et in apertum schisma viam sibi clancullariam sternat, quam nisi jam nactum sit, vobis fore prope diem, ut nanciscatur, prædico, (utinam arioler,) et ut illi mature occurratis per sanctissimum Dei nomen, per Angliæ gentis salutem; denique per omnia sacra atque humana, quæ omnia hic periclitari videntur, obsecro, obtestorque. Controversia ecclesiastica est, ecclesiastice, non hostiliter disceptetur, non clamosis ex suggestu debacchationibus, non carceribus, non ferro, sed amica, sed Christiana, sed prophetica studiorum, consiliorum, et rationum collatione, negotium agatur et terminetur. *Spiritus prophetarum prophetis subjiciantur. Non enim est seditionis author Deus, sed pacis; ut in omnibus ecclesiis sanctorum.* 1 Corinth. xiv. 32, 33.

Est quidem (ut ingenue agnosco) accusantium et accusatorum alia atque alia conditio; sed ut omnia non omnibus licent, sic sunt res in ecclesia quædam, quarum corruptelam vel minimus in regno Christi minister se quodam suo jure et officii conscientia arguere et reprendere putat.

Quæ autem desiderantur in vestris ecclesiis ab his qui accusantium partes sustinent, ad duo genera refero.

Prius eorum est, quæ ipsi ministerio ecclesiastico tam proxime cohærent, ut illa essentialia merito dici queant.

Posterius ea tantum continet, quæ per se ἀδιάφορα, et 94
media cum sint, non nisi ædificationis et pacis ecclesiæ commodo æstimari debent.

Prioris generis sunt, ut cum de fidei summis capitibus conveniat (ut per Dei gratiam inter vos bene convenit) hic apostolicus ordo statuatur; nempe, ut sint pastores, qui verbo Dei explicando et applicando, publicis precibus fundendis, et sacramentorum administrationi vacent.

Presbyteri, qui una cum pastoribus, disciplinæ et ordinis

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conservationi præsint. Diaconi, qui mensis, id est pauperum ministerio inserviant.

Act. ii. 42. Hierosolymitana ecclesia ipsis apostolis, pro pastoribus, usa est in quorum doctrina, et oratione et fractione panis, Act. xv. 6. perdurabat. Presbyteros habuit, qui disciplinæ et judicio ecclesiastico præfuerunt cum apostolis in concilio Hierosol. Habuit et diaconos, Stephanum, Philippum, et alios quinque, qui rebus pauperum operam navarunt. Servavit ecclesia Romana heroico illo apostolorum tempore eundem ordi- Rom. xii. 8. nem in pastoribus, presbyteris et diaconis, quibus singulis, sui et proprii cujusque muneris memoriam refricat Paulus, pastoribus, ut exhortentur, presbyteris, ut præsint cum diligentia, diaconis, ut distribuant cum simplicitate, et misereantur cum hilaritate. Nec apostolorum tantum ætate in ecclesia hunc ordinem viguisse certum est, sed aliis omnibus deinceps sæculis, quibus illi sua quædam constitit integritas. Quod in ecclesia Lugdunensi facile animadvertas, quæ altero, post Christum passum, sæculo, suorum martyrum nomine ad fratres Asianos scribens, episcoporum, presbyterorum, et diaconorum meminit. Tertio etiam sæculo Romæ idem obtinuit, ubi Xistus pastoris officio functus est, Dionisius presbyterium exercuit. Laurentius distribuit, et misertus est.

Hanc politiam secutæ sunt etiam Africanæ ecclesiæ. Quod S. Cypriani concilii præfationem legentibus aperte constare potest. Sic enim habet. Cum in unum Carthagini convenissent cal. Septemb. episcopi plurimi ex provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, cum presbyteris et diaconis præsente etiam plebis maxima parte, &c. Sed quid tam proxima sæculis apostolicis tempora refero? Angli ipsi vel septimo ab apostolis sæculo hanc εὐταξίαν coluerunt. Legantur acta Anno 664. synodi in cœnobio Pharensi rege Osuio coactæ. Illic nominatim audies cum episcopis permultis Agathonem presbyterum, et Jacobum diaconum isti synodo interfuisse. Hic vero ordo, cum tota antiquitate summo ecclesiæ commodo retentus et observatus, videtur ab accusatoribus merito requiri.

Accusati vero partim se illum habere, partim quæ desunt

sine periculosa florentissimi status mutatione in ecclesiam vestram invehi non posse respondent.

Instant accusantes, et libellis et concionibus accusatos, pastores, presbyteros et diaconos habere constanter pernegant, rem esse tanti momenti vociferantur, ut nulli alii posthabenda sit, etiamsi fractus dilabatur orbis.

Accusati aras et focos propugnant libellis, concionibus, authoritate regia, carceribus, proscriptionibus.

At meo quidem judicio, utrisque longe æquior et sanctior, regnique tranquillitati conservandæ convenientior via in promptu est. Nempe, ut et Christi spirituale regnum (id est, ecclesiæ administratio) spiritualiter, legibus Christi, et apostolicis institutis funditur, et mutatio nulla insignis regni statim inferatur, quod non adeo difficile accusatis fore confido, siquid juste debeant confiderent, nec accusantibus grave, siquid possint, non obliviscantur. Quid quæritur? Nonne, ut ecclesiæ Anglicanæ pascantur verbo, regantur presbytero, ornentur diaconatu? Age, fiat. Non habent pastores, fateor; sed habent, qui verbum prædicent, episcopos, decanos, archidiaconos, doctores, evangelistas; habent qui preces fundant, et sacramenta distribuant, curiones, vicarios et lectores. At unum eundemque hominem, id est, pastorem tribus istis vacare oportet: fateor quoque, et id ut fiat, enitendum esse judicio: quod commode mea sententia fiet, si primum consideremus ista officiorum nomina esse partim primaria, partim secundaria. Primaria voco quæ primo et necessario ministro conveniunt, ut evangelista, ut doctor. Secundaria, quæ secundo et ultra primam vocationem ministro conveniunt, ut decanus, et hodie episcopus: quæ non ratione primi ministerii hominibus conveniunt: 95
qualia sunt omnia superintendentium nomina. Nihil vero impedit, quo minus unus idemque minister duobus nominibus insigniatur pro diversa functione, quam exercet in ecclesia.

Ergo si episcopus habeat proprium gregem quem doceat, quem precibus Deo commendet, quem sacramentis alat, erit pastor, quemadmodum episcopus est, seu diœcesios superintendens, ratione secundarii ministerii, ordinis causa illi

BOOK I.

commissi. Jacobus præfuit (ut multis videtur) omnibus apostolis in consilio Hierosol. Fuit igitur hoc nomine præses, et (ut loquuntur quidam patres) episcopus apostolorum: et tamen non destitit ab apostolatu, quem sibi commissum a Christo ipse norat.

Ergo episcopi, decani, archidiaconi, nomina sunt secundaria.

Primaria sint ista, pastor, evangelista, id est, pastoris vicarius. Ubi enim pastor adest, evangelistæ nullus locus relinquitur. Retineatur pastoratus, tanquam solus necessarius, et unius diœcesios parœchiæ omnes in decanatus, seu archidiaconatus distribuantur. Decanatus, seu archidiaconatus in pastoratus. Pastoratus tribus aut quatuor ad summum parœchiis constent: quæ communem habeant pastorem, qui singulis dominiis diebus harum, in prima primo, in secunda secundo, tertia tertio, quarta quarto concionetur. Catechesin exponat, baptizet, et cænam Dominicam, tempore huic regno solemni administret. Plebs sequatur pastorem: soli invalidi, servi et gravioribus detenti negotiis excusentur. In quorum gratiam ordinariæ preces matutino et serotino temporibus fiant in tribus parœchiis, unde pastor in quarto concionaturus, abest.

Sic distributis diœcesios parœchiis in pastoratus, ex illis exibilentur vicariorum et curionum nomina, cum cæteris id genus papisticam rerum sacrarum nundinationem redolentibus, soli episcopi, decani, archidiaconi, doctores et evangelistæ habeant, quisque proprium pastoratum, cui specialiter invigilent; idque hoc modo, primus hujus vel illius diœcesis pastoratus commendetur episcopo, ad cujus instructionem adjungatur illi collega propter episcopatus, id est, superintendentiæ, distrahentia negotia.

Decani et archidiaconi habeant et proprios pastoratus, ubi habitent, et exequantur omnia, quæ a fido pastore superius exacta sunt, non obstantibus decanatus et archidiaconatus secundariis functionibus, quibus tantum secundas vigilias debent.

Reliquis vero pastoratibus ex doctoribus et evangelistis præficiantur pastores, habita prius ratione doctrinæ, morum,

et dexteritate in docendo. Vocentur a plebe, mittantur ab episcopo hoc modo. Plebs, cui deest pastor, roget episcopum, ut sibi idoneum præficiat, episcopus roget proximam academiam, ut ad se mittat doctum et probum; (nisi forte proponat plebs aliquem de suo cœtu dotibus animi commendabilem.) Ubi ad episcopum, sive ab academia accercitus, sive a plebe commendatus accesserit, admissis ad cognitionem electionis, ejus decanatus unde plebs censetur, pastoribus examen fiet. Quod si idoneus compertus fuerit, deducetur ab episcopo, vel ab episcopi deputato decano, archidiacono, aut alio aliquo pastore, et post concionem proponetur populo, concesso quindecim dierum spatio, intra quod licebit plebi oppositionis causas (siquas forte habuerit) disceptandas episcopo et ejusdem decanatus pastoribus proponere. Ubi autem approbatus fuerit, episcopus, vel ab eo delegatus pastor, publice et coram tota ecclesia pastorem novitium manus impositione, et solenni ritu, consecrabit ex formula huic regno usitata. BOOK I.

Hic ordo, ut cum apostolico congruit, ita aut parum, aut nihil a vestro variat; nisi quod in judiciis ecclesiasticis pastores episcoporum assessores constituuntur; quod Niceni consilii decretis sancitum erat. Hactenus de pastoribus, eorum electione, approbatione et ordinatione.

Sequitur ut de presbyteris loquamur. Eorum autem duo sunt genera. Quod Paulus significat his verbis; *Presbyteri qui* (1 Tim. v.) *bene præsunt duplici honore digni sunt; maxime hi qui doctrinæ vacent.* De his dictum est: nihil enim aliud sunt quam pastores. Restat ergo ut de secundo genere dicamus.

Habet Anglicana politia, et maxime Londinensis, civi- 96
lem ordinem, longe eximium, quem convellere, nedum evertere, nec velim, nec ausim. Immo, omnibus civitatibus talem exemplo esse omnibus votis exoptem. Sed de politia ecclesiastica hic ago, quæ presbyteros adesse pastoribus exigit, ut majori aldermannos (quos vocant) adesse videmus. Major magistratus, pastor Christi minister est. Eundem finem habet uterque nempe pacis et ecclesiæ tranquillitatis, bonorumque conservationis studium. Sed diversis modis

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mediisque eo contendunt. Ille minis, metu, pœnis et suppliciis malos coercet. Hic dulci blandaque Christi suadela; id est, ex verbo Dei gratuitis vitæ æternæ pollicitationibus, fraterna correctione, admonitione, et correptione; et (si durities delinquentis ita exigat) excommunicatione, in officio retinet bonos, et malos a grege segregat. Hoc quando, et erga quos sit præstandum, per presbyteros quasi suos ocellos, videt, et cum eis de eo præstando deliberat, et statuit pastor.

Ergo ut pastor Anglicus presbyteros habeat, necesse est; quod facile etiam fiet, nec magna præsentis formæ mutatione. Cum de pastoribus loquuti sumus, reliquimus episcopos, decanos, et archidiaconos superintendentes: exegimus tantum, ut cum evangelistis proprios pastoratus gubernarent. Presbyteros volo etiam sumi de media politia, quæ nunc locum habet, qui huic provinciæ serviant, nempe *churchouorneros* (quos vocant) nempe hoc ordine atque forma.

Parœchiæ uniuscujusque pastoratus proponant singulæ proprio pastori lectum aliquem seniorem integritate vitæ, judicio et experientia celebrem: ita ut quatuor parœchiæ quatuor proponant seniores. Eorum nomina referantur episcopo; et nisi intercedat quædam oppositio, ut pastores ordinentur. Hi singulis parœchiis invigilent, certis singulorum mensium diebus familias omnes invisant, de dilectione mutua maritos, et reliquis in familiam officiis commonefaciant, siquid sit discordiæ aut simultatis, resarciant, per se, aut adhibitis in consistorio pastore, et tribus aliis collegis, ex verbo Dei, et fraterna charitatis regula, componant. Siquid est gravi censura dignum, aut excommunicandus aliquis videatur, res ad episcopum referatur, qui cum his et aliquis decanatus pastoribus et presbyteris eam dijudicet. Hujus ecclesiasticæ correctionis defectu multi creantur infrugiferi magistratibus labores, vitia domestica aluntur; et donec in aperta facinora erumpant, foventur, quæ omnia seniorum opera extingui possent. Multæ simultates maritorum, levibus suspicionibus nixæ, subito sedarentur private. Preces in familiis frequentarentur: blandæ ex verbo Dei admo-

nitiones in officio multos potius retinerent, et a vitiis revocarent, quam publica supplicia in hoc regno plus satis ordinaria; comessationes, alea, vestimentorum a paucis annis immodicè luxurians curiositas, cohiberentur. Denique cœtus ecclesiastici crescerent, et celebriores et augustiores fierent.

Quod attinet ad causas matrimoniales, hæresium et schismatum disceptationem, ordo hactenus usurpatus in hoc regno retineri potest; modo banna (quæ vocant) inordinati homines, magno ecclesiæ detrimento, matrimonii dedecore, et familiarum injuria, redimere post hac non permittantur.

Sequuntur diaconi, quibus caretis magno dispendio pauperum et divitum. Patuit superius hunc ordinem habere Deum authorem per apostolos eum instituentem, non est mirum si non possit contemni citra multa incommoda, quæ passim male ordinatæ ecclesiæ experiuntur.

In pauperibus sublevandis duo potissimum spectantur; prius, ne fame et nuditate pereat, qui eodem nobiscum Christi sanguine redemptus est. Secundum, ne aut paupertatis tædio, frater Deum blasphemet, et ut ditescat, malis artibus se applicet; aut ne Christi eleemosynis saginati cessatores, otio ad vitia impellantur: ut prius efficias non sedulo solum et fideli, sed bono, et locorum consolationis non ignaro, œconomo tibi opus est: ut secundum, prudenti et experto indiges.

Horum œconomorum defectu, pereunt bona multa, collata in indignos. Qui indigent ut plurimum non juvantur; aut ea parsimonia juvantur, ut obmurmurent, despondeant animum, non solentur eos distributores, sed potius irritent minis. Hinc fit, ut mendicent et furentur, et tandem mi- 97
sere pereant. Itaque non solum vobis lictoribus opus est, qui mendicos et errones coerceant, sed multo magis diaconis, qui solentur, et paupertatem exhortationibus leniant. Quod si ea fide et diligentia præstent, qua Stephanus Hierosolymis, Laurentius Romæ præstitit, non dubito quin multo minoribus dispendiis, quam sunt ea, quæ quotidie sustinetis. Infinitos adolescentes alatis, quos aut penuria crudeliter enecat, aut ad crimina, et inde ad patibula, adigit.

BOOK I.

Velim itaque totidem creari, et eodem ordine in singulis pastoratibus diaconos, quot et presbyteros exegimus.

Hi colligant pecunias, collectas dispensent fideliter, et dati et accepti rationes conficiant, rationem reddant, singulis in mensibus semel, coram proprio pastore et tota ecclesia. Singulis hebdomatibus visant suos pauperes, consolentur et exhortentur. Tutores se gerant, et procuratores viduarum et orphanorum. A cæna parœchiam circumambulent, et palantes orphanos, et peregrinos hospitio excipi curent: ne tanta severitate, et citra antegressam admonitionem et instructionem pauperes pro mendicis, et deserti pro erronibus in latumias et pistrinum dedantur. Hoc si fiat, multi, qui prius facta pudoris et famæ jactura, vel in cippis, vel in Brigdovelli, laqueo vitam finiunt, servabuntur regni defensioni, et magnis reipublicæ usibus. Deus interim sui ordinis, et Christi sui vicariorum pauperum observatoribus benedicet.

Quia vero magna parœchiarum differentia est, tum in numero, tum in facultatibus parœchianorum; si quando necessitas exigat (ut exigere perpetuo fere potest) archidiaconi judicio (ut aliquid quod nomini suo, et antiquis canonibus respondeat faxint) ditiores parœchiæ tenuioribus de suis facultatibus impertiri excitabuntur.

Hæc trium in ecclesia ministeriorum ad apostolicam regulam delineata reformatio, ideo, vobis facilior est, quod vobis vestros episcopos, decanos, archidiaconos, et evangelistas, qui erunt vobis pastores, conservet. *Churchovocueros*, qui erunt presbyteri et diaconi, in veram et legitimam ecclesiæ tutelam collocat.

Esset vero optandum, ut ex canonum præscripto, et omnium etiam ecclesiarum papisticarum exemplo, bis in anno suorum pastorum et presbyterorum synodum cogeret episcopus, aut saltem semel in anno, ut statuit in Anglia synodus Harnfordiensis.

Quia vero qui pastores in singulis ecclesiis debent indies studia theolog. ita excolere, ut magis ac magis suo muneris obeundo idonei reddantur; esset etiam optandum, ut in singulis decanatibus doctores theologici instituerentur, qui

locis opportunis et diebus, in hebdomade bis aut ter, theologiam e sacris oraculis illis exponerent.

Atque ut his suppeditet fundus ecclesiasticus, curandum est authoritate regia, et regni majorum ordinum communi decreto, ut ecclesiæ quæ superesse debent bona, sarta tecta maneant, non in alios usus ab aulicis, nobilibus et mercatoribus transferantur.

Hæc sunt quæ pertinent ad sedandum vestrarum controversiarum priorem partem; secunda, ut jam dixi, talis est, ut quod ædificationi et paci ecclesiæ maxime servit, id optimum censeatur. Superintendentiæ episcopi, decan. et archidiacon. non obsunt; immo, plurimum prodesse possunt, retineantur. De ritibus et ceremoniis, siquid sit tale, ut facile eo careat ecclesia, non contendant superintendentes, siquid sit non omnino superstitiosum, non turbent ob id ecclesiam Christi *accusantes*.

Number XLIII. 98

Cowper, lately made bishop of Winchester, to the lord treasurer lord Burghley: for a commission to carry down with him, to make inquiry after recusants.

My duty considered, right honorable,

HAVING some care of that charge, wherunto it hath pleased her majesty to assign me, I am bold at this time to be suitor to your honour, that you would vouchsafe to be a means that I may go into the country with such authority and direction of assistance there, that mine endeavour may take effect among them. Literæ episcopales penes me.

I being desirous somewhat to know the state of the country, willed the archdeacon of Hampshire to make enquiry of such as be obstinate recusants. And I am certified, that there be already presented by the churchwardens to the number of 400; and in some one parish 40 or 50. And yet it is thought certainly that by the slackness of the churchwardens a great number more are omitted. Wherefore the country being in such case, I am of opinion, under

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correction, that there will need extraordinary authority; and that to be committed not to many. For I understand there be divers of great countenance will speak very well, and deal very hollowly. If it might be lawful for me to wish, I could desire either commission ecclesiastical, or commission of oyer and terminer, or both. The persons that I can be informed of, to be the soundest, and most willing, are the lord de la Ware, living often about the city, sir Richard Norton, sir William Kingsmill, Mr. Kingsmil, that is atturney of the court of wards, Mr. Flemming, recorder of the city of Winchester, and usually living there. And if it shall please you to have any ecclesiastical men, I think these very fit; Dr. Bilson, doctor of divinity, Dr. Ebden, or Dr. Reniger.

But I must leave the whole matter to the consideration of your honours; only I humbly desire you to have some special order therunto. For I fear, if I bring not some extraordinary direction from your honours, they will conceive, that there is not so great care taken to have disorderly persons represt as all good subjects know that there is. The Lord preserve your honour in health to his glory. This 2. of May, 1584.

Your honours in Christ to command,
Thomas Winton.

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Number XLIV.

Three Prayers used at court and parliament after Parry's treason.

A prayer for al kings, princes, countries, and people, which do profess the gospel; and especially for our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth: used in her majestys chapel, and may be used of all persons within her majestys dominions.

O LORD God of hosts, most loving and merciful father, whose power no creature is able to resist, who of thy great goodness hast promised to grant the petitions of such as ask in thy Sons name, we most humbly beseech thee to save and defend all princes, magistrates, kingdoms, coun-

tries, and people which have received and do profess thy holy word and gospel; and namely, this realm of England, and thy servant ELIZABETH our queen, whom thou hast hitherto wonderfully preserved from manifold perils and sundry dangers, and of late reveled and frustrated the traiterous practices and conspiracies of divers against her: for the which, and all other thy great goodness towards us, we give thee most humble and hearty thanks; beseeching thee in the name of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and for his sake, still to preserve and continue her unto us, and to give her long life and many years to rule over this land.

O heavenly Father, the practices of our enemies, and the enemies of thy word and truth, against her and us, are manifest and known unto thee. Turn them, O Lord, if it be thy blessed will, or overthrow and confound them. For thy names sake, suffer them not to prevail. Take them, O Lord, in their crafty wiliness that they have invented; and let them fall into the pit which they have digged for others. Permit them not ungodly to triumph over us. Discomfort them, discomfort them, O Lord, which trust in their own multitude, and please themselves in their subtil devices and wicked conspiracies.

O loving Father, we have not deserved the least of these thy mercies which we crave: for we have sinned and grievously offended thee. We are not worthy to be called thy sons. We have not been so thankful unto thee as we should for thy unspeakable benefits powred upon us: we have abused this long time of peace and prosperity. We have not obeyed thy word. We have had it in our mouths, but not in heart; in outward appearance, but not in deed. We have lived carelessly, we have not known the time of our visitation. We have deserved utter destruction. But thou, O Lord, art merciful, and ready to forgive. Therefore wee come to thy throne of grace, confessing and acknowledging thee to be our onely refuge in all times of peril and daunger; and by the means of thy Son we most heartily pray thee to forgive us our unthankfulness, disobedience, hypocrisy, and all other our sinns; to turn from us thy heavy

BOOK I. wrath and displeasure, which we have justly deserved, and to turn our hearts truly unto thee. That daily we may encrease in all goodness, and continually more and more fear thy holy name.

So shall we glorify thy name, and sing unto thee in psalmes and hymnes and spiritual songs. And thy enemies and ours shall know themselves to be but men, and not able by any means to withstand thee, nor to hurt those whom thou hast received into thy protection and defence. Grant these things, O Lord of power and Father of mercy, for thy Christs sake. To whom, with thee and thy holy Spirit, be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

100 *A prayer and thanksgiving for the queen; used of all knights and burgesses in the high court of parliament. And very requisite to be used and continued of all her majesties loving subjects.*

O almighty and most merciful God, who dost pitch thy tents round about thy people, to deliver them from the bands of their enemies; wee thy humble servants, which have ever of old seen thy salvation, do fall down, and prostrate our selves with praisè and thanksgiving to thy glorious name. Who hast in thy tender mercy, from time to time, saved and defended thy servant ELIZABETH, our most gracious queen, not only from the hands of strange children, but also of late reveled and made frustrate his bloudy and most barbarous treason, who being her natural subject, most unnaturally violating thy divine ordinance, hath secretly sought to shed her bloud, to the great disquiet of thy church and utter discomfort of our souls. The snare is hewn in pieces; but upon thy servant doth the crown flourish. The wicked and bloud-thirsty men think to devour Jacob, and to lay wast his dwelling place. But thou, O God, who rulest in Jacob, and unto the ends of the world, dost daily teach us still to trust in thee for all thy great mercies; and not to forget thy mercifull kindness shewed to her that feareth thy name.

O Lord, we confess, to thy glory and praise, that thou

only hast saved us from destruction, because thou hast not given her over for a prey to the wicked. Her soul is delivered, and we are escaped. Hear us now, we pray thee, O thou merciful Father, and continue forth thy loving kindness toward thy servant, and evermore, to thy glory and our comfort, keep her in health with long life and prosperity. Whose rest and only refuge is in thee, O God of her salvation. Preserve her, as thou art wont, preserve her from the snare of the enemy, from the gathering together of the froward, from the insurrection of wicked doers, and from all the traiterous conspiracies of those which privily lay wait for her life. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christs sake, our only mediator and advocate. Amen.

A prayer used in the parlament onely.

O most merciful God and Father, forasmuch as no counsil can stand, nor any can prosper, but only such as are humbly gathered in thy name, to feel the sweet tast of thy holy Spirit, wee gladly acknowledge, that by thy favour standeth the peaceable protection of our queen and realm, and likewise this favourable liberty granted unto us at this time to make our meeting together. Which thy bountiful goodness we most thankfully acknowledging, do withall earnestly pray thy Divine Majesty so to encline our hearts, as our counsils may be subject in true obedience to thy holy word and will. And sith it hath pleased thee to govern this realm by ordinary assembling the three estates of the same, our humble prayer is, that thou wilt graft in us good minds to conceive, free liberty to speak, and on all sides a ready and quiet consent to such wholsome laws and statutes, as may declare us to be thy people, and thy realm to be prosperously ruled by thy good guiding and defence.

So that we and our posterity may with chearful hearts wait for thy appearance in judgment, that art only able to present us faultless before God, our heavenly Father. To whom, with thee our Saviour Christ, and the Holy Spirit, be all glory both now and ever. Amen.

BOOK I. 101

Number XLV.

A prayer of thanksgiving for the deliverance of her majesty from many dangers, and particularly from the murtherous intention of Dr. Parry. A manuscript.

O ETERNAL God and merciful Father, wee thy unworthy creatures most humbly do confess, that we are not able with our tongues to utter, nor in our hearts to conceive the exceeding mesure of thine infinite goodness, graces, and favours in this latter age, shewed to this noble realm. In that thou, O Lord, hast in most dangerous times, a few years past, by this goodness and providence, beyond expectation of man, directed and preserved the tender and noble person of our now sovereign lady ELIZABETH by thy grace, according to her right, to come to this kingdome and royal seat of her noble father; and by her being therein established, as thy beloved, chosen servant, to deliver us, thy people, that were as captives to Babylon, out of bondage and thraldome of the enemies of thy true church, and to restore us again to the free fruition of the gospel of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. For the enjoying wherof now these many years, we do confess and acknowledg, that beyond all our deserts, yea truly, O Lord, when we by our daily unthankfulness for the benefit of thy gospel, and by our sinful lives, contrary to our holy profession, have most justly provoked thee to withdraw thy favour from us.

Thou, O Lord, with thy merciful favour and mighty power didst strengthen thy good, blessed servant, our most gracious queen constantly, against the roaring and threatnings of the mighty of the world, to persist in maintenance of us, her subjects, and thy unworthy servants, to draw out our day in all maner of prosperity, peace, and wealth; but most singularly in a peaceable freedom to enjoy the blessed benefits of thy holy word against the mighty roaring of bulls and tygers, the enemies of thy church, daily conspiring round about us, and partly among ourselves against this realm; and especially against the royal person of our

blessed queen, thy humble servant and true handmaid. Whose estate being the expectation of a number of wicked persons, manitimes in great and secret dangers; yet thou, O Lord, who art the Lord of lords and King of kings, of thy heavenly goodness hast always preserved and defended her by many miraculous means, and as we have good cause to think, by many other means, and at many other times, than to us are yet known.

But yet of late time we have fully felt thy mervailous goodness by the discovery of some attempts most apparently taken in hand against her person by certain wicked, unnatural subjects; the stay wherof onely hath proceded, good Lord, by thy most continual tender and fatherly care over her, thy dear beloved daughter and servant; and not by the wit, providence, or strength of any worldly creature. As was most notably to be seen the last year to have been attempted by one malicious and furious person, resolutely purposed by the persuasion of other wicked traitors, to have committed a bloudy fact upon her person; but mervailously by thy ordinance, O Lord God, discovered by the troubled desperate conscience of the very malefactor, and Somervile.
so most happily stayed. For the which thy blessed favour then shewed, if we were not so thankful to thee, O Lord, as we ought to have been, yet now, Lord God, we are most urgently stirred up to acknowledg our bounden duty of praise and thanksgiving, by a very late manifestation of thy singular favour, so largely above that former, as, all wonderful circumstances considered, we may compare it with an example of thy most wonderful kindness shewed to any kings or nations of old time, testifyed to us in thy holy scriptures. So, Lord God, what can be added to this thy secret favour, now lastly shewed to her? when neither she, 102
being the queen of the whole realm, nor we, being in number an exceeding multitude of her subjects, could imagine or once think of the same, much less have withstanded it. In that a miserable, wretched, natural born subject, a man Parry.
in truth of no religion, (as now appeareth,) under colour seeking to be a diligent and most careful servant to our

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gracious queen, and pretending to discover to her by his own privity how her own person was in danger of murthering, and how the same might be withstood, hee himself did of long time, even while he had gotten credit with her majesty and with her court, determined very often most desperately and resolutely to have with his own cursed hand destroyed her majestys sacred person. And if, Lord, thy mighty and unsearchable power had not at many times diverted his desperate heart and his bloudy hand, by reverence of the majesty of her person, as by his own voluntary confession is declared; we do now perceive, with trembling of our hearts, that she could not at sundry times, by the space of one whole year and more, have escaped the danger of violence, wickedly and resolutely by him intended.

Whereupon we now, thy humble creatures, acknowledging our unworthiness of these great graces, beseech thee, O Lord, that thou wilt, without regard of our former unthankfulness, shew thy mercy upon us, and continue thy blessings over us. That we may for these thy unspeakable benefits be more thankful than we have been, not only in word, but in deed also, according to the directions of thy holy word; whereof we, under the protection of our gracious queen by thy ordinance have, by the ministry of many thy good servants, had plenteous instruction. And we do firmly hope in thy great goodness, that our sovereign lady the queen, thy humble servant, having so notable proofs of thy special providence in her whole life, besides thy unknown works of favour toward her, far above that which thou shewest to many other princes, that by her continual thankfulness, and by constancy in serving of thee, and maintaining of thy holy word, may procure to her self and us the continuance of these thy favourable graces, stil to preserve her from all manner of open or secret perils which the enemies of thy word are known to intend against her. Wherby her years may be prolonged, as far as it may please thee to grant by the course of nature to any other prince in this world, for the maintenance of the glory of thy Son Jesus Christ and of his gospel, and for continuance

of us thy people, her natural subjects, in the due fear and service of thee, and in our natural obedience to her. Wherby we and our posterity may enjoy such peace as we have had these many years under her majestys government, far above any like examples in any age by-past, either in this our natural country, or any other within the limits of Christendome. Grant this, grant this, O heavenly Father, for Jesus Christs sake, thy onely Son our Saviour. To whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be given all honour and glory world without end. *Amen.*

Number XLVI.

Parry's confession in a letter to the queen, written from the Tower after his condemnation. Exemplified from his own paper.

YOUR majesty may see, by my voluntary confession, the dangerous fruits of a discontented mind, and how constantly I pursued my first conceived purpose in Venice for the relief of the afflicted catholics, continued it in Lyons, and resolvedly in Paris, to put it [a] [*in execution in England*] in adventure, for the restitution of England to the antient obedience to the see apostolic. And you may see withal how it is commended, allowed, and warranted in conscience, divinity, and policy, by the popes and some great divines; tho' it be true or likely, that most of our English divines (less practised in matters of this weight) do utterly mislike and condemne it. That enterprize is prevented, and conspiracy discovered by *an honorable gentleman* [b] *of great descent*, my kinsman and late familiar friend, Mr. Edmund Nevyl, privy and by solemne oath (taken upon the Bible) party to the matter; whcrof I am heartily glad. But now sorry (in my very soul) that ever I conceived it, however comfortable or meritorious soever I thought it. God thank him, and forgive me; who would not now (before God) attempt it, (if I had opportunity and liberty to perform it,) to gain your kingdome. I beseech

MSS. Parry's. 103

[a] Blotted out by him.

[b] Blotted out.

BOOK I. Christ, that my death and example may satisfy your majesty and the world, as it shal glad and content me.

This that follows is not in the printed letter. " Your " majesty may see that there is never a man more of our " nation abroad, or at home, privy to this cause, but Tho- " mas Morgan, a catholic gentleman, so beloved, trusted, " and protected in France, as you shall hardly be able to " touch him by any ordinary course; that proof depending " upon his *yea* and my *nay;* and having no letter or cipher " of his wherewith to charge him. Leave him therefore to " God and his amendment.

" Give some ease to your catholic subjects. Remember " the rest of my letter; and you shall find, that God wil " bless you, foreign princes esteem you, and your subjects " obey you.

" The indignities past between your majesty and the king " catholic are many. You have disquieted his state, main- " tained his rebels, and do bear with such as have robbed " him and his subjects. Many merchants are undon: some " few are enriched. Some bad humours pleased, and your " self dishonoured. It may cost you dear; look to it in " time. There is possibility to repair all."

Then the letter printed goes on: The queen of Scots is your prisoner. Let her be honourably entreated, but yet surely guarded.

This which follows is in the MS. letter only: " Shee " may do you good, shee will do you no harm, if the fault " be not English. Satisfy her reasonably in her keeper;" [whom the queen was now going to change.] " It may else " prove dangerous. It was wel once, it cannot be bettered " now. A new governour and a new guard may breed new " doubts. Impulsion may do harm. Please your self in this " cause. It importeth you much: so long as it is wel with " her, it is safe with you. When she is in fear, you are " not without peril. Cherish and love her. She is of your " bloud, and your undoubted heir in succession. It is so " taken abroad, and will be found so at home. The prince,

" her son, hath been illy handled by his subjects, troubled BOOK
" with inlet heretic practices, and often endangered in per- I.
" son. Now you have him, protect him. He is your kinsman
" and second saulty."

And then the printed letter proceeds, viz. The French king is French; you know that well enough. You will find him occupied when he should do you good. He will not loose a pilgrimage to save your crown.

This that followeth hath a line struck through it, and is part of the letter omitted in the print. " Last of all, forget " the glorious title of *supreme governour*. Trouble none " that refuseth to swear it; for that cannot agree with your " sex. Luther and Calvin did not allow it. The puritans " smile at it, and the catholic world doth condemne it."

I have no more to say at this time, but that with my heart and soul I do now honour and love you; am inwardly sorry for mine offence; am ready to make you amends by my death and patience. Discharge me *a culpa*, I beseech you, good lady, but *non a pœna*. And so farewel, most gracious, and the best natured and qualified queen that 104
ever lived in England. *And so the printed letter endeth. But the autograph goes on in these words:* viz.

" Remember your infortunate *servant* [this last word " *servant* blotted out] Parry, chiefly overthrown by your " hard hand. Amend it in the rest of your servants: for it " is past with me, if your grace be not greater than I look " for. And lastly and ever, good madam, be good to your " obedient catholic subjects. For the bad I speak not.

" From the Tower, the 14. of February, 1584.

" W. Pa."

Number XLVII.

That such papists as of late times have been executed were by a statute of Edward III. lawfully executed as traitors.

A treatice.

THE statute of Edward the Third saith, that if any man Lambeth
shal compass or imagine the kings death, or shall levy war librar. N. 178.

BOOK I.

against him, or shall probably be attainted to have been an adherent to the kings enemies, he shall be adjudged a traitor.

Now let us consider the papists dealings. Pius V. (the father in his time of them all) calleth her majesty's interest in the crown *prætensum jus.* He declareth her deprived, by his authority, of the kingdome; he absolveth her natural subjects from their oath of obedience; he curseth all that shall yield her any princely duty. And yet not herewith content, before the bull was generally published, he sent of his ministers into this land, to signify, *apostolica auctoritate certis viris illustribus*, what was don at Rome; how Elizabeth was an heretic; that she had lost her crown; and that they did owe her no kind of obedience.

Wherupon the earls of Northumberland and Westmerland, with sundry other gentlemen, persuaded by Morton, the popes principal agent, *catholicos omnes summis viribus illis affuturos esse;* [i. e. that all catholics would assist them with their chiefest strength;] they took up armes, and sought by force to have subdued her majesty. And Saunders yieldeth this reason of their ill success therin: *Quia catholici omnes nondum probe cognoverunt Elizabetham hæreticam esse declarandam;* [i. e. Because all the catholics did not yet well know that Elizabeth was to be declared an heretic.] But for the attempt, saith he, howsoever it fel out, *tamen laudanda illorum nobilium consilia erant;* [i. e. nevertheless the counsils of those noblemen were to be commended.]

Now as Morton and his companion, by the popes apostolical authority, wrought in England, so did Saunders by the same authority with his holiness soldiers, as you all know, work in Ireland, &c. Wherby, I trust, that the matter is evident, that the pope is the queens enemy; and that by the statute of Edward III. Morton, Saunders, and all their fellows were rebellious traitors.

But to procede and come neerer my purpose, these rebellions represt, and greater regard being had of the popes seditious firebrand, another course was taken, no less mis-

chievous and dangerous than the first. Where they could not devour like lions, now for a time they must play the foxes. Saunders, Morton, and their adherents professed themselves, as you have heard, her majesties enemies; and hoping of a sufficient number to have vanquished her, moved subjects to open rebellion. But now the Jesuits and seminary priests, which of late years came over, had learned 105 a new lesson.

They all confessed indeed, and that stoutly, that their coming over was to encrease the number of catholics, (as they term them,) the popes retinue and subjects; and that they had employed their endeavour by masses, confessions, reconciliations, and relicks for that purpose. Mary, for her majesty, they said, they honoured her, and she was their sovereign, their lady, and they her subjects. You hear now here a sudden alteration.

Fistula dulce canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.

[They are good words, but know you their meaning?]

The pope that now is, to animate his workmen, and free them from danger, hath agreed, like a fox, to wink at the bull of Pius V. A qualification is made therof in that which might touch his brokers. The bull shal not so bind them; but if they be taken seducing her majesties subjects, and examined for their allegiance, by dispensation they may profess it frankly. But will you know how long? *Donec publice ejusdem bullæ executio fieri potest;* [i. e. Until the execution of the said bull may be done publicly.] Will you know how long? Until the catholics by competent forces shall be able to resist. And therefore in the midst of their best protestations toward her majesty, being asked, if the pope, or any other assigned by him, should invade the realm, which part they would take, or what part a faithful subject of her majesties ought to take, they cry out against the demand. In his matter they are mute, they answer indirectly. And the reason is this. They had all sworn their obedience unto the pope. And then both they and all other current papists living (acknowledging the popes authority over both swords) are bound by oath and profession, when opportu-

BOOK I.

nity serveth that the pope have his assignes, shall assault her majesty with the temporal or material sword, to joyn with him, to their utmost ability, according to their place and callings.

To collect therefore all I have said into one summary. The Jesuites and seminary priests executed, before their coming into England did know what Pius V. had done against her majesty, neither would they by any means improve [i. e. disprove] the fact. They were not ignorant of the two rebellions stirred and procured by the popes factors in England and Ireland, wherof being urged they would shew no mislike. They knew that the want of a sufficient number that would rise against her majesty was the cause why the bull was not executed. They did confess, that they themselves were sent over to encrease that number; and that therin they had laboured greatly. They were not ignorant, that the pope now living had given them no longer licence to acknowledg her majesty than *rebus sic stantibus*, than by reason of power and number *publica executio bullæ fieri poterat;* [i. e. the public execution of the bull might be done.] And then, according to their oaths, both they and their scholars were to joyn against her highness, their native country and kingdom.

I omit here conspiracies and treacheries wrought beyond sea, proved against them by sufficient witnesses at their arrainment. And thus I draw to an end in this point.

For the Jesuites and seminary priests executed, to give their faith unto the queens enemy, who sought her overthrow, her death, her crown, to persuade her subjects unto a reconcilement with the said her enemy, and so to encrease his strength and diminish her majestys, &c. is to compass, or at least imagine her highness destruction, is in a sort a levying or preparation of war and rebellion. And to be convicted of the premisses I am sure is probably to attaint them for adherents unto her majesties enemies. And therefore the Jesuites and seminary priests, executed by the statute of Edward III. were traitors, and so most lawfully executed.

Wheras then their abetters and upholders do give it forth, they were no traitors, but that they suffered death and martyrdom for saying of masses, for hearing confessions, for absolving of sinners, for *Agnus Dei's*, for persuading men to the Roman religion, for matters of conscience, for Christian religion, and not for treason, I answer, 106

First, that if indeed they still hold as the cause standeth, between her majesty and the pope, that the pope hath in himself the right of both swords, as well by the *material* sword through force to subdue her, as by the *spiritual* to excommunicate her; then there cannot be any case or cause of treason which may any way touch them; but being convicted of any murther or mischief, either executed or intended, or any sedition, rebellion, or solicitation to every such extremity, if they followed therin the popes pleasure, all such stratagems are grounds for religion.

But by their leaves they must first prove unto us out of the word of God, that, as they write, their pope is *rex regum, et dominus dominantium*, [i. e. king of kings and lord of lords,] that kings and emperors, as feudatory vassals, do owe him homage; that he may place and displace, give kingdomes and the empire to whom he list; that he doth *obtinere principatum totius mundi*, [i. e. obtain the principality of the whole world;] and that Christ hath committed unto him *terreni simul et cælestis imperii jura*, [i. e. the rights of the earthly together with the heavenly empire.] Let them, I say, prove this: and then for my part I shall think that our Jesuites and seminaries were no traitors, in that they did by their god's the popes commandment. Mary, if it shall fall out by the authority of the scriptures, in taking upon him to have *regnum super reges terræ*, he prove himself to be Antichrist: if it appears directly, that kings in the Old Testament were lords of the temporal sword; that Christ himself in that respect payd tribute unto Cæsar; that his apostles did the like; obeyed the civil magistrates; prayed for them, and commanded all men to be subject unto them: if it prove true, that the antient fathers (agreeing, and generally with Tertullian) do

BOOK I. confess, that every king and emperor within his own dominion is *homo a Deo secundus; omnibus major, tantum Deo minor:* if it be evident, that the old bishops of Rome acknowledged with their fellow bishops, Gregory and Leo, that the emperor was their lord, and themselves at commandment his servants, his subjects; then most assuredly for any subject, priest, or Jesuite, to joyn either with pope or any other clergy faction against his natural prince, especially touching the temporal sword, or any use therunto belonging, for the overthrow of the same, is and hath been accounted a matter of treason, not only in king Edward III. his time, but even, as I take it, from the beginning among all princes; and cannot now by any pretence be made a matter of religion, except they have the privilege that certain heretics (as I have heard) did chalenge, *quod volumus sanctum est;* that what they list shall be a matter of religion.

Again, where they say their fellows were executed for saying of masses, for confessions, &c. they reason as the witches, inchanters, and conjurers, being convicted of the wicked practice of those abominations, should alledge for themselves, (as oftentimes they do,) that they were condemned, and must dy, only for saying their *Pater noster*, and some other godly prayers. Or as tho' the agents of some mighty rebell, being attainted for labouring by letters, gifts, and promises of great rewards, to alienate from their kings, and joyn with their masters the strength of the people, should cry out and publish abroad, that they dyed for writing of letters, for relieving the poor, for promising good turnes unto their friends and acquaintance.

Indeed to pray, to write letters, give gifts, and to promise good benefits, is not evil; but to use prayers as inchanters do is wicked. To solicite either by letter, gift, or promise, any princes subjects to any purpose that tendeth to their overthrow, is treason, and so to be punished.

107 And even so our Jesuites knowing there was a time lookt for when the bull should be executed, and that nothing was wanting but number of *stout converts*, (as they term them,)

to endeavour by masses, &c. to encrease that number, by any such practice, tho' their masses were good of themselves, (as they are not,) yet are their labours wicked, treacherous, and ful of great treasons.

But to pass over those that be dead, and to come to those that be alive, what prince in the world liveth that doth tolerate such subjects? For to omit, that all that are in England as yet alive are in the like condition of treason with those who are executed, this surely must whet me on very much against them and that brood, to se how shamefully, untruly, and impudently they slander her majesty, her government, her ministers, their queen, their rulers, their country. There is nothing so villanously attempted against the state but it is excused, nay, approved and commended; nor any thing upon never so good grounds either don or said against them, but it is perverted, slandered, and condemned.

The bishops, who, upon suspicion only that their pomp would be exiled, refused to crowne her majesty in the beginning of her reign, are greatly praised. The rebells in the north are highly extolled. The popes practices against her majesty are by all that are abroad very greatly liked of. If any be justly executed, they write they are *martyred*. If any be imprisoned, they say they are *smothered* and *pined*. Nay, their most horrible traitors, even such as sought to suck her majesties bloud, are excused. Thus one writeth of Somervile, (who hanged himself;) The common opinion is, saith he, the poor gentleman was dispatched of purpose, and by appointment, for the prevention of the discovery of certain shameful practices. And of Ardern, that he was a worshipful, a valiant, and innocent gentleman, and through practice and envy was overthrown. And of another rebell the same author, *We need not to defend the actions of that noble earl of Westmerland against malicious envy and detraction of malice.* Vid. Camd. Eliz. p. 289.

Briefly, we see by daily experience, that the more horrible their treasons are, the more they are accounted of. The earl of Northumberland is become a martyr and saint. So is

BOOK I. Felton, the trumpet of all English treacheries. And so I think shall all the rest. And is not this a most dangerous device against the safty of all estates, who set themselves against the man of sin and Romish traitors? I am persuaded the two attempts against the prince of Orange would never have been made, but that the parties were persuaded they should be saints. And the like I might say of Somervile.

So that if ever prince in Christendome had cause given of severity and care of guard, it is her majesty.

Number XLVIII.

Intelligences sent to secretary Cecyll by Daniel Rogers; taken and transcribed by him from letters written to several princes of Germany in the year 1569.

From Rome, June 18.

MSS. Burg. 108 The French men do hope, that the queen of England will send no power out of England, nor the princes of Dutchland out of Germany, to succour the Hugonots. And so by that means the king may easily overcome Deuxponts, [who came out of Germany to assist the Hugonots for the admiral.]

[It must be marked, that the Hugonots and the admiral of France were successful in this year 1569 against the French king. And several English forces were arrived soon after to the assistance of the protestants.]

A hat and sword consecrated by the pope. The pope doth yearly consecrate on Christmas eve a hat and sword; the which he sendeth to some such prince as in his opinion hath done best service to the see of Rome. This year he hath sent these presents to the duke of Alva. For that he hath so manfully withstood and chased away the prince of Orange. It is a certain mean to honour princes withal, and to encourage them earnestly and valiantly to defend the popes estate, &c.

Monks taken by the English. I have heard nothing of the Pronothorie monks and Spanish inquisitor that should be taken by the English ships. For I can easily believe, that this kind of people do at this

time fly as fast into the Low Countries as crows to a carrion. Because they are there rather preferred, than the natural people of the same country.

Protestants in France.

It is needful in my opinon that no supplies be sent, neither out of England nor Dutchland, to the succour of the protestants in France, if peace be not concluded. The French men here [at Rome] do affirm, that the king refuseth the conditions of peace. But the pope feareth that he will pacify. And therefore by public supplications to God he commandeth that victory be required against all Hugonots.

Advices 22. of June.

The pope's mandate at Bononia.

By the commandment of the holiness of our lord Pius V. by the providence of God bishop of Rome, the right honorable and most reverend cardinal Paleotto, bishop of Bolonia, doth notify, exhort, and command all persons and curats of what church soever they be, as well secular as regular, and all monks and friars within the said city and dioces, that they fail not to say every day the litany for the health and preservation of the commonwealth of Christendom. And especially, to pray to God for help of the kingdom of France, and for the rooting out of heresy there. And that all priests in their masses do pray against the persecutors of the church. And that other private religious men do say certain godly prayers privatly, as God shall inspire them. That all curats on the holy days do advise the householder of every parish to say daily in their houses some special prayer; and that all children which do begin to be instructed in the Christian religion do say the litany, or some other prayer, as shall seem good to the curats, every holyday in the church; and that the said curates, every one in his parish, do exhort the people to often prayer, alms deeds, and other good works. And that all the clergy be diligent to do the like. To the end, that Almighty God may respect his holy catholic church of Rome; and give help to the kingdom of France in these perillous times. Subscribed by

Lodovicus nuntius secretarius de mandatis.

BOOK I.

From Venice, ult. Junii.

The queen of England. The queen of England hath confirmed to her ambassador ledger to the French king, that she will not meddle with his French affairs, nor help his Hugonotes with any thing. But to drive out of her kingdom such as live quietly and peaceably there; that she neither can nor will do. The French king doth credit her, as much as she by her actions doth shew to be believed. But he mervaileth, that she being so ready and furnished with all things, doth enterprize no more matter in France. He judgeth it to be the great work of God, and a singular mercy and favour shewed unto
109 him; that he should not despair, but that in the end he shall utterly root out all that generation of Hugonots, not only in France, but in all other places.

Catholics of Germany. The popish catholics of Germany are not ashamed with most abominable lyes to slander the doctrin of the count palatine elector, and say, that his preachers do affirm, that Christ dyed only for the salvation of *men;* and that there is a *woman* come, which shall redeem the *women*. Which was the dream once of Postellus. This ly hath been reproved to some of the reporters faces here.

From Venice, July 19.

The cardinal Commendonus, a notable pillar of the popish church, told monsieur de Foy, the French kings ambassador at Venice, that he was sure that all the Hugonots were in armes in all places, with intent to root out the catholic religion. Whereof he said he had advertised the pope. To whom also he did write, that France and Germany were known well enough unto him: and unless the pope would stir up the rest, and make all the friends and means he could, to extinguish the protestants there, and that with all possible speed, that there was great danger of the utter subversion and ruine of the state of Rome.

The protestants intent in all places.

Cornelius Fresco, of Genoa, a notable seaman, is gon to the sea, with eight gallies, very well appointed: wherin are 800 men, and three canons, besides other small pieces. These gallies are thought to joyn with other Spanish and Sicilian gallies, and with certain great ships of Britany and

Normandy, and passing by Rochel, shall enterprize something in England.

Venice, July 14.

England to be invaded.

The pope useth vehement persecution against the Lutherans in Italy. For no stranger can travail in Italy, but he shall be examined of his belief, and what mind he hath toward the see of Rome.

Lutherans in Italy.

There is care, study, and endeavour taken by the papists in all places to destroy the Hugonots throughout all the world.

The queen of England hath lent 50000*l.* sterl. to the queen of Navarr.

They of the religion have in all, with the Dutchmen, 12500 horsemen, 34000 footmen. The kings forces are as great.

From Vienna, July 15.

The Venetians.

The Venetians have lent the pope 200,000 crownes: conditionally, that the said sum be not repayd to them within five years, the city of Ravenna (which is already mortgaged to them) to be theirs for ever.

A Jesuit's imposture.

About two months past, at Vienna in Austria, a Jesuite practised with a poor man and his wife, by a feigned miracle to enrich them, and win credit to his superstitious religion. The device was, that the poor man should be caried, as dead, on a biere, to the church; and, in the way, the Jesuite, as it were by chance, meeting with the corps, and moved with the poor womans case, (who feigned piteously to lament her husbands death,) should stay the corps, and say these words, *Surge et ambula:* the deceased dead man should arise, to the great admiration of all the people. But the practice turned to the Jesuits shame. For the poor man, who was kept long within the biere without air, was smothered, and found dead indeed: whereupon the poor woman, turning her dissembled lamentation to unfeigned tears, exclaimed on the Jesuite, and uttered his practice unto all the people in such sort, that the Jesuite hardly escaped with life, and is fled no man can tell whither.

The like practice of another Jesuit happened about the 110

BOOK I.

same time at Augusta in Germany, in the house of one George Fowlker, a merchant: who albeit himself is a great papist, yet he had in his house a man servant and a maid that were of the religion, and would not, by any means that their master could use, be brought to come to the mass. Wherof a Jesuit hearing, cloathed himself like a devil, and hiding himself in certain dark places of the house, where the maid was wont to pass about her business, did in such sort terrify her, as she was at length almost beside her self. Which the young man, her fellow servant, perceiving, watched on a time the said Jesuitish devil, who began to play the like part with him as he had don with the maid, and, closing with the young man, did scratch him by the face: wherupon the young man, feeling some smart, drew out his dagger, and thrust the devil through the body, and killed him. After which deed, being greatly astonied, he went to his master, and told him that he had killed the devil. The truth being known, the young man was commended, and the devilish Jesuit burned in his devils apparel.

A Jesuit feigns himself a devil.

Number XLIX.

John Fox to the lord treasurer: to obtain the queen's confirmation of his prebend in the church of Sarum.

MSS. Foxii.

ORNATISSIME, illustrissime, γενναιότατε in Christo patrone, sal. Mitto eximiæ tuæ præstantiæ per nuntium quod jusseras. Utinam vicissim tua dignetur pietas præstare indigno clientulo tuo, quod receperas. Subscripsere nobis promptissima voluntate reverend. D. episcopus Sarum, ejusque ecclesiæ sodalitas universa. Deest nunc una, siquo modo impetrari possit, clementiss. reginæ ἡ ψῆφος, benignaque subscriptio. Qua in re, si non gravabitur tua pietas præsidiariam operam tuam adjungere, vix scias quantum me meosque omnes hoc nomine tibi devincies, licet alioqui jamdiu tibi devinctissimos.

Invitus huc adigor, ut occupatissimis tuis temporibus obstrepem tam importune. Sed quid agam in tanta rerum ne-

cessitate; aut quem petam alium? Τίς γὰρ ταῦτα διαπράξασθαι τῆς σῆς συνέσεως δυνατώτερος. Scio, quam nihil sit in rebus meis, quod rependam rursus excellentiæ tuæ tanto dignum beneficio: quod unum protero adnitar sedulo, ne unquam in me claudicet accinctissimæ voluntatis studium, Ceciliano nomini et splendori addictissimum. Διόπερ εἴ τι ἡ δέησίς μου δυνήσεται παρά σοι, εἴ τις παράκλησις ἐν χριστῷ, εἴ τις κοινωνία πνεύματος, εἴ τινα σπλάγχνα, καὶ οἰκτιρμοὶ, πλήρωσον ἡμῶν τὴν εὐχὴν, παραμυθήσαι ἡμῶν τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν καταξίωσον. D. Jesus incolumitatem τῆς μεγαλοφυίας σοι sartam tectam stabiliat, ad gloriam ipsius, et reip. nostræ multam utilitatem. Amen. Lond. April 15.

Tuus in Christo,
Joan. Foxius.

Number L.

111

Adrianus Saravia to the lord treasurer, lord Burghley; from Leyden: moving him to counsel the queen, at this dangerous juncture, to assist the Provinces, and to take the government of them upon her. His letter accompanied with their ambassador's.

Nobilissimo ac clarissimo dno. magno thesaurario regni Angliæ, dno. meo S. MSS. Burg.

CUM non ingratæ olim meæ litteræ fuerint, quas Guerzia ad T. A. scribere ausus fui, de rebus parvi momenti, si conferantur cum harum provinciarum negotiis, incomitatos nostros legatos meis litteris hinc abire nolui; sperans fore, ut consueta humanitate tua accipiantur. Quod officio meo hactenus defuisse merito videri possum, culpam deprecari malo, quam pluribus excusare. Tantum tuam amplitud. scire cupio pudore id factum esse; et quod meis litteris T. A. interpellandam minime judicaverim. Nunc autem cum justa scribendi mihi data videatur occasio, continere me diutius non debui, ut me fide mea, cum erga regiam majestatem et Angliæ regnum, tum imprimis Dei ecclesiam, liberem. Itaque audaciam scribendi, humanitate tua fretus, qua rebus afflictis religionis nostri populi semper favisti, nec

BOOK I. favere desieris, sumpsi: quandoquidem hoc tempore imprimis tuo favore opus est: eoque magis, quod salus et vita sereniss. D. nostræ reginæ, et regni Angliæ incolumitas cum periculo nostro conjuncta videatur.

Qui nobis inimici sunt, non sunt vobis amici. Consilia communium hostium quotidie magis et magis patefiunt; et quo spectent videre potestis; et ex iis quæ moliuntur, quid vos expectare debeatis, judicare: expectandum non est, donec pericrimus. Nam casus harum provinciarum trahet secum ruinam Angliæ: si eas servabitis, pacem et salutem vestram firmabitis. Quare necessario cum omnibus, qui evangelium Christi profitentur, est ineundi societas, nisi certe perire constitutum sit. Et quo hæ provinciæ vobis magis sunt vicinæ, eo arctius vobis sunt conjungendæ. Quod duobus modis fieri potest; nempe, aut arctissimo fœdere societatis, aut imperii et dominii earum receptione. Quorum posterum tum tutissimum, tum utilissimum utrique est futurum.

Nam etsi non sit futura utilis societas ipsa in hoc perturbato rerum statu, habebit multas difficultates, quas T. D. a Davidsono malo intelligere, quam hic recensere. Tantum videndæ erunt commodæ rationes, et minime odiosæ, quibus in fide contineri poterunt. Duas potissimum examinandas tuæ prudentiæ proponam. Primus est usus promiscuus militum Anglorum et indigenarum in præsidiis: quo suspicio diffidentiæ tollatur, ut nullus miles aut præferri se, aut contemni præ alio arbitretur: altera obsidum exhibitio ad plures annos, donec obfirmandum hic erit imperium. Optimatum filii humaniter accepti in Anglia, et sæpe permutati, reddent tandem parentes et reliquos omnes vobis addictissimi. Hæc ratio nulli invidiæ est obnoxia. Facilis est, et minus sumptuosa, quam sunt futura Anglorum præsidia, aut aliorum militum, in locis qui carere milite possunt. Omnis miles civibus gravis est et molestus. Unde Julii Cæsaris laudanda prudentia est: qui acceptis obsidibus urbes et provincias, non impositis militibus, in fide retinebat.

Nota est T. D. Historia Xenophontis περὶ τῆς Κύρου παιδείας, et quibus rationibus inductus crediderit, ut ejus verbis

utar, πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ζώων εἶναι ῥᾷον, ἢ ἀνθρώπων, ἄρχειν. BOOK I.
At ubi ei in mentem venit, Cyri tot homines, tot urbes, tot gentes, non invitas paruisse imperio, sententiam mutare coactus est: utpote quod hominibus imperare, neque impossibile sit, neque factu difficile, siquis prudenter id agat.

Et certe ita est. Nam siquis omnia attentus expendere 112
velit, defectiones populorum, et rerum publicarum mutationes, inveniet, non tam vitio plebis accidisse, quam eorum qui reip. præsunt: quando potius suarum libidinum aut cupiditatum habuerunt rationem, quam salutis publicæ. Nulla est mortalium societas, quæ se regi non postulet, sibique non præficiat rectorem. Unde cuivis apparet, multitudinem imperium facile pati posse; et illud ultro expetere; et imperitia et culpa rectorum accidere, siqua imperii dissolutio accidat: violentiam, quæ ab hoste externo fit, excipio.

Quod hanc gentem attinet, facile se patietur regi, modo ei nulla fiat injuria, et eam suis legibus vivere, rectores patiantur. Quemadmodum enim ad injuriam inferendam hæc gens tarda est, ita est injuriæ maxime impatiens. Quisquis rector harum provinciarum futurus est, leni animo sit oportet: qui clementer hujus gentis ferre mores rusticos et agrestes possit, facile sic flectet et inducet quolibet. Isthæc familiariter scribo, ac si jam omnia facta et transacta essent. Spero enim divinitus hanc vobis oblatam, et servandi nos et confirmandi vos, non præterituros esse occasionem. Quod si facitis, sera, vereor, ne sequatur pœnitentia. Nam postquam nos perierimus, vos incolumes permanere non potestis.

Quare ego Deum Op. Max. precabor, ut menti regiæ majestatis, et consiliariorum ejus, inspiret, quod utile novit futurum: et ut incolumem amplitudinem tuam servet. Vale, et me in numero clientum tuorum habe. Lugduno Batavorum, nono die mens. Junii, 1585.

Tuæ celsitudinis observantissimus,
Adrianus Saravia.

BOOK I.

[Number L.]

Laws and ordinances set down by Robert earl of Leicester, the queen's majesty's lieutenant and captain-general of all her army and forces in the Low Countries: meet and fit to be observed by all such as shall serve her majesty under him in the said countries; and therefore to be published and notified to the whole army.

MSS. politic. pen. me.

FORASMUCH as there is not any governed estate which in peace or war can be accounted sure, or preserved from dishonour and ruine, unless it be supported and born up by justice duely administred, and discipline orderly observed: and for that no man can be so ignorant as not to know, that honour, fame, and prosperity do duely follow that commonwealth or nation wherin good laws are established, the magistrate ministring justice is duely regarded, and the people, fearing to offend, are drawn under the rules of justice and obedience: and seeing that martial discipline above all things (proper to men of war) is by us at this time most to be followed, as well for the advancement of Gods glory, as honorable, to govern this army in good order: and lest that the evil enclined (pleading simplicity) should cover any wicked fact by ignorance:

Therefore these martial ordinances and laws following are established and published. Whereby all good minds, endeavouring to attain honour, may stand armed, and receive encouragement to persevere in well doing; and such as are enclined to lewdness be warned from committing offences punishable. Which being embraced with careful respect,
113 and followed with obedience, do promise good order and agreement amongst our selves, and victory and good event against our enemies.

1. First, every chief magistrate, captain, inferiour officer, souldier, pioner, or what person else, receiving her majesty's pay in field or garrison, shall solemnely swear, and by corporal oath be bound, to perform the underwritten articles, so far as to each in their several qualities shall appertain. The violating or breaking wherof is to be punished by

the generalls direction, according to the quality of the offence.

2. Forasmuch as the holy name of our most mighty and invincible God withal reverence ought to be regarded, and that destruction is pronounced to such as blaspheme or abuse the same: it is therefore ordeined and commanded, that no person whatsoever, either in common conference or communication, or for any cause whatsoever, shall blaspheme, being thus admonished, or take his name in vain; upon the loss of five shilling, to the relief of the poor, for the first offence; for the second, five days imprisonment; for the third, loss of his place and wages.

3. And because the continual and unspeakable favours of our Almighty God by our unthankfulness may be taken from us, and that no good event of any action can be expected wherin God is not first and principally honoured and served: it is therefore especially ordered and commanded, that all persons whatsoever shall, upon general warning given either by sound of trumpet or drum, repair to the place appointed, where the divine service is to be used, there to hear the same read and preached, unless for the present by sickness or other service he be impeached; upon pain to loose his days wages for the first, two days wages for the second, and so to be encreased by the discretion of the judge. And for every such default in the souldier, as well the captain as his inferior officer, to be punished with the like penalty.

4. And seeing it well beseemeth all Christians, especially such as profess the military service, to pass away the time in matters requisite to their profession; and because no time can be more vainly spent than that which is consumed in unlawful games, besides the breeding of much contention and quarel; and for that there be many allowable and commendable exercises for all sorts of men to use: therefore it is streightly commanded, that no private soldier or inferior officer shall frequent the playing at dice and cards, nor any other unlawful games, upon pain of two days imprisonment

BOOK I. for the first time, and for after committing the like, to be further punished by the judges discretion.

5. And for that it often happeneth, that by permitting of many vagrant or idle women in an army sundry disorders and horrible abuses are committed: therefore it is ordered, that no man shall cary into the field, or detain with him in the place of his garrison, any woman whatsoever, other than such as shall be known to be his lawful wife; or such other women, to tend the sick and to serve for launders, as shall be thought meet by the marshall; upon pain of whipping and banishment.

6. And insomuch as clemency amongst men of war, in some respects, is a singular vertue, it is ordered, that no man, in any part of this service that he shall do, shall lay violent hands upon any woman with child, or lying in childbed, old persons, widows, young virgins, or babes, without especial order from the magistrate, upon pain of death.

7. What person soever that shall be commonly given to drunkenness, or riotously behave himself, shall be banished the army, &c.

114 With more such like good laws and orders, requisite in such an expedition as this was, to the number of fifty five.

Number LI.

The speech of John Puckering, sergeant at law, speaker of the house of commons, to the queen, at the conclusion of the sessions of parliament, an. 27. regin. Elizab. 1585.

MSS. Burg. MOST excellent prince and gracious queen. The last time of my being in this place before your most excellent majesty and this honourable assembly of your three estates, I did make my most humble submission and request, upon the knowledg of my disability and unworthiness, that I might have been forborn to have occupied in this place. But such was your majestys gracious opinion, as it seemed,

conceived of me upon the election of your faithful and obedient subjects, the whole commonalty of your realm, that I was thereto directed. And as then I, best knowing mine own insufficiencies, did for my excuse desire your majestys gracious acceptation of that which was only in my power, which was of my good will, diligence, and endeavour, to be bestowed in this service; so now, if I should not acknowledge in this place (having here in my company so many witnesses against me) the multitude of imperfections that I have found in my self during the time of this my service, I should shew my self to be over-partial to mine own cause, and in some sort to be void of modesty. But knowing your majestys accustomed goodness, to accept the good wills and endeavours of all men in your services, without any strait regard or account of the events or successes of their actions; and therewith having also had at this time of session of parlament daily proofs of the favourable toleration of my lacks, by the grave, wise, and experimented persons and good will generally of the whole body of your commons towards me, in their quiet allowance of my service; I am the bolder, throwing behind my back these my lacks and wants, as things not now to be imputed to me, and am to present my self in your majestys sight according to my office, as a person allowed by your majestys goodness only, and not by my deserts; and so to procede to present to your majesty, in the name of all your commons, first, our most humble thanks for the benefits that we have received by your majestys permission to have this assembly so long continued: secondly, our like humble requests for pardon of any thing which through ignorance, without any intention of offence, in our consultations might be, by your majestys great wisdome, imputed to us: and, lastly, I am also in their names to exhibit our most humble and earnest petitions to your majesty, to give life to the works, not of our hands, but of our minds, cogitations, and hearts; which otherwise than being lightened by the beams of your favour shall be but vain, dumb, and dead.

For the first I do confess, and that in the name of all

BOOK I. your commons here assembled, and so I may presume to add the like for the lords here assembled in your majestys presence, that we cannot imagine how your majesty can bestow a greater benefit, that can deserve more thanks of your subjects universally, than that your majesty, as you have heretofore at many times, so now especially in this time, when our necessity for many respects required the same, summoned your whole realm, by calling your estates together to this parlament, to consult freely, and at great leisure, what were first meet for the furtherance and advancement of Gods service, by which we only have our being: and what were also necessary for the preservation of your majestys person, by whose long life and continuance we are kept free from the tyranny and subjection of foreign oppression: and, lastly, to devise among our selves, and provide not only as should be, both in general and particular, good and profitable for our own estates, but also to foresee how to avoid things hurtful to the same. To which good end we do acknowledg that, by your majestys goodness and permission, our assembly now hath tended. And for that good which we are to receive therby, we do yield to your majesty our most humble thanks; beseeching God to grant to your majesty many happy years above the term of our lives: that as we have already, so after us our posterity may receive the like benefits of your goodness, from time to time, as cause shall require; to procure to themselves by good laws under your government like means to live in such peace, happiness, and wealth as we have don from the beginning of your reign, and as our forefathers never did the like with such continuance.

Secondly, after these our thanks, most humbly presented upon our knees, we do, both in general and particular, humbly beseech your majesty to give your accustomed gracious interpretations to all our procedings. Wherein if any speeches, motions, or petitions have past from us that might have miscontented your majesty in your great wisdom above our capacities, I can assure your majesty, that in this assembly, wherin I was always present, there was never found

in any speech, private or public, any argument or token of the mind of any person that shewed any intention to be offensive to your majesty. And for proof hereof, when it pleased your majesty to direct me to declare your pleasure to the common house, in what sort you would they should stay any further proceding in the debating of the maner of reformation of such things as they thought might be reformed in the church, I found them all, generally and particularly, ready to obey your majesties pleasure therin: which, as it seemed to me, and so I have cause to persuade with my self, they did. For that it was well understood, that your majesty, as having by Gods ordinance a supreme authority for that purpose, had straitly charged the archbishops, bishops, and your whole clergy now assembled in their convocation, to have due regard to se to the reformation of divers abuses in the government and disciplin of the church. And so our firm hope is, that your majesty will, by your strait commandment to your clergy, continue your care to se, and command, that such abuses as are crept into the church by the negligence of the ministers may be speedily reformed, to the honour of Almighty God, and to your own immortal praise, and comfort of your subjects.

The next matter wherof I have to speak is most humbly to offer to your majesty our most humble request. Wherin I must joyn to us, your commons, the state of the lords here of that higher house of parlament: that is, that it may please your majesty to yield your royal assent to such petitions[a], both general and particular, as have been upon long deliberation determined and conceived in writing, with uniform consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and us your commons, in this your parlament assembled. Wherin your majesty shall do no less than pertaineth to the authority which you have, like to God Almighty: who, as he giveth life and being to all his creatures great and small, so your majesty shall give life and continuance to the fruits of our consultations, as well to the small as to the great; without which your royal assent with your own breath, the same shall become without life and sense, and all our la-

[a] See them in D'Ewes' Journal, p. 357.

BOOK I.

bours therin lost, and our expectations therin made frustrate. And tho' in your majestys princely sight many of those our petitions may seem to be of mean value, either because they be, some of them, particular, or because the matters of some of them may seem to be of low and base degree: yet considering to them to whom they belong the same are of as great importance and benefit, as to greater estates greater matters are; and the lack of the benefits, which to them may grow thereby, shall be as grievous as
116 the lack of greater in greater bodies; and that in every natural body the meanest parts and members are by the head regarded as beneficial, for one means or other, to the rest of the whole body: so wee, with al humbleness, in the name of the whole body, do beseech your majesty, as our only head and fountain of our life, to accept the meanest petitions for the comforts of the parts of the body, to whom the same may belong; as we know your majesty of your clemency is accustomed, with your most gracious eyes and countenance, to comfort daily your basist and poorest subjects, seeking relief at your feet.

Next to this we do offer to your majesty, with our whole hearts, our bodies and lives, to be serviceable to the safty of your majestys noble person. For defence wherof, and for revenge of any act imaginate against your majesty, we have by a form of law, if it shall like your majesty to assent therto, given a testimony to the whole world how dear the safty of your life is to us. And this I do assure your majesty, that we, your most loving subjects, were most willing to have extended this ordinance to a far straiter course, as we thought the same meet for your safty, and for terrifying of all persons not well willing to you, if otherwise we had not understood, that your majestys pleasure was, that it should not be extended to any straiter points than it is.

And as your majesty hath a manifest demonstration hereby of our hearts and minds, so also we have, added for a further outward declaration therof by our deeds, offered to your majesty, of our voluntary minds, a small portion out of those worldly goods which God hath given us, and by the

long peace under your blessed government we have encreast, by way of a subsidy, and two fifths, to be used by your majesty, as in former times you have always don, for the defence of this your realm, and us your humble subjects: which tho' we know shall not amount to the value that percase shall be needful for the defence of your realms, dominions, and subjects against all attempts that may be ministred by the enemyes of God and of your majesty, yet your majesty may make an assured account, that besides this our offer, you cannot lack a further supply of the rest that wee have, to be spent, or committed to your direction, as cause shall require.

Lastly, Upon our knees we do most humbly yield our hearty thanks for your most gracious and free general pardon, whereby a great multitude of your subjects are to be relieved of divers pains and penalties, which by the order of your laws your majesty might most justly have inflicted upon them. By which your clemency we all shall take occasion, besides our thankfulness for so great a benefit, to endeavour our selves more carefully to observe your laws, both to the honour of God, and to the comfort of your majesty, and, finally, to the maintenance of peace, tranquility, and concord among our selves.

Number LII. 117

Sir Amias Paulet to the lord treasurer, for an assistant in the custody of the Scots queen. From Tutbury.

My very good lord,

ALTHO' I have encrease in health daily sithence the first day of my arrival here, I thank God for it, and do now find my self able to go as strongly and as speedily as at any time these two or three years last past; yet being subject to the gout, and, considering the nature of the disease, I must look for a fresh assault in the accustomed season; at which time the importance of this service will require MSS. Burg.

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the assistance of some honest and faithful gentleman: who no doubt may be easily found both in the court and in the country. But because your resolutions at the court are not always speedy, and that my assistant may be found wanting before he can come, presuming upon your lordships favour towards me, I will be so bold to name a gentleman, who I know will be content to come hither unto me, and to spend some long time here with me: and rabating some men of my number, as he and his servants will amount unto, which may be in all five or six, cannot be any way chargeable unto her majesty. The gentleman is Mr. John Colles, a man not unknown, I think, to your lordship for his good discretion; and so well known to me, as I will answer for his fidelity at my uttermost peril. And I am deceived, if he be not sufficient to take the charge of this service during my sickness, when God shall send it: especially, by living here with me, he may be trusted therin some little time before I shall be visited with sickness. I will stand alwaye answerable for the charge: my supply shall be in house with me ready upon every occasion. Her majestys charge shall not be encreast on one peny; and I shall have the comfort of an honest, discrete friend.

If your lordship shall find this motion reasonable, and likely to have passage, it may please you to further it, and to procede therin as your lordship shall think good. If your lordship shall not allow of it, then I shall most humbly pray you that it may rest with you in secret. It may be that your lordship will not mislike it, but would not be a dealer therin: wherfore being advertised, I will not fail to seek it in such order and by such means as your lordship shall direct. It may please your lordship to give me leave to say plainly unto you, as unto my special good lord, that I fear there will be some cunning in the choise of my supply, if he come from the court. This one thing I may affirm, that Mr. John Colles honoureth and respecteth your lordship before all the noblemen in this land.

I fear I have presumed too far: wherin I crave your

lordships pardon. And thus, resting at your commandment, I commit your good lordship to the protection of the Almighty. From Tutburye, the 26. of July, 1585.

Your lordships to command,

A. Powlet.

Number LIII.

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Instructions given by the queen to Davison, her ambassador to the States of the United Provinces: taking upon her the protection of those countries, upon the Spaniard's taking of Antwerp. An original.

Elizabeth.

I. BEING greatly in doubt, that the loss of Antwerp may breed some dangerous alteration in the rest of the United Provinces, especially in Zeland, considering the credit and great acquaintance that S. Aldegonde (who hath been the principal instrument and practicer in the giving over of the said town) hath had with men of best credit in the said province, and also that he hath a house of residence in Walcheren; we have thought meet, for that we understand that he seeketh, by all persuasions he may, to withdraw them from depending upon our favour and assistance in a kind of malicious and envious sort, to send you thither, as well to comfort such as happily may have received discouragement by the loss of the said town, as also to use some countenance against such persuasions as the said S. Aldegonde and his associates may use to draw this people to subject themselves under the king of Spains obedience, without sufficient caution for the preservation of religion in perpetual, and their liberties to be free of government of strangers. Cott. lib. Titus, B. 2.

II. Secondly, You shall therfore at the time of your access unto the States General of the United Provinces (unto whom our pleasure is you shall address your self) let them understand, how sorry we are for the loss of the said town; and that the care we had for the preservation therof was not accompanied with those good effects we desired, through

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the cunning, or rather corrupt dealing, of certain evil instruments in the said town: who drew the inhabitants therof to yield a dangerous accord with the prince of Parma, in respect to the yielding to the reception of a garrison, without being forced therto through any necessity or lack of victuals, or any other defects or want; and also without provision to have the free exercise of the religion reformed. Which, altho' it be in some part tolerate, yet shall be easy, by colour of the popes authority, (which is accounted above the kings and the princes,) both to retrench the time, and to repress it wholly; therby judging the principal mischief unremedied: which is, that the countries are, and still may be, governed by strangers. All which considered, it is evident, how full of dangers this treasonable composition shall be.

III. And for that it is to be doubted, that like practices may be set a foot in the principal townes of the rest of the provinces, if good foresight be not used for prevention therof; it shall be therfore necessary for all good patriots, that desire the maintenance of religion in perpetuity, and preservation of their liberties without violation of them, (as heretofore hath been,) to cary a watchful eye over such dangerous persons, who, having made shipwrack of their credit and reputation, cannot but prove most perillous instruments to work the ruine and destruction of the whole country: a matter that may the easier by them be accomplished; for that some of the said parties have had heretofore the reputation to have been the principal pillars and maintainers of religion in those countries, and therfore, under the colour and shaddow of their hypocrisy, may do the more harm.

119 IV. You shall therfore further let them know, that as we are careful by our advice to forewarn them of any mischief we se likely to grow towards them, so shall they find us also as ready to assist them from time to time with such means as God hath given us, and shall be found necessary for their defence against these dangers. And therefore doubting, that now the enemy is possest of that town of

Antwerp, he shall be enabled so much the more to bend greater forces against them divers ways, as well by water as by land; we are therefore now pleased to condescend to the number of 5000 footmen, 1000 horsemen, by them heretofore required, when we yielded to the aid of 4000 footmen, and 400 horse. So as there may be delivered presently into our hands for our surety the town of Vlisshing and Briel; as also some other principal town in each province at our choise, at any time when we shall hereafter demand the same.

V. And because we are also given to understand, that for lack of some good head or director their government there groweth to contempt, and all things run to confusion; we therfore, tendring nothing more than their conservations, are pleased to send over a nobleman of quality to assist them with advice and authority, for the better direction of both civil and martial causes. So as before his repair thither (according to their promise and offer) the said two towns above mentioned shall be delivered into the hands of such well chosen and well qualified persons, as shall be by us out of hand sent over, to take the charge and government of the same townes. And therefore you shall advise them to use some expedition therin; by giving ful authority unto their deputies here, to conclude with us in this behalf.

VI. We think it convenient in your way to the Hague (where we are informed you shall find the States General) that you pass by Vlissing; where we think meet you should impart in general termes unto count Maurice, and the council of state there, the cause of our sending of you unto the States General of the Provinces United; and shall lay before them such reasons as by you shall be thought fit; as well to lead them to accept in al thankful sort the offer by us now made, as also to beware of those that shall think to cary them headlong into that dangerous course the town of Antwerp hath taken.

VII. And wheras we did give direction unto our ser-

BOOK I.

vant Norris, [sir John Norris,] our collonel general there, by letters written unto him from our secretary, to advise the States of Holland and Zeeland to take a speciall regard, that such as should retyre from Antwerp into the provinces under colour of religion, or any other respect, might not be suffered to repair thither, nor to become instruments of practice to disjoyne and separate the principal townes of the said provinces from the general union, especially the town of Vlissing: as also to will them to look to the town of Sluce. For that wee have been given to understand that the enemy hath some intelligence in the said town. We have therfore thought meet you should inform your self by him how he hath proceded therin; and accordingly to direct our speeches both to the States General and the council of the States, as you think may be best for the furtherance of our service. And for prevention of the danger that may come to Sluce, we could like well that some of our bands serving there were placed in that town; with care always, that the numbers may be such as may be able to master such bands as either are or shall be placed by the States in the same town.

120 VIII. You shall also advise them to have a special regard to impeach, that no victuals be caried to the town of Antwerp; as also to inhibit under some great penalty, that none of Holland or Zeeland do cary any victuals to Calais or Bulloyn, or any other of the French posts between Calais and Newhaven: letting them understand that we are presently in hand to take some order with our subjects in that behalf. For that wee are persuaded, that, the present state and condition of the enemy duely considered, nothing may more annoy him than the restraint of victuals: which if it had been carefully looked unto by them, and also had not been fraudulently used by some of our evil subjects, by colourably going to Bulloyn and Calais, (which we hope to remedy,) the enemy could not have continued the siege of Antwerp so long as he did.

IX. Lastly, you shall, for the encouragement of the in-

habitants of Vlisshing and Briel, to make them more willing to receive our garrison, deal underhand with some such as you shall learn by conference with our servant Norris to be well affected, and to have credit with the people there; letting them understand that wee can be content, that such merchants inhabiting in the said towns, and have resided there by the space of a few years past, shall, during the time that the said townes shall remain in our possession, enjoy here like libertyes and franchices in matters of custome for their trades hither, both inward and outward, in our ports of London, and some other which we shall appoint within this our realm, as our now natural subjects do, providing, that therby no other strangers shall be coloured by them to our detriment.

You shall advertise us from Vlissing how you find the state of those countries there, and what alterations the loss of Antwerp hath or is like to work: what order they have given for the furnishing of such townes as they think may be attempted by the enemy, and how they mean to preserve Lyllo and all other places for commandment of the river there[a]: and of other necessary circumstances fit for our knowledge.

You shall also, during the time of your continuance in Zeeland, deliver our letters directed to the States there, in recommendation of Terlon; letting them understand, that we hope that our credit shall so prevail with them, as our mediation for him shall not prove fruitless: and that, until time may remove the suspicion had of him, we could like that he should be sent over into this our realm; where we will undertake, that during the time of his abode here nothing shall be don by him to the prejudice of the common cause. You may confer with his friends before the delivery of our letters, and take their advice for your maner of proceding, as may most further his delivery.

And when you shall have delivered this your charge in maner aforesaid, our pleasure is, you shall with all conve-

[a] The river Scheld: which by Parma in his siege had been barred up with such admirable works, that no relief could be brought into the city.

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nient speed make your repair home again; unless you shall find some special cause for the continuance of your service there.

Fra. Walsingham.

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Number LIV.

Expressions in Dr. Allen's book, taken notice of in the bill of indictment against Alfield, a Jesuit; who had brought some hundred of those books into England to be dispersed.

MSS. Burg.

THEY, [meaning Campion, Ralph Shirwyn, and other false traitors, lately attainted of high treason,] if they might have spoken their minds boldly, now at their passage and departure from this world, (as sithence that time we understand a worshipful lay gentleman [one James Leyborn, attainted of high treason] did, who protested both at his arrainment and at his death, that her majesty was not his lawful queen, for two respects: one for her birth, the other for her excommunication. Her highness have sought neither dispensation for the first, nor absolution for the second.

And in another place: By the fall of the king from the faith the danger is so evident and inevitable, that God had not sufficiently provided for our salvation, and the preservation of his church and holy laws; if there were no ways to deprive or restrain apostate princes: [falsely hinting the said queen to be an apostate prince.] Wee see how the whole world did run from Christ after Julian to plain paganism; after Valens to Arianism; after Edward VI. with us into Zuinglianism; and would do into Turcism, if any powerable prince will lead his subjects that way. If our faith or perdition should on this sort pass by the pleasure of every secular prince, and no remedy for it in the state of the New Testament, but men must hold and obey him, to what infidelity soever he fall, then we were in worse case [intimating the whole people of this realm] than heathen and all other humane common wealths; which both before Christ and after have had means to deliver themselves from such tyrants as were intolerable, and evidently

pernitious to humane society. [Falsely pretending by that, the said queen to be an *intolerable and pernicious tyrant* to the society of her subjects.]

The bond and obligation we have entred into for the service of Christ and the church far exceedeth all other duty which wee owe to any humane creature. And therfore where the obedience to the inferior hindreth the service of the other which is superior, we must by law and order discharge our selves of the inferior. The wife, if she cannot live with her own husband, being an infidel or any heretic, without injury or dishonour to God, she may depart from him, or contrariwise he from her for the like cause, neither oweth the innocent party, nor the other can lawfully claim, any conjugal duty or debt in this case.

The bond slave, which is in another kind no less bound to his lord and master than the subject to his sovereign, may also by the antient imperial laws depart, and refuse to obey or serve him, if he become a heretic: yea, *ipso facto* he is made free. Finally, the parents that become heretics loose the superiority and dominion they have by law of nature over their own children: therfore let no man marvel, that in case of heresy the sovereign looseth the superiority over his people and kingdom. [Intimating thereby that the said queen should loose her superiority above her subjects.]

And in another place: And as for his holinesses action in Ireland, [intimating the invasion by the means of the bishop of Rome made in Ireland,] we, that are neither so wise as to be worthy, nor so malapert as to chaleng to know his intentions, counsils, and dispositions of those matters, can nor will neither defend nor condemne. Onely this is evident, that these small succours which were given by him [intimating the bishop of Rome] to the Irish, or rather suffered at their own adventure to go into those warrs, came upon the importunity and suit of the sore afflicted catho- 122
lics, and some of the chiefest nobility of that country. Of whose continual complaint, known calamity, and intolerable distresses of consciences; and otherwise, it may be, was

BOOK I.

moved with compassion, and did that in case of religion against one [hinting the said queen] whom he took in his own judgment rightly by his predecessors sentence to be deposed; and in a quarel in his sight most just and godly. And perhaps he [the same Roman bishop] was the rather ready to do this for Ireland, for that the see apostolic hath an old claim to the sovereignty of that country.

And in another place: And this our countries scourge [meaning the realm of England] proceding wholly of our forsaking the catholic church and see apostolic, began first in K. Henry VIII. being *radix peccati* in our days.

And then the indictment runs on in Latin, as it began, *Ubi re vera*, &c. that is, Whereas indeed the present queen was not nor is an heretic, nor slidden from the true Christian faith, nor was nor is an apostate prince, nor fallen into heresy, nor hath lost superiority and right over all her people and realms. And in which kingdoms indeed no bishop of Rome hath power to deprive or depose any prince; yet one Tho. Allfield, late of London, clerk, not at all weighing the said statute, feloniously, as a felon to the said queen, the 10th of September, the XXVI. of the queen, at London, viz. in the parish of All Saints, in Bread-street, in Bread-street ward, advisedly, and with malicious intent toward the said queen, did cause to be published and set forth to divers subjects of the queen the said book of the said Will. Allen, containing the foresaid false, seditious, and scandalous matters in English words before recited, to the defaming of the said queen, and raising insurrection and rebellion within this kingdom.

Number LV.

Sandys archbishop of York, his prayer after his sermon at St. Paul's Cross, upon a public thanksgiving for the queen's deliverance from the conspiracy of Ballard and Babbington.

THOU knowest, O Lord, (who hast delivered our sovereign lady out of all distress, from the rebellion of Absalom,

from the counsil of Achitophel, and from the rage and fury of all that conspire to doe her harm,) that she hath not deserved this treachery at their hands, being most mild and merciful; doing good unto all, hurting none. Therefore, O Lord, according to thy merciful wont, as thou hast done hitherto, so deliver, protect, and defend her still: finish that which thou hast most graciously begun. Bridle, O Lord, her enemies and ours: let them know their madness. Open their eyes, and cause them plainly to se that they cannot prevail against thy chosen servant; that they cannot cast down or bring into ignominy her whom thou hast set up, and placed in honour. Give them grace, O Lord, if it be thy good pleasure, that they may enter into themselves, examine their own hearts; se their sins; repent of their wickedness; abstain from further proceding; that thou in thy mercy mayst shew them grace and favour in the end.

And grant, O Lord, that we who profess thy holy name may stil offer unto thee the sacrifice which thou requirest, even the sacrifice of righteousness. That the ministers of 123
thy word may sincerely and diligently preach thy gospel. That being a good example to the flock, and leading a godly and upright life, may bring thee the offerings of many souls, unto the stretching out of thy glorious kingdome among men. Grant that princes and magistrates, whom thou hast set in authority, may without fear or favour offer also this sacrifice, in upright deciding of controverted causes, and severe punishing of malefactors. Finally, give this grace, O Lord, we beseech thee, to thy whole flock, (for we are thy flock, the sheep of thy pasture,) that we all may offer unto thee our goods, our bodies and our souls, for they are thine. Grant that we may liberally bestow our goods to the needful relief of thy poor saints: that we may mortify our bodies, and chearfully offer them, if need so require, to any kind of torment for thy sake. That in soul we may offer thee the sacrifice of true repentance for our sins, of hearty thanks for thy great grace, and of earnest suit for continuance of thy mercy and favour towards us.

We humbly beseech thee, O Father, for the merits of

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thy dear Son, (upon whom, as upon our altar, we offer up all our sacrifice,) bow down thy merciful ear to our petitions. Extend thy mercies to thy little flock. Preserve our gracious queen, and so direct the hearts of all which bear authority under her, that by their good government we may lead a peaceable and a quiet life in all godliness and honesty. To thee, O merciful Father, with thy Son Jesus Christ our only Redeemer, and the blessed Spirit, our sweet Comforter, three Persons and one God, be all honour and praise, both now and ever.

Number LVI.

A survey taken of the value of the bishopric of Chichester, upon the death of Curtess, late bishop there.

VALOR omnium et singulorum mannerior. terrarum, et possessionum, pertinen. episcopatui Cicestren. DXVI*l.* XIIII^{d} *q.*

Inde

In feod. - - - LXII*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.* *
Item, in subsid. reg. - LX*l.* **
Item, in diversis reprisis. XX*l.* ***

Sum. - - CXLII*l.* VI*s.* VIII*d.*
Sic clare III^{C}LXXIII*l.* XIIII*s.* V*d. q.*

To which are subjoyned these notes.

* 10*l.* hereof, and more, void in law.
** This is not ordinary.
*** His newyears gift is but 10*l.* wherof he hath almost half again.

Item, more in barly. - - - - XXIIII qrs.
Item, in wheat. - - - - - XX qrs.
Item, in perquisites of court. - - XXVI*l.* XIII*s.* IIII*d.*
Item parcus, [i. e. the park,] with some meddow ground.
Episcopatus Cicestren. valuat. in libris dne. regin. - - - - - - mille marcas.
Decimis dne. regin. deductis, viz. solvend. - C marks.
Pro primitiis. - - - - - - C*l.*
Sum of the charges. - - - VIII VI*l.*

Number LVII.

BOOK I. 124

Proofs and evidences from ancient grants of the liberties of the bishop of Ely's manor of Holborn house.

SEVERAL grants therof made.

I. King Edgars grant of the said liberties, made to the church of Ely, is very large; and also with further words, viz. *Quod nullus princeps se intromittat*, &c. MSS. episcop.

II. *Item*, All the said grant is likewise confirmed by Edward the Confessor before the Conquest, together with that that the said king Edward then further more granted to the said church the same liberty, viz. *In omnib. terr. & tenement. eidem ecclesiæ tunc dat. sive in posterum dandis. Et ulterius, quod nullus minister dni. regis se intromittat ad*, &c. *infra insulam Elien. et villis eid. ecclesiæ pertinen.*

III. *Item*, All these grants were as well confirmed, as also enlarged by king William the Conqueror, king Henry the First his youngest son. In whose time the said church was translated from an abby to a bishopric, in the time of one Harvey, the first bishop therof: and also confirmed by king Stephen and Richard I. As also that the said king Richard, over and beside all the same, then granted further to the said bishoprick and church the liberties, viz. *Insulam Elien. et omnes libertates suas, quietam ab omni regali exactione, una cum omnimodæs* [*omnimodis*] *forisfactur. et mendabiles*, &c.

Item, Furthermore, all the said grants were likewise confirmed, and also enlarged, with other mo great liberties, by king John, king Henry III. and king Edward I. In whose time

HOLBOVRN

Came first into the bishopric of Ely by one Kirkeby, then bishop therof. And so always the liberty ever since downward from age to age and time to time successively, were as wel confirmed and allowed of, as also enlarged with further words and liberties by king Edward II. in whose time likewise all the same were confirmed by act of parlament. And also allowed by king Edward III. which en-

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larged the said liberties by general words, viz. *In omnib. terris et feodis dict. ecclesiæ pertinent. cum omnimod. forisfacturis*, &c. And so by the kings Richard II. Henry IV. Henry V. Edward IV. Henry VII. Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Mary, and lastly by the queen's majesty that now is, under the great seal of England.

And so therupon accordingly unto the said grants and confirmations all the same have been always allowed of before justices in *ayere*, justices of assize, and all other her majesty's justices in every her highness courts of records, where and whatsoever, until now of late within these 16 years last past, by the city of London here disturbed within Holborne.

The proofs of Holborn house, with the appurtenances, to be a manor, and also a liberty exempt from the city of London, besides the general grants aforesaid.

First, the same may well appear to be a manour by sundry records therof made in king Edward the Third his time: and also after him in king Richard the Second his time.

125 *Item*, For further proof of the same manour and house, with its appurtinances, to be a liberty exempt from the city, it will evidently appear by records in king Henry the Fourth his time, that the bishops officers there had the collection of green wax, and paying therof over again by order of the exchequer unto the sheriffs of London; having the fee farm granted unto them (among other things) of all the same, by reason of the county of Middlesex.

Item, It may also well appear by divers and sundry other records, dated as well in the time of king Henry VII. and other times beside, as also by usage ever since, and witnesses, that the bishops of Ely, and others their officers there, within the said rents and liberties, have had and enjoyed to the only uses of the said bishops, by express word, viz. *Omnia bona et catalla felonum, fugitivorum et deodand*, &c. without comptrolment of any, until now of late disturbed by the city of London; which before this time

never withstood any of the said liberties: as might well appear by themselves at the first, when they only pretended interest there about the keeping the assize for weighing of bread, and no other thing. And yet since encroached further.

Item, For further proof of the said liberties, it may well appear, that ever, time out of mind, all the said manour house, rents, and liberties belonging to Holborn, have been always railed and barred up, as a thing exempt from the said city.

Item, Also for further proof, that the said manour and house in Holborn, with their appurtinances, be out of the liberty of the city, it may well appear upon search for the grants of the liberties of London made unto the city from the kings and queens of this realm, that no mention is made by any words in any of their grants, of Holborn being within the county of Middlesex; but of Fleetstreet there is.

Item, For further proof of the likeliehood of Holborn to be out of the liberty of the city, it is to be seen that Smithfield, neerer to the city than Holborn is, in the time of king Henry I. was a void place where prisoners were executed, and also a laystall, altogether without the liberties of the city: the same not tending and reaching then so far that ways; but only rather from Ludgate, and so through Fleetstreet to Westminster.

Item, Furthermore touching the antiquity of the church and bishopric of Ely, they do appear now to be more antient than the cities are. And also, that there was a bishop of Ely before any maior of London; being but portgreves there in the beginning of king John his time. And also for that the liberties of the city of London have been as well before as after the Conquest, as also since the time of king Edward, (when Holborn house and manour was purchased to the see of Ely,) forfeited and seized, viz. in the time of king Richard II. king Henry VI. and other mo. And afterwards newly granted to them again; wherby their priority, if they had any, is clear gon and lost by them.

Item, Lastly, for further proof of the said liberties,

BOOK I. there were always bailiffs and other officers appointed within the said manour and liberty, from time to time, for the due execution therof: as may appear by records from the 46 Edw. III. until that late disturbance made by the said city.

126 [Number LVII.]

The state of the cathedral church of Norwich: truly set down by William Downyng, in pursuit of his humble petition.

Chart. episcop. FIRST, it was a priory founded by one Herbert, bishoppe of Norwich, by the licence of William Rufus, the right of foundershippe then being and remaynyng in and to the bishoppe and his successors, bishopps of Norwich. That priory being above 200*l.* per ann. was never suppressed, nor surrendered, nor relinquished, but a translation from prior and monks to dean and chapter was pretended to be done by letters patents in anno 30 H. 8. and by those letters patents the prior was named dean, and the monks were named, some prebendaries and some cannons, and called deane and chapter; but those letters patente were meerly void in law, because the king cold not translate without the consent of the founder, neither cold the king erect them deane and chapter of himself, except thold corporation of prior and convent had been surrendered, or otherwise dissolved, which it was now; neither cold the king do it by reason of supremacy; for where the pope usurped, the king and the pope cold not do it without the founder. So the old corporation of prior and convent still remayned, and the prior and monks contynewed still in their house, and church, and all their possessions, and changed only their prayers and service, wherunto they had collour of despenciation by the letters patents, but they contynewed prior and monks still, till all the monks were dead, the last wherof (save one) died in anno 28. of her majestie, and that one became an apostata in Henry the Eighths tyme;

so then that priory came to the crowne in anno 28 of her majesty, when the priorie was dissolved by the death of the monkes, and not before.

Notwithstanding that the said pretended dean and chapter did in king Edward 6. his tyme see the weakness of their translation, and sought a newe foundation of king Edward, who passed to them newe letters patent, which relied upon a surrender made by themselves, by the name of deane and chapter onely, and not by the name of prior and covent, and so their surrender and newe foundation were also void, because the old corporation still remayned in lawe, and the possessions therewith also.

It semed that their councell in lawe was verie weake, for there be divers such imperfections in their books as might overthrow them, though the said king had been sufficiently inabled to have passed their letters patent according to their pretences.

A judgment is had in the exchequer upon the whole matter, by true and full pleading on both sides, and argued and greatly deliberated before judgment. But the old lessees have alledged, that the defendant did plead of himself without consent of thother lesses, and so do pretend collusions between that lessee and sir Thomas Sherley; which is not true: but, though it were, yett the pleading is as it ought to be, according to the truth of the case, and not otherwise.

But it semeth, that God is displeased at the cruell dealings of the deane and chapter, and doth send troubles to them, which have caused multitude of troubles to many other men. For they have made many several lesses of every several farme that they had, to several persons to take begynnyng and have being all of them, before the tearmes of the first lesses in possession should end, without any distinction or relation as had been meete: and therby their sondrie lesses entered one upon another, and have caused bloodshed and many notorious outrages, and divers suits in the Star Chamber, and multitude of suits otherwise;

BOOK I. and some of their leases are made for 99 years in possession, and 99 years in reversion.

127 *Item*, They greatly abused her majesty, in making a lease to her highness for an 100 years, having made many before of the same things, and so have also made divers leases sithence of the same things.

And where her majesty hath taken a gratious course, by her majestyes warrant under the greate seale of England, for the well setling of the church, and the possessions to the same, and of the possessions of the immediate tenant, and competent recompence to the patentees, and thavoiding of the multitude of fraudulent leases, and the trouble and inconvenyence waiting upon them, the corrupt sort of the prebendaries, which were partakers with doctor Gardyner the late dean, are afraid to agree to surrender, for the good ending of all things, according to her majesty's warrant: as well because they have taken mens moneys, and passed corporation covenants and bonds, which they think may better be avoided, if the lawe agreede to overthrow their pretended corporation, then would be if they should surrender; as also for that they think still to gett more money by leases, as indeed they have done very lately for Crawby parsonage in Yorkshire, notwithstanding greate mischiefes growne there already by their many former leases made of the same.

Item, For the better coloryng of their doing, they have used strange practices and subornations of jurors and other odious things, which seeme endless, if a gracious remedie be not extended, and by packing of a jurie got a verie fowle verdict, as the lord chief justice of England knoweth well, being clean contrarie to his directions: but the court wolde not give judgment therupon.

The effect of her majesty's warrant is as followeth.

The lord treasurer is authorised to give warrant to Mr. Attorney, or Mr. Soliciter, to drawe and ingrosse the lease: or the lord treasurer to signe the lease, to Mr. Fanshaw and

Mr. Osborne, as men in trust for making out new leasses, to the immediate tenent in posession, and to rate fines indifferently for those leases, to the benefite of the pattentees and the lord chancellor is auctorised to seale the lease, and Mr. Fanshawe and Mr. Osborne inabled also to th'effect aforesaid, and likewise authoritie is geven therby for a newe boke, for the well setling of the church of her majestys foundation, and graunting to them the rents, to be reserved upon the lease, and the reversion of the lands, and their former liberties.

Her majesty having passed awaie the lands lieng in Norfolk and Suffolk, to the lord Wentworths assignes, the patentees and their assignes have effectually made all their surrenders in redyness agreeable to the course of her majesties warrant: and therefore do humblie sue that the lease maie be finished, or else they allowed with favours to take the benefite of the lawe; for the long delais have undone divers of them.

Number LVIII.

Minutes of a letter wrote by the lord Burghley to a nameless friend; clearing himself of sundry slanders raised of him.

BY your letter of the 11th, I perceive that you hear the vile, false, devilish exclamations and execrations, made by such as I know not. And therefore I can less judge what to think of them in their degrees of their malice, and the causes therof: but as it seemeth to me, I may say truly, *Acuerunt linguas suas, sicut serpentes. Venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum.* And, as it follows in the same Psalm, *Cognovi, quia facit Dominus judicium inopis.* Surely if my conscience did not ascertain me of Gods favour and protection against these satanical and fanatical spirits, I should think my self in a most wretched state. For I know and have proved Gods goodness so many years to defend mine innocency, that I may boldly say with David, *Factus est mihi Dominus refugium, et Deus meus in adjutorium* MSS. Burg. 128

BOOK I. *spei meæ. Et reddet illis iniquitatem ipsorum, et in malitia eorum deperdet eos.*

I am therefore determined to adhere to God, my onely patron, and shall be ready to answer all spirits, whersoever I may find them blazing; and doubt not, but if they would to my self but breath any of these speeches in presence of any honest company, I would with apparent truth confound their blasphemies. And therfore as you shew your self friendly in reporting these villainies to me, so you might shew your friendship in effect to my good, if you would advise them to charge me therewith. And if they do think me guilty therof, they need not fear to accuse me. For I am not worthy to continue in this place; but I will yield my self worthy, not only to be removed, but to be punished for an example to others that should not abuse her majesty, and the office I hold. If they cannot prove all the lyes they remember, let them make use of any one proof wherewith to prove me guilty of falshood, injustice, bribery, of dissimulation, of double dealing in advice, in counsil, either with her majesty or with the counsillors. Let them charge me in any point, that I have not dealt as earnestly for the queen's majesty to aid the afflicted in the Low Countries, to withstand the encreasing power of the king of Spain, the assurance of the king of Scots to be tyed to her majesty with reward, yea, with the greatest pension that any other hath. If in any of these I may be proved to have been behind, or slower than any, in a discrete maner, as becometh a servant and a counsillor; I will yield my self worthy of perpetual reproch, as tho' I were guilty of all that they use to bluster against me. They that say in a rash and malicious mockry, that England is become *regnum Cecilianum* may please their own cankered humour with such a device; but if my actions be considered, if there be any cause given by me of such a nickname, there may be found out in many other juster causes to attribute other names than mine.

If my buildings mislike them, I confess my folly in the expences, because some of my houses are to come, if God

so please, to them that shall not have land to make them. I mean by my house at Theobalds: which was begun by me with a mean mesure, but encreast by occasion of her majestys often coming: whom to please I never would omit to strain my self to more charges than building is. And yet not without some special direction of her majesty upon fault found with the smal mesure of her chamber, which was in good mesure for me, I was forced to enlarge a room for a larger chamber: which need not be envied of any for riches in it, more than the shew of old oaks, and such trees with painted leaves and fruit: [And coats of arms. For so he had painted this new room for the queen. Set forth with several trees of several sorts, with the arms of the nobility, officers of state, the bishops, &c.]

I thank God, I owe nothing to these backbiters, tho' indeed much to many honest persons: whom I mind to pay without bribery or villany.

For my house in Westminster, I think it so old as it should not stir any; many having of later times built larger by far, both in city and country. And yet the building therof cost me the sale of lands worth an 100*l.* by year, in Staffordshire, that I had of good king Edward.

My house of Burghley is of my mothers inheritance; who liveth and is the owner therof: and I but a farmour. And for the building there, I have set my walls upon the old foundation. Indeed I have made the rough stone walls to be of square: and yet one side remaineth, as my father left it me. I trust my son shall be able to maintain it, considering there are in that shire a dozen larger, of men under my degree.

Now shortly, for my sons adhering to Northumberland, 129
I mervail why he should not bear favour to him that was his brother in law, as long as he knew no faults. My son maried his wifes sister, when no body saw liklihood that sir Henry Percie should be an earl: for his purchases, I know that he hath ventured upon more bargains than I allowed. But I wish he had not sold his wifes land of antient title in Westmerland, in Cornwal, in Northamptonshire, and Wor-

BOOK I.

cestershire, of more value than that he hath bought. They that envy him herein, if they be for thriving, would not commit such a folly, to buy new racked lands for antient. And at this day I know he doth repent himself. But I will end with my paper; wishing you could procure some person to utter these things to our selves, and not cowardly to backbite us. Aug. 14, 1525.

Your loving friend,

W. B.

After that I had ended, though my letter doth and will serve me, yet I could not omit to answer a notable, absurd, manifest ly; which is, that counsillors are forced to seek at my hands means for their suits. If it were considered how and upon whom, for these late years, all manner of offices, good and bad, spiritual and temporal, have been bestowed, to whom the persons beneficed do belong, and whom they do follow, it will easily be judged how rare I do or have dealt therin. If great numbers be bestowed, and not one upon any kinsman, servant, or follower of mine, then how probable is it, that I had ability to do that wherewith I am thus slandered. In very truth, I know my credit in such cases so mean, and others I find so earnest, and able to obtain any thing, that I do utterly forbear to move for any. Wherupon many my good friends do justly chalenge me as unwise, that I seek to place neither men and women in the chamber, nor without, to serve her majesty; whereby I might do my friends good. And therfore indeed I have few special friends; and so I find the want therof. But yet I cannot remedy it, knowing my power not answerable therto.

True it is, that her majesty throweth upon me a burthen, to deal in all ungrateful actions; to give answers unpleasant to suitors that miss; where others are used to signify pleasant answers affirmatively. My burthen also is this, that in all suits for lands, leases, or such things, her majesty commands me to certify the state therof from her under-officers; and so I do (as it becomes) truly. And if the party

obtain, I am not thanked; if not, the fault (tho' falsely) is imputed to me.

If these reasons may not clear this slander, I would this only reason were weighed, that is true. For my self I had not made nor obtained any suit from her majesty these ten years. In my whole time I have not for these xxvi years been beneficed from her majesty so much as I was within four years of king Edward. I have sold as much land in value as ever I had of gift of her majesty. I am at charges by attendance in court; and by keeping of my household, especially in term times; by resort of suitors at more than any counsillor in England. My fee for the treasureship is no more than it hath been these xxx years. Wheras the chancellor and others have been doubbly augmented within these few years. And this I do affirm, that my fees of my treasureship do not answer to my charge of my stable. I mean not my *table*. And in my household I do seldome feed less than an hundred persons. And for that purpose I buy in London my bread, my drink, my achates, my fewel. And in the country I buy my grain, my beef, my mutton, and all achates: and for my stable, I buy my hay for the greatest part; my oats, my straw totally. For my servants, I keep none to whom I pay not wages and give liveries, which I know many do not.

These things considered, I might not thus be slandered 130
or envied. What my pains in service are, and how many [hours of] leisure or pleasure I take, is too manifest; and indeed I condemne my self therin. But I cannot remedy it, otherwise then I might leave my offices: which in the presence of God I could be contented to do, so as therby I might not be touched with note of dishonesty or displesure of her majesty. You se how I am caried by these provocations to write more than I intended. And yet I write nothing but what I will affirm in presence of any company, good or bad.

BOOK I.

Number LIX.

Another letter of the lord treasurer Burghley to his nameless friend; in vindication of himself from a slander upon him of hindering the negotiation between the queen and the king of Navarr.

Ubi supra. I COMMEND me heartily unto you, and do thank you for your friendly advertisement of such common speeches as you have heard of me falsely uttered, and so maliciously devised, and I hope, in the judgment of honest men, not absurdly and improbably to be believed. I have been long time acquainted and afflicted with such kind of viperous breathing; and I have long born the same patiently, in respect I had no mind to make quarells with some such as I had cause to suspect to be the authors therof. But yet I have shewed my self in many places to have misliked and condemned these injurious actions. Where also some persons, of whom I had some doubt of good friendship, have seemed to condemn the authors or reporters, and have wished the reporters to be known. And so have I heretofore ceased to pursue the matters, remitting always the revenge to Almighty God. To whose defence I wholly remit my self.

Now in a few words to this matter. I know that Segar, the king of Navarrs ambassador, was informed by some counsillor, (as he told my friend,) that I was a hinderer of his negotiation, even then when I did my best to further the same, being in conscience moved thereto; not only for my zele to the cause of the king of Navarr, but also in necessary consequence of the surety of the queens majesty my sovereign, and my native country. And since that time, Segar hath confessed to my self, that he certainly knoweth how earnestly and friendly I have dealt with her majesty for him. But yet the scar of that false report may remain, and the untruth first uttered continue, and the truth to him revealed notwithstanding, remaining only with himself for the satisfaction.

And the like hath been uttered to the Hollanders here

now of my hindrance of their causes. And so I think falsely conceived of them. And yet lately confessed by some of them, that they certainly knew the report to be false and malicious.

Of my doings I have many testimonies. First God; that otherwise I wish to be confounded, if he, that only knoweth all things, knoweth not that I am falsely slandered. Next, mine own conscience, which otherwise should be a perpetual sting to me. Thirdly, the queens majesty, who might greatly condemn me of unloyalty, if I did not concurr in all actions for her safty against all her known enemies, popish and Spanish. My fourth proof of my actions ought to be such counsillors with whom I do joyn. But in all these 131
causes I do more esteem of the favour of God, whom I call to witness, than in all fleshly helps or defences.

To end, I pray you advise the parties that make these reports, either to speak with my self or Mr. S. [Segar], who is best acquainted with the truth of my actions in this time.

And for the actions concerning the States, both he and Mr. 2 can tell in what termes and sort I have dealt with her majesty often, to the offending of her majesty with my earnestness. And I dare appeal to the report of any counsillor, so as I may be present at the report: for I know none can be so void of grace, that dare say any thing of me herein that becomes not an honest, faithful, and careful counsillor. But you may se how I travail herein; not to persuade you to think of me otherwise than I think in honesty you do: for I know that you have manytimes known me heretofore in this sort falsely slandered. And I must content my self to follow my only master, Christ, that suffered also many such, and so commonly do his best members.

God send them grace, and me some rest: for I never more toyled, nor less able for to do any good by reason of malicious, bitter biters. Whom God amend. The 12. July, 1585.

Your assured loving friend,

W. B.

BOOK I. *To which letters there was a third of the same injured noble person's writing not many days after the former: upon another information sent him concerning those his slanderers.* As follows.

I thank you for your letter sent by this bearer, and perceive therby the continuance of lewd humours of riotous tongues, that are seasoned with nothing but with gauls. I content my self to bear their malice; knowing that God, whom I serve with truth and sincerity, will abate their cankred furies when it shall please him; and will comfort me in the mean time to continue my self rather in fear to offend him, than in any fear of harm they shall be able to do me.

It is very strange, that a ly once a foot cannot be stayed with testimonies of truth, wherof I have many. And yet it seems malice is so settled, as I think no body else must be believed but the authors of their untruths. And yet such is my case, as it may be that some that were in sort the authors or abetters shall scantly be believed in reporting their untruths. But of this an end:

Number LX.

The earl of Leicester. In answer to the lord treasurer Burghley's letter to him, upon some informations, as though the earl were not his friend. Justifying himself at large to the contrary.

MSS. Burg. MY lord, I perceive by your letter you were doubtful to write; but that you would avoid misconstruction, it pleaseth you rather to write than be silent. I do thank your lordship that you will take that way, wherby those you deal and live withall may rather know what you hear than to concele what you mislike.

132 Your lordship doth say, that you have been manytimes informed, that I have had misliking of you; but the informers would never bring forth their false proofs, but rather deal doubtfully. I trust, for such informers, I shall

need little to stand in answering them. Your own wisdom will easily discharge me, being so well acquainted with the devices and practices of these days, when men go about rather to sow all discord betwixt such as we are, than to do good offices; a matter not strange neither to your lordship nor me, since our first acquaintance in service together. And as your lordship protesteth first your own innocency, so I hope you never yet brought in proof, or so much as in question, any yll dealing on my part against you; but rather your self affirmeth, you have always found me friendly and well disposed towards you. And so must I say truly of my self, your lordship hath not found a more ready friend for you and yours than I have ever been, if you examine all the matters wherin you have at any time employed me, whan my credit was somewhat more there than since it was, whether I dealt not very friendly with you or no.

If now I may refer my self thus to tryal of your own knowledg, then is it as much as I desire for mine own and your lordships satisfaction. Yet do you remember me of one token more of my good meaning towards you; which is the honest report, I perceive, in your letter, that your own children do make of me; a token, my lord, where in good reason should serve for such a man against whom no proof is yet had, and that never did depend upon any but merely her majesty; that of like I did it not to flatter them or you. I have little any mans favour, but to be a friend for a friend. I have always had a mind rather to count my self with worse than I am, than to crave benefit by any man. And thus much may I well say, that I know none able at this day, nor any heretofore, that have don me any plesure, that I have not deserved someways a good turn at his hand. But I shall leave for this matter every man to his own thankfulness, and content my self with such friends and fortunes as shall please the Lord to send me.

These reasons, my lord, that are alledged by your self, and such likewise as are affirmed by me, mythinks, should

BOOK I.

be sufficient to hold your lordship from setting any new strange opinion of me, what doubtful informers soever you have had: for I having, as you say, dealt well with your self and your children, confessing I deal well with them, what sinister way is there then to draw another construction of me?

Your lordship must give me leave (tho' I seem tedious) thus to purge my self, having so just and honest cause to warrant me: for I mean not to seek any excuse by untruth, albeit it were for matter of greater weight than these are.

Causes of mislike cleared.

The first, as seems to me, which hath bred some mislike in your lordship is, by the information also, that I should mislike with you for matters of the Low Countries, in finding fault of like with coldness, or else want [of diligence] in your dealing that way. I must, my lord, say to this, as I did in the general before, if there be any person that will justify any such matter of my speeches to charge you in that sort, then you shal se what cause you shall have hereafter to trust informers; otherwise you shall do both your self and me wrong. I have dealt, as your lordship hath heard, perhaps more earnestly in those cases than a wiser man would, but I trust without just cause given, or prejudice either of you or any other counsillor. And for that manytimes you your self would tel, not only among us, but to her majesty, how you were misreported abroad for that matter; I did deal plainly with your lordship, even in particular what I thought, and whom I heard, and most doubt of, to hinder those causes, which in my opinion had been reasonable cause, sufficient to have stayed your conceipt therin, without some better proof. But that is not my fault, seeing I was not charged; and that without offence and in good friendship you might very well have don it to me, when it was first informed you. I must needs have taken it in very good friendly part.

133 The second thing being more fresh, and delivered to your lordship by a party of some good credit with you, and

yet but a report, will not suffer you to smother up the matter, (for so you term it,) but to touch it to me, and to refer the answer to me for your better satisfaction. I must needs take this maner of dealing of yours to be very honorable and good: for you tell me both the matter and the party that informed you. To which I will make you a true and just answer.

The very same day I came to London, my lady Russel came to my house, and spake with me touching her daughters causes. And upon further talk of friends and of your lordship, I said to her, (leaving the circumstances of our speech,) that I had cause, all things considered, to make as good reckoning of your friendship as any other might do. And proceding further upon this point, (my lady then taking no exception in the world to it, nor to take it in evil part,) I did use these words: "That albeit there were some "houses did make shew to think you were more their "friend than me, (and named my lord of Somersets house,) "yet my lord of Somerset never shewed more friendship to "your lordship than my father did." For I did not doubt but you did think so your self. And, my lord, I must think, if you do not forget it, that you do conceive so yet. For you do know I lived in that time, and do well remember the course of most doings. I was in no obscure place from the displacing of the duke of Somerset till the death of our master king Edward. And if any man had greater authority at that time to place counsillors about the king than my father had, I will yield to my error. But, sure I am, when he had most authority, you were placed secretary and counsillor. Then, (I refer it to your better remembrance, if your lordship do not remember, as you write any more,) *then* he was your good friend, that hardly could, either you or any other counsillor, have been then placed, without his special means and allowance. And more worthy of good remembrance is it; for that this was don for you after some trouble which you had been in for the D. [duke of Somerset.] So I do approve the speeches used. I

BOOK I.

thought I had to make as good reckoning of your friendship as any other, if former deserts of my friend [my father] might require it.

For the other speeches your lordship doth set down of her report also, that I said, you were not my friend. I assure you upon my word and truth I spoke them not at all. The former [words] for sundry causes I did, which I mean not here to fall into disputation. You know my case, and can well consider how all things stand with me. I do not complain of envy, but I may complain justly of disgraces and want of such friends as I have been my self to others.

Your lordship doth say, you are weary of your places, and wisheth another to have them, your credit saved. Truly I know none that either seeketh them, or that envieth you for them. For mine own part I will answer faithfully and truly for my self, I more desire my liberty with her majesties favour than any office in England. Besides your lordship doth know, to my poor power, there was no man more forwarded you unto them than I did. Thus much have I thought good to answer to those parts of your letter.

And now, my lord, if I would ground the like conceits upon tales and presumptions, I might, I think, alledge moe just causes of unkindness than any I yet heard of from you. As for these of my lady Russels only, that she said, I should name you not to be my friend. Which is altogether untrue. The other part you have no cause to mislike of, for ought I conceive. But to enter into any particular causes I will forbear here to reply til some other time. And your lordship shall surely do well, having taken this occasion both to review what former tales have been told you; and that this last report of my lady Russel doth draw you to a confirmation of the rest. Albeit in your letter in sundry places your own self doth detect them as doubtful informers; that yet you will, for a further tryal of the troth,
134 bring some of these tales to question. Which may breed you a far better satisfaction than otherwise I see I can do. And for the mean time I must, as your lordship doth say

you will do, content my self with this and more wrong: not being ignorant that you can and are able to do both much good and great hurt: but the more good you shall do, the more acceptable must it be both to God and good men.

'And thus have I troubled your lordship with a tedious letter, and will pray to God, that he will give us grace to have minds to do that good we ought, to the glory of his name, and the service of our sovereign and country. And so committing your lordship to his holy protection. From Cornbury Park this 15th of Aug. 1585.

By him that hath given you no other cause but to be his friend,

R. Leycester.

Number LXI.

Philip earl of Arundel, his debts, estate, and circumstances, anno 1585.

His debts.	£.	*s.*	*d.*
To the queens majesty - - - -	5351	6	9
To divers creditors, as mony borrowed by specialty - - - - - -	7641	15	8
To the lady Margaret Sackvyle, for her mariage mony. She was the earls sister. By the duke his fathers gift 2000*l.* and by the earls 1000*l.* - - - -	3000	0	0
To divers other creditors, as mercers, artificers, &c. - - - - - -	1023	7	0 *ob.*
To divers victuallers, and other provision of household - - - - -	781	17	6
	£. 17977	11	4 *ob.*

It is to be remembred, that the said earl payeth yearly interest for the sum of 4666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Parcel of the sum of 8641*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* due as above by specialty, the sum of 466*l.* 12*s.*

BOOK I.

Breff of the estate of the earl of Arundels living, the 21. *of Jan.* 1585.

Clear yearly value.

In Norfolk - - -	2086 5 1	
In Suffolk - - -	516 3 6	
In Essex - - -	138 3 8	The sum of
Likewise in the counties of Cambridge, Sussex, Surrey, Salop, Lincoln, Middlesex, and the possessions in Arundel - - - -	841 13 8*ob.*	the whole, 4249 12 9 *q.*
Revenues of the Dacres possessions; there is answered for the countess of Arundel, part of his said possessions - - - -	737 9 0	Total of the earl of Arundel possessions, 4987 21*d. q.*

135 *Payments out.*

There is yearly paid out, as followeth:

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
To the queen for tenths and rents - -	197	6	1
In rent and pensions to other persons -	6	6	4
In annuities granted for term of life - -	1088	1	0
Fees to officers and keepers of houses -	176	15	0
The manour of Hayling in the county of Southampton, withholden by the lord Lumley - - - - - - -	112	0	0
	£. 1580	8	5
And so remaineth yearly towards the charges of himself, his wife and children, and household - - - - - - - -	3406	13	4*q.*
Wherof allowed by the earl to the countess his wife, towards the apparel of her self, her women, and the charges of the children, with other necessaries - -	500	0	0

Number LXII.

An anthem in two parts, composed for the 17th day of November, and sung after a prayer of thanksgiving used on that day.

I.

BE light and glad, in God rejoyce,
Which is our strength and stay;
Be joyful, and lift up your voice,
For this most happy day.

Sing, sing, O sing unto the Lord,
With melody most sweet;
Let heart and tongue in one accord,
As it is just and meet, &c.

II.

1.

To thee, O God, we yield all prayse,
Thou art our help alone;
To thee it is we sing always,
To thee, and else to none.

Then bow to us, good Lord, thine ear,
And hear us when we cry;
Preserve thy church now planted here,
And watch it with thine ey.

2.

Lord, keep ELIZABETH our queen;
Defend her in thy right;
Shew forth thy self, as thou hast been,
Her fortress and her might.

Preserve her grace, confound her foes,
And bring them down full low;
Lord, turn thy hand against all those
That would her overthrow.

BOOK I.

3.

Maintain her scepter as thine own;
For thou hast plac'd her here;
And let this mighty work be known
To nations far and neer.

A noble antient nurse, O Lord,
In England let her reign;
Her grace among us do afford
For ever to remain.

4.

Endue her, Lord, with vertues store,
Rule thou her royal rod;
Into her mind thy Spirit pour,
And shew thy self her God.

In truth upright, Lord, guide her stil,
Thy gospel to defend;
To say and do what thou dost wil,
And stay where thou dost end.

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5.

Her council, Lord, vouchsafe to guide,
With wisdom let them shine;
In godliness for to abide,
As it becometh thine.

To seek the glory of thy name,
Their countries wealth procure;
And that they may perform the same,
Lord, grant thy Spirit pure.

6.

So will we sing unto the Lord,
Betime ere day be light;
And eke declare thy truth abroad,
When it doth draw to night.

To thee, O Father, with the Son
And Spirit, be therefore,
All glory now, as hath been don,
From henceforth evermore.

After this is an anthem, or prayer for the preservation of the church and the realm, to be sung after evening prayer at all times.

Save, Lord, and bless with good encrease
Thy church, our queen, and realm in peace.

Which is four times more repeated, as the chorus.

1.

As for thy gifts we render praise,
So, Lord, we crave still blessed days.
Let thy sweet word, and gospel pure,
With us, dear God, for ay endure.
With prosperous reign encrease it still,
That sound thereof the world may fill.
Save, Lord, and bless, &c.

2.

That vine thy right hand planted hath,
Preserve, O Lord, from envies wrath.
And those that practise Zions spoil,
With mighty arme, Lord, give them foil.
Thy church and kingdom, Christ, we pray,
Encrease and build from day to day, &c.
Save, Lord, and bless with good encrease, &c.

There follow two stanzas more.

Number LXIII.

Laurentii Humfredi, in Speculum Moralium Quæstionum Joan. Casæi, Præmonitio.

RURSUS Casæus variato prodit amictu
In scenam: rursus perpolit ille scholas.
Gaudeo, quod tali membro schola nostra fruatur,
Quo totum corpus pulchrius esse queat.

BOOK I.

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Londini cæpit logicos excudere libros.
Talibus ex scatebris nobilis unda fluit.
Coticula est acuens animos Dialectica: nodos
Solvit et emuncti est regula judicii.

Speculum.

Jam vero Speculum nostris proponit ocellis,
Quod verbis nitidum est, ordine perspicuum.
Hoc speculum vobis nunc Oxoniensis alumnus
Porrigit en! præli dat quoque primitias.
Ex speculo poteris formam speciemque tueri,
Et turpes maculas tergere Socraticum est.

Moralium.

Est speculum Morum, vitæ prælustris imago.
O! quantum distant hæc duo, vita, logos.
Disserimus logice: sic disceptamus acute.
Est hominum proprium cum ratione loqui.
Sed nunc Casæus verbalis desinit esse.
Hæc docuisse sat est; hæc didicisse satis.
Nunc opus est majus, nostros cupit esse reales:
Laus est, virtutem moribus exprimere.

Quæstionum.

Sic moralis eris, si non quæsitor, at actor.
Quæres, sed ut cesses quærere; vive magis.

Eudæmonidas.

En! schola Xenocratis, quid virtus, sæpe requirit
Quando inquit sapiens, illius usus erit?
En! schola nostra sonet virtutem, ac vivere discat.
Attica gens dicit, turba Lacæna facit.

Cautiones quatuor.

Sed quatuor recolas, quicunque hæc Ethica volvis,
Ut spinas vites, percipiasque rosam.

1. Felicitas Aristotelica.

Finis Aristoteli fixus, non ultima meta est.
Progredere ulterius, ni miser esse velis.

Joan. 7.

Nosce Deum Patrem, Christumque, hæc vita beata est:
Hoc solum summum, salvificumque bonum.

2. Liberum arbitrium.

Naturæ palpo ne sis, sed deprime cristas.
Servum est, ni Christus liberet, arbitrium.

3. Operum justitia.

Fac, operare: operum meritis ne ascribe salutem.
Sola fides, et non ethica justificant.
Hic tua facta seras; post imminet hora metendi.

4. Opera et suffragia pro defunctis.

Defunctos manes nil relevare potest.
His ubi Aristoteles vester contraria scripsit,
Consule Casæum; gratia sitque Deo.

AN APPENDIX.

BOOK II.

Number I.

Objections against bringing Mary queen of Scots to trial. With answers thereunto; being the censure of the civilians.

I. *OBJECTION.* She is anointed. *Par in parem non habet imperium.* Anno 1586. MSS. Io. Conyers, armig.

Resp. It may be doubted whether she be a queen. Because she standeth deposed by the three estates Scotiæ. 2. She willingly left her right to her son.

A king deposed is not afterwards to be taken for a king. Thomas Gramat. Dec. 65. Therefore Frederic, king of Naples, deprived by the king of Spain, was afterward judged for no king by sentence.

If she were queen of Scots in possession, it may be doubted that she were inferior to the queen of England, as her feudatory. The principal maintainers of her title to the succession affirm, that she was born under the sovereignty of England.

The sovereignty hath a necessary relation to her own subjects, and such actions as are committed within her own dominions.

Each prince without his territories is no more than a private person. Ff. *De hæredib. instituend.* L. 3.

Again, *ratione delicti*, each person is subject to the jurisdiction of the place wherin he offendeth. *Ibi causa agatur, ubi crimen committitur.*

The preeminency of the person altereth not the cause. *Reatus omnem honorem excludit, ubi de crimine agi oportet.*

BOOK II.

An archbishop may be punished by a bishop; and one emperor by another prince, *ratione delicti; ubicunque quis jurisdictionem non habet, ibi delinquens puniri nequit.*

An archbishop is subject to the law of the place where he resideth. *Ergo* a prince.

Legatus sustinet personam principis. So his ambassage is presumed indifferent to both princes, *ob publicam fidem.*

The prince cometh only for his own benefit and protection.

Also, *Frustra quis privilegium, quod violavit, apud eum profert in quem privilegio est abusus.*

Also, if the Scotch queen were not subject to the queen, the condition of a prince were most miserable in her own kingdom.

Eodem jure defendimur, cui subjicimur.

II. *Object. Deletum non est consummatum. Ergo.* Secondly, She subjecteth her self *juri gentium soli.*

Resp. In respect of her allegiance to the crown of England, her actions are rather to be mesured by the positive laws of the land than *jure gentium.* But by these it is treason [what] she doth. *Ergo.*

Aliens are not exempt from such laws as are of force where they remain. As Pomponius Atticus lived under the laws of Athens, where he abode.

139 *Si advenæ quid faciunt in loco, ubi versantur, quod ipsis liberum sit, videntur quasi consentire in statuto.*

Patere, quam ipse tuleris legem. This is agreeable to the law of the country.

In the matter of treason, and in the maner of proceding therin, there is no difference or privilege of a person suspected. *Ad Leg. Jul. læsæ Majestat. lib.* 4.

She hath divers times conspired. *A. Delictum frequens aget pœnam.* Ff. *De pœnis, lib.* 28. §. *Solent.*

The nature of treason is such, as that the punishment thereof is not tyed to any law. *Cætera facta habent suas leges. In iis utilitas, metus, occasio, lex est.* Mark also *publica necessitas.*

The law of nations is nothing but *Sana rem. Omnes pa-*

tiantur, quod in alios factum voluerunt. Good reason, *ergo*, account *voluntatem pro facto.* For, *post factum* no law. *Ergo*, stay not to take *conspiratorem. Ergo*, Mithridates put to death *Attilius ratione propositi tantum.* So did Albinus to the messenger of Severus.

A confederate, being in the country of his confederate, for a crime committed, is there to be punished, *De capite. Et postil. Et si sunt apud nos rei ex civitatibus confœderatis, in eos damnatos animadvertimus.*

Ergo, tho' she were a confederate [only], she is punishable.

There is no person but is to be tryed there, without exception of degree, where the crime is committed. *Ubi de crim. verba. Qua in provincia quis deliquit, aut in qua pecuniarum aut criminum reus sit, ibi vindicari debet, et hoc jus perpetuum sit.* But she, &c. *Ergo.*

3. Thirdly, Every person equally is to be judged. *In crim. læsæ majest. æqua est omnium conditio. Lex ait. C. ad leg. Jul.* l. 4. *Ergo.*

4. Fourthly, A king in another kings territories may commit treason, as another private man. *Coretus, De potestate regia.*

Quæro (*inquit*) *utrum rex, non habens justum titulum regni, incidat in crimen læs. majestatis. Ergo.*

5. A king, passing through another kings realm, or there resiant, is but a private person. Allegations follow for that.

6. The benefit or privilege of safe conduct is lost, when any crime is committed after the grant of the safe conduct. Then follow allegations.

7. It may be said, *Non subditus potest* [*non*] *committere crimen læsæ majestat.* Yet that saying is to be taken where the crime is to be committed without the jurisdiction; but yet within, that may be punished. *P. P. Clementine: de sententia, et re judicata.*

And tho' the P. P. reversed his sentence; yet he saith, if the party have been within the jurisdiction at the time of the crime committed, *juste damnaretur. Verba. Si rex infra districtum imperialem fuisset inventus, po-*

BOOK II.

tuisset contra eum sententia dici. Ergo, by the popes rule, &c.

8. Henry VII. emperor gave a solemne judgment of death at Pysca, anno 1311, against Robert king of Sicilia Deiotar, condemned by Jul. Cæsar. Joan queen of Naples for murthering her husband. §. *De pœnis.* Punishments ought to be equal to their offences. Then follow allegations.

It standeth with the law of nature. Which is impossible, *ut quisque consulat suæ saluti, et suorum. Pœna unius, salus multorum.* An offence in the highest degree, *contra principem;* being an head of a politic body; as an offence to each member of the same.

Arctiora sunt vincula virtutis, quam sanguinis.

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Number II.

An analogy or resemblance between Joan queen of Naples and Mary queen of Scotland. Offered to queen Elizabeth by the parliament.

1. JOAN queen of Naples, being in love with the duke of Tarent, hanged her husband Andreas (or as some write Andrasias) king of Naples, in the year of our Lord God 1348.

Mary queen of Scotland, being, as appeareth by the Chronicles, and her own letters, [in love] with the earl Bothwell, strangled her husband, the lord Darly, king of Scotland, in the year of our Lord God 1567.

II. Joan queen of Naples did presently after the foul slaughter of her husband mary with the said duke of Tarent, notwithstanding they were joyned and knit in kindred neer together.

Mary queen of Scotland, within twelve days after the death of her said husband, was maried by the bishop of Orkney to the said earl Bothwel, notwithstanding he had two wives alive; and was divorsed from them upon a likely adultery, by himself committed.

III. Joan queen of Naples had no long fruition of her

inordinate lust, and infamous mariage of the said duke of Tarent: for he being therefore detested of all the country, pined away shortly after with immoderate venerie and thought.

Mary queen of Scots, after the adulterous mariage had with Bothwell, did but a small time enjoy him: for the nobility and commons rising in armes against them, put them both to their several shifts. Her to fly into England; Bothwel into Denmark; where he living, or rather languishing, like a banished and consumed man, had nothing so comfortable to his guilty conscience as present death; which shortly after ensued.

IV. Joan queen of Naples raised a miserable schism in Italy and France, by reason of two popes at one time, Urban, pope of Rome, and Clement, pope of Avignion.

Mary the Scotish queen did sow the seeds of schism and sedition both in the church of England and Scotland, by means of two popes, Gregory XIII. and Sextus V.

V. Joan queen of Naples was besieged in Castello, now called New Castle, one of the three strongest forts within the kingdom of Naples.

Mary queen of Scots was besieged in the castle of Dumbar, [Dunbar,] one of the three forts of the greatest force in all her dominions and kingdom of Scotland.

VI. Joan queen of Naples sent to the pope of Avinion, called by many historographers antipope Clement, a pope of her own facture and faction, to uphold and defend her quarel against Charles his forces: who, by reason he was nephew to Lewis king of Hungary's son according to some right, or, as some say, next of kin to Andreas, her first husband, king of Naples, by her murthered, was competiter with her in the said kingdom; and that by the title of Robert king of Naples her grandfathers testament.

Mary queen of Scots (which is far worse) sent many times to popes of Rome, both to the said Gregory XIII. while he lived, and afterwards to the said Sextus V. now 141
pope, not for the defence of her self, or her son, in the kingdome of Scotland, but to disturbe and terrify the quiet

BOOK II.

state of England with the thunderbolts of excommunication, and other seditious dissensions; tending to the bereaving of her majesty of her rightful crowne and dignity royal.

VII. Joan queen of Naples sent also at that time, and to the same end and purpose, to Charles the French king, and Aniens [Anjou] the French kings uncle, requesting them to bring all the forces they could, to the subduing of Charles nephew to Lewis king of Hungary.

Mary queen of Scots sent many times to king Philip, and her uncle the duke of Guise, to bring their foreign forces, and to preserve her in her possession of the kingdom of Scotland; which she had resigned long before to her son: but [also] to the invasion of this realm of England, and subduing of her majesty, the most lawful and undoubted queen of the same.

VIII. Joan the Neapolitan queen, for that she had no child, offered to make the said Lewis, duke of Anjou in France, her heir by adoption, and successor in the kingdom of Naples.

Mary the Scotch queen, altho' she had a son, promised England and Scotland to the king of Spain, if her son would not be called from heresy; as by her letter lately written to the Spanish ambassador, Mendoza, evidently appeareth.

IX. Joan queen of Naples had great and mighty princes to take her part, both out of France and from the province. But both she and all that held on her side had so strange and disaster fortune, as it is wonderful. For the pope, by her means exalted, was deposed. The said duke of Anjou, general of the field, that came into Italy, as Pandulphus Cornatius writeth, with 50000 men, and as Peter Meria affirmeth, 30000 of them horsemen, dyed by the way; and 16 barons, and most of the gallant company with him. And the remnant that survived returned home with more shame than with pride they came forth; begging all the way they went, by two or three in a company, as Plantina witnesseth. And the queen her self was taken prisoner by him whom she firmely hoped to have taken and slain.

Mary the Scotch queen, which had in Rome at several times two popes; in Spain king Philip; in France the French king and the duke of Guise; and in England and Scotland, dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen, and others, too, too many, bent to accomplish her unquiet humour and seditious dissension; yet neither had she nor any other that took her part any prosperous success: for the best friend of the two popes dyed. King Philip and the French king have never been without civil warrs, and their lands full of uproars and dangerous tumults. The duke of Guise so maugre, and so crossed in all his designments, that he could not at any time help her, nor will relieve himself. The dukes, earles, and lords, for the most part, have lost their goods, lands, liberties, and countreys; or have been slain, or slain themselves: many gentlemen hanged for her sake, to the perpetual infamy of themselves and their names, and the utter undoing of their posterity.

And as touching her self, neither her own land could abide her, nor the ocean sea, to whose mercy in extreme refuge she committed her self, could brook her: nor the land of England, where she hath remained above 16 years in our sovereign lady queen Elizabeth her protection, could for the more part like her, or be liked of her. And she became all that while prisoner unto her; whose royal person she continually hoped, and often practised to have murthered.

X. Joan queen of Naples being taken last of all by 142
Charles, nephew to Lewis king of Hungary, was, by the said Charles, upon advice taken and had of the said king, secretly strangled in prison. And so by Gods providence payd the debt, as the history witnesseth, that she gave to her first husband Andreas, king of Naples.

Mary queen of Scots, altho by flying out of her own realm of Scotland into England, and by coming under the queen of Englands protection, she escaped hitherto to have due revengment for her husbands death (when and where her chiefest nobility pursued her end) by justice; yet, because she had sundry times since that time conspired the

BOOK II.

destruction of the sacred person of her majesty, and being once or twice pardoned, hath fallen into a relapse, or recidevation; there hath been, upon her due hearing and examination of the whole matter, together with her personal answers, taken by the chiefest lords of the realm, assisted with the principal judges of the same, sentence of death pronounced against her, according to the statute of *Association* by her self subscribed and sworn.

There remaineth nothing to make the history perfect, but that Mary of Scotland may have Gods judgment in her accomplished and performed; that did not only kil her first husband, king of Scots, but practised oftentimes the end of her majesty, the queen of England; and likewise was like to bring the whole realm in danger of a general massacre and present destruction, had not the eternal and mighty Lord, of his unspeakable and accustomable goodness, by a miraculous discovery, preserved the same.

Number III.

Sentences written by the lord treasurer Burghley; occasioned upon the death of Mary queen of Scots; and upon queen Elizabeth's displeasure towards him on that account. Endorsed 1586. After the Scots queen death

Wednesday, Febr.

The warrant signed, To the Lord Chancellor, that night.

MSS. Burg.

PECCATUM ignorantia commissum.

Anima si peccaverit per ignorantiam, offeret arietem, et dimittetur ei, quia per ignorantiam.

Melius est, ut benefacientes (si voluntas Dei velit) pati, quam malefacientes.

Quem diligit Deus, corripit.

Quem diligit Deus, castigat.

Tribulatio patientiam operatur.

Si benefacientes patienter sustinetis, hæc est gratia apud Deum.

Si bona suscepimus de manu Dei, mala quare non suscipiamus?

Deus meus, tu opem mihi tulisti a juventute mea: et usque ad senectam et canos, non derelinques me.

Non est sanitas in carne mea a facie iræ tuæ.

Job. Ipse vulnerat, et medetur.

Domine Deus meus, clamavi ad te, et sanasti me.

Quoniam in me speravit, liberabo eum.

Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tuæ lætificarunt animam meam.

Laus sit Jehovæ, quod audiverit vocem deprecationum mearum.

Quæsivi Jehovam, et respondit mihi, et ex omnibus angustiis hiis eripuit me.

Earl of Shrewsbury. To tarry.

Earl of Leicester, lord treasure.

Lord admiral.

Mr. Davison. The bill signed.

Mr. Davison. [His] affirmation.

Earl of Leicester. Knowledg from the queen.

Always not to be acquainted with the circumstances. 143

The queen meant it not.

Esto. This not known.

The matter alway present.

The matter for surety.

Τέρας ἐστιν εἴ τις εὔτυχος διὰ βιοῦ.

Seneca. Decet timeri regem, at plus diligi.

Potentior rex, quando irascitur viro inferiori.

Lucan. Exeat aula, qui vult esse pius.

Sit piger ad pænas princeps, ad præmia velox.

Quique dolet quoties cogitur esse ferox.

Proverb. xx. Thronus Dei corroboratur clementia.

Morieris nec primus, nec ultimus.

Ne sis miser ante tempus.

Clementia. Leones prostratis parcunt.

Nullum magis decet clementia, quam principem.

Est omnibus clementia secunda——sed maxime decora principibus.

Correctio. Pro mensura peccati erit plagarum modus.

Q. Phreneticum ligat, et lethargicum excitat, ambobus molestus, sed ambos amat.

Consilium. Sapiens non mutat consilium, omnibus illis manentibus quæ erant.

Confessio. Quum homo agnoscit, Deus ignoscit.

Bona quærentibus vix obtingunt mala, non quæsita.

Dolor. Aristoteles. Cor non comedendum.

Nemo potest valde dolere, et diu.

Error. Errare est falsum pro vero putare.

Lauda parce, vitupera parcius.

Inopinatum malum valde metuendum, si sine exemplo sit.

In summo imperatore hæc quatuor esse oportet: scientia rei militaris; virtus; authoritas; fælicitas.

Colant te servi tui, potius quam timeant.

Amare debemus Deum tanquam filii, timere tanquam servi.

Non est bonum pluralitas principantium: unus ergo princeps.

Beatus qui beatis servit.

Justius est injustum juste evadere, quam justum injuste puniri.

Anima dum vivificat corpus, anima est. Dum vult animus est. Dum scit, mens est. Dum recolit, memoria est. Dum rectum judicat, ratio est. Dum spirat, spiritus. Dum aliquid sentit, sensus est.

Job. xvi. In mundo pressuram sustinebitis.

Act. xiv. Oportet nos per multas tribulationes ingredi regnum Dei.

Heb. xii. Flagellat omnem filium, quem recipit.

Job. vii. Vita hominis militia super terram.

1 Cor. xi. Castigamur a Deo, ut non condemnemur in hoc mundo.

Ecc. xxviii. Afflictio dat intellectum.

1 Naum. Bonus Dominus est, confortans in tribulationibus.

Afflixi te, et non affligam te ultra.

Qui contra præpositam potestatem murmurat, illum redarguit, qui dedit potestatem.

Maximum solatium est, vacare culpa.

Ante senectutem curandum est, ut bene vivat.

Mors. Non facit malam mortem, quod sequitur.

Vita amara. Vocantur ante tempus boni, ne diutius vexentur, morte. Mali, ne diutius persequantur.

Latet ultimus dies, ut observetur omnis dies.

Mors calamitatis terminus.

Number IV. 144

The lord treasurer's second letter to the queen, lying under her displeasure, upon the death of the Scots queen. Dated Febr. 17. *but not received.*

MOST gracious sovereign; altho' to my great grief I cannot understand that your majestys offence against me is diminished, notwithstanding my humble submission to endure any thing that might pacify the same; yet finding my mind continually oppresst with griefs for your displesure, and mine old body and lame limbs by day and night vexed with pains, and that therof I can imagine no remedy, but by continuance of my humble intercession to your majesty, either to receive my submission, or rather first to hear me answer any thing wherewith your majesty shall charge me. Whereunto I will most plainly and truly answer for thought and deed, as if God himself should call me to judgment, from whom nothing can be hid. My case alone is most miserable. For tho' for this late fact, for which your majesty is so deeply offended, I am no more to be charged than others; yet I find and hear by report, that your majesty doth, with more bitter termes of displesure, condemne me than others. And this, I suppose, encreaseth, by reason your majesty hath not heard me as you have others, whom your majesty hath admitted to your presence: which through my lameness and infirmity, being not hable of my self to come unto your presence, is my principal let and stay. And MSS. Burg.

BOOK II. yet such is my earnest desire to appear before your gracious presence, as I am most willing to endure any pain, to be caried to some place, if to be laid on the floor, neer your majesties feet, there to receive your gracious censure: hoping, by Gods special goodness, (in whose hand your heart is, and who knoweth best my thoughts past and present, to be so reverend to your majesty, and so careful of your favour,) that I shall find some drops of your mercy, to quench the panting sorrows of my heart.

Number V.

The lord treasurer's third letter to the queen, dated Febr. 23, remaining yet under her displeasure, on the same occasion; delivered by lord Buckhurst.

Most gracious and mighty queen.

MSS. Burg. ALTHO' I am come to no understanding what special means to use to pacify your majestys heavy displeasure, so often and grievously exprest both to my friends and many others; wherby I am so overborn in my weak spirit, as no part of my mind is sound to perform that I ought to do; a torment such as I never felt; that I may say as is in the Psalme, *Non est sanitas in me a facie iræ tuæ:* yet such is the miserable condition of my state at this present, differing from others of my company, that tho' I find my humble submissions to your majesty, and most lowly requests to be heard, to be still denyed, yet comparing in my knowledg your majestys natural, princely clemency and compassion with this late accidental quality of your mind, by onely one act miscontented, I do turn my face with my fact passed, to behold rather those princely graces which your majesty hath of God and nature, than to abide the censure of your mind, now miscontented; seeking by my defence [not] to have your majesty in any sort touched, by maintaining any thing against your honour; but to submit my self to your accustomed clemency: and so to be heard, as if your majesty

shall not allow of my answer, yet I may hope to have your concept of my fact in some part alleviated.

I know surely by many experiences your majestys sincerity and Christian conscience such, as except your majesty [esteemed me] faulty indeed, your majesty would not thus extremely use me. And therfore I do not therein think any thing but honorably of your majesty; as you are persuaded, and as long as your majesty shall, for lack of my answer, so conceive of me, I can hope of no good end, but only by your mercy. But if your majesty might be pleased to hear me, tho' in your conceit as an offender, to answer to such things as move you to think me faulty; indeed I hope in my good God, to whose judgment without mercy I dare yield my self, (for any evil meaning in this cause,) either to move your majesty to temper the severity of your judgment against me, as not being a wilful offender, or to mollify your displesure with some drops of your princely pity towards me: whom I think your majesty afore this time, in no action whatsoever towards your person or honour, found me wilful, over seen, or void of care.

I perceive by my son, Thomas Cecil, that in deferring the time till my access, I might write to your majesty that which I had to say. For which favour I know that writing is but a composition of words, that may be otherwise doubtfully taken, for want of explanation or reply....[And therefore I desire] to deliver the sense of my heart by mine own tongue. I dare not aventure to write as the cause requires, lest, in seeking favour, clemency, and pity, I might encrease the countrary, &c.

Tribulationes cordis mei multiplicatæ sunt: de necessitatibus meis erue me.

BOOK II.

Number VI.

A writing of the lord treasurer; for his absence from council; upon some angry words used to him by the queen. To be delivered to her by Mr. Vice-Chamberlain. March the xvth.

MSS. Burg. I AM so wounded in the heart with the late sharp and piercing speeches of her majesty to my self, in the hearing of my lord of Leicester and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, expressing therewith her indignation, at such time as I was called to her presence for matters of the Low Countries, my self giving no occasion by any speech of the matter of the queen of Scots, until her majesty did charge me therewith; as since regarding, in great anguish of heart, the weight of her majestys displesure, so settled and encreased, as I then deeply conceived; and mine own humility not hable to abide the continuance of such her displesure; I am therefore most careful, how by any means possible I may shun all encrease of the weight hereof: knowing it very true that was said by the most wisest king, *Indignatio principis mors est.* And tho' my conscience doth certainly witness with me in the sight of God, that I never had thought, nor did ever any act with mind to offend her majesty; but now finding this heavy burthen of her majestys displesure in mine old years, so long faithfully, painfully, and dangerously spent, only for her service, to be lately rather encreased, since her majestys princely compassion permitted me to her presence
146 a few days past, I have great cause to fear, that this encrease groweth more by means of some secret enemies to my self, than of any influence of her own princely nature.

And therefore, tho' I cannot imagine that any person is my enemy for any private offence of my own, but only in respect of my services for her majesty; wherin I have certainly felt of long time many sharp effects for doing my duty; yet now being so publicly, in town, in court and field, known, as I daily find it, her majesty is so grievously offended with me; whereby my enemies may presume that her ears are open to any sinister calumniations to be de-

vised against me, for any thing I shall do in this time of her disfavour; I am therefore urgently moved to live warily; in token of the reverend fear I bear to her majesty, to forbear from all voluntary public actions of state, wherunto I am not by her majesty expresly commanded, until I may be releived to have her presence, as others of my condition have. And which I do to avoid the calumniations of the evil disposed, that may untruly incense her majesty, that I make no difference of times between the clearness of her former favour, and the darkness of her displesure.

And this having a special desire to notify to her majesty, being not the hundredth part of my heavy, bitter cogitations, I do notwithstanding remain free and ready to do, to serve and to suffer, without respect of pain or peril, as I may understand shall best content her majesty. For therein do I think my happiness to consist, as the Greek verse is:

Μακάριος ὅστις μακαρίοις ὑπηρετεῖ.
Beatus qui beatis servit.

Number VII.

The bishop of Meath in Ireland to the lord treasurer lord Burghley, now come into England; to solicit for favour upon account of his first-fruits, not paid. His case referred to the lord deputy, his enemy.

It may please your good lordship,

YOUR resolution for the referment of my cause back again to my lord deputy doth much grieve and discomfort me. Your lordship knoweth that his hard dealing hath forced me to come hither: where, according to your good advice, I have suffered both him and his agents to play upon me, bearing all things patiently. Now if I shall be referred unto him, who hath confessed that he never meant to have relieved me, until it were too late, I must needs say my hap is most hard. MSS. Burg.

BOOK II.

Good my lord, let me not be made the first precedent to pay that which before was never exacted of any of my calling; but, in my reasonable suit for my relief, vouchsafe me your good favour. If either my service or course of life were known to your lordship, I doubt not you would more favourably consider of me. I have these three months followed only your lordship, and wholly depended upon you, and none other. Your lordship knoweth I am in Ireland a person hated for my religion, greatly maliced by the deputy; unles I may have her majestys and your good lordships countenance, what comfort can I have to return thither: mine estate is so poor, that I profess unto your lordship I was enforced to employ the mony which I owe unto her majesty upon my charges hither, to seek relief.

147 I am bold in the paper enclosed to discover to your lordship the yearly value of all the livings I have in Ireland. According to which note I am contented that any man shall be my farmer. Upon which livings I do keep always in a readiness xx able men in my house to serve her majesty: the one half of them well furnished on horseback; and I my self daily employed in her majestys service without any consideration.

I humbly recommend my self to your lordships good favour and devotion, having none other to depend upon. So humbly craving pardon for this boldness, I take leave, this 5th of March.

Your lordships humbly to command,
Tho. Midensis.

Number VIII.

Mr. Henton, archdeacon of Coventry, to the bishop of Litchfield. Account of the backwardness of some of the clergy of that archdeaconry in the payment of their taxations for the queen's forces in the Low Countries.

Rt. reverend father in God, &c.

Epist. episcopal. penes me.

THESE may be to signify unto your [lordship], how that according to your lordships commandment, by your lordships

commission to us directed, and according to our duties in that behalf, we have performed such service about the taxing of the abler sort of your clergy within the archdeaconry of Coventry, towards the provision of the sum of 3 score and 15 pounds for lances, for the service in the Low Countries, as by that commission was enjoyned us; and as to the uttermost of our discretion we thought convenient for the full performance of the same. It may please your good lordship, we required and commanded the parties so by us taxed, in her majestys name, to make speedy payments of their several sums wherunto they were by us taxed, at Coventry, the 19. day of April, 1586, without any delay. At which time and place we also attended, to have received the same sums, if they had been brought thither unto us. But it may please your good lordship, among them all there was not above one man ready or willing to satisfy his taxation. This said party is ready to make pay, and will be at your lordships plesure; namely, the parson of Harborough Magna, neer to Rockby, Frauncis Kemberly. All the residue utterly failing their duties in this behalf, and shewing themselves most unwilling hereunto, alledging their disability. Whose names and several sums, by us so taxed, we have sent unto your good lordship, in a scedule or writing here enclosed; that your lordship may take order with the said parties, as to your lordships good discretion shall seem most convenient.

We have most willingly performed our service to your good lordship herein; and don that which hath seemed to us in our conscience most best. And so we hope your lordship will conceive of us and our service.

It may please your good lordship, we have dealt further with all the residue of your clergy of the said archdeaconry, to se what every other minister would do of his own voluntary will; but the sums by all such others of the ministry offered voluntarily did not surmount in the whole above 6 or 7 pounds, scarce the 4th part of one horse. For the willingness wherof we gave them thanks in your lordships name. But we left that course, because we saw it would serve neither to the performance of our commission, or your

BOOK II. lordships expectation. And therefore continue the first course, above specified, according to the scedule herein
148 enclosed. And thus with our humble duties unto your good lordship, &c. At Coventry, the 20 of April, 1586.

Then followed the names of the abler sort of the clergy within the several deaneries of the archdeaconry, cessed for the service of the lances, together with their respective sums to be paid.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Coventrie, deanry				Whitnash - -	5	0	0
Willy - - -	8	6	8	Allscleye - -	5	0	0
Redworth - -	6	5	0	Arden deanry -	6	5	0
Harbrough - -	6	5	0	Weddington -	6	5	0
Brymycham -	6	5	0	Marton deanry	6	5	0
Meryden - -	6	5	0	Lodbroke - -	6	5	0
Barkeswel - -	12	10	0	Stæcton - - -	6	5	0
Stonely deanry	5	0	0	Southan - - -	8	6	8
Warmington -	5	0	0	Hardwick - -	5	0	0

Number IX.

June the 24th, 1586. *Freke's account for the monies received of the clergy for lances, in all the dioceses from the bishops; and of recusants for light horse.* So endorsed by the hand of the lord treasurer.

This paper is defaced by rain and wet where the blanks are.

	£.	s.	d.
MSS. Burg. MAY the 4. 1586. Cantuar. Received of my lord archbishop there - - - - -	—	—	—
Suff. Received of lord bishop there - -	—	—	—
London. Received of my lord bishop there	—	—	—
Coventry and Litchfield. Received of my lord bishop there - - - - - -	CC.		——
College de Windsor. Received of Master Dean there - - - - - - -	75	0	0
College de Westmin. Received of Master Dean there - - - - - - -	75	0	0
Ebor. Received of my lord archbishop there	700	0	0
Sussex. Received of my lord bishop there	271	0	0

Wigorn. Received of my lord bishop there	200	0	0
Exon. Received, &c. - - - -	549	3	4
Norwich. Received of, &c. - - -	225	0	0
Hereford. Received of, &c. - - -	100	0	0
Lincoln. Received of, &c. - - -	800	0	0
Winton. Received of, &c. - - -	340	0	0
Burgum. Sti Petri. Received of, &c. - -	250	0	0
Chester. Received of, &c. - - -	225	0	0
Carliol. Received of, &c. - - - -	100	0	0
Gloucester. Received, &c. - - -	200	0	0
Dunolm. Received, &c. - - - -	300	0	0
Bath and Wells. Received, &c. - -			
Sum	6650	3	0

Number X.

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An account of the names and preferments of the prebendaries of Westminster. Drawn up and given in by Goodman, the dean, April 1586.

MSS. Burg.

Months.	*Names.*	*Maried, or not.*	*Preferments and benefices.*
	1. Mr. Mounford.	Maried.	Two benefices.
1.	2. Mr. Read.	Not maried.	Fellow of S. Johns, Oxon.
	3. Mr. Wyborne.	Maried.	Prebendary of Rochester.
	4. Mr. Wagstaff.	Not.	Parson of Henley.
	5. D. Bond.	Not.	Chaplain of the Savoy.
	6. D. Lewes.	Maried.	One benefice prebendary of Worcest. and Hereford.
2.	7. D. Still.	Maried.	Two benefices; master of Trinity coll. Cambr. parson of Hadley, and archdeacon.
	8. D. Buckley.	Maried.	Prebendary in West Chester. A benefice in Bedfordsh.
	9. Mr. Read.	Maried.	Prebendary of Windsor.
3.	10. The Bp. of Rochester.	Maried.	
	11. Mr. Wickham.	Maried.	Two benefices; the one in Sussex, the other in Kent.
	12. Mr. Grant.	Maried.	Two benefices in Norfolk.

BOOK II.

Then followes in the same paper,

The order by the statutes, devised by Dr. Bill, and so in use ever since the late erection, hath been, that every four in course, after this order for their months, should be residentiaries; and so contribute to the commons, for the month; and either preach themselves or find some other.

The allowance of every prebendary towards the commons for the month is 40 shil.

Howbeit few keep their order and course of residence. And so others that be presents have the benefit of the diet.

In term time other of the prebendaries be sometimes present, beside the residentiaries. Who for that time have allowance of diet for themselves and their men: giving no allowance for the same.

Most commonly present, Mr. Grant, Mr. Wagstaff, Mr. Wickham, D. Bond, Mr. Read, in midsummer quarter.

Such as preach and come to divine service in their habits being present: Dr. Bond, Mr. Read, Mr. Wagstaff, Mr. Grant, Mr. Mounford, Mr. Wickham, D. Lewes, D. Still.

Mr. Wyburn and D. Buckley come not to divine service in their habits, nor do preach in this church; because they have not subscribed unto the articles sent unto us by my lord of Canterbury in her majestys name. Howbeit they have here whole living, as others have.

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Number XI.

Beza to the lord treasurer. The state of Geneva; obliged to him, next to the queen, for favour and assistance shewed them. This letter brought over by Wil. Cecil, the treasurer's grandson, returning home from travel.

MSS. Burg. QUAM ægre tuli, spectatissime mi domine, periculosam charissimi tui nepotis in Italiam profectionem, tam mihi, imo nobis hic omnibus jucundus fuit illius ad nos adventus, jucundissimus futurus, si diutius ipsius præsentia frui, et aliquibus officiis nostram in te et illum observantiam testari,

licuisset. Verum magna fuit nobis religio tua quidem gaudia, ipsis vero desiderium renovari, nunquam alioqui passuris, ut ingrati tuorumque plurimorum ac maximorum apud nos meritorum immemores fuisse videamur. Cui enim hominum plura, secundum serenissimam regiam majestatem, quam tibi, tota hæc civitas debet? Plura quidem certe, quam animo complecti queamus, nedum ut Hesiodi præclarum illud de referendo beneficio præceptum possimus præstare.

Quod unum igitur nobis ad animi ingrati vitandam notam supersit, id sedulo agimus, assidue, haud secus ac pro nostra ipsorum salute, precantes, imprimis, ut serenissimam regiam majestatem tot priorum non hominum modo, sed etiam populorum, insignissime oppressorum, vindicem; sed adeo, suaque omnia rarissimo vere Christiani zeli exemplo, evangelii propagationi postponentem firmissimo suo præsidio tutari, et omnibus sancti sui spiritus eximiis donis ornare et amplificare pergat. Deinde, ut divinitus attributos ipsius majestatis regiæ consiliarios, et te quidem præsertim, cujus illa non immerito consiliis plurimum tribuit, ea perpetuo sapientia, prudentiaque semper instruat, quam tot ingentium negotiorum administratio requirit.

Cæterum, quis nunc sit non hujus tantum civitatis, sed etiam Helvetiæ status, et quid in his quoque regionibus, conjurati moliantur, et nisi conatibus ipsorum obsistatur, perficere se posse confidant, si tibi videbitur, et tum universæ reip. Christianæ, tum privatim, id vestra interesse arbitraberis, ex ipso nepote tuo certissime et plenissime cognosces. Bene vale, nobilissime, et modis omnibus ornatissime Domine. D. Jesus, Servator ille noster, venerandam et sapientissimam canitiem tuam felicissime conservet. Genevæ, xvii. Maii, anno ultimi temporis. CIↃIↃLXXXVI.

Amplitudini tuæ addictissimus,

Theodorus Beza.

A monsieur,

Monsieur le baron de Burghley, conseiller et grand thesorier D'Angleterre, chevalier du treshonorable ordre de la Jaatiere.

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Number XII.

Parsons the Jesuit to Cardinal Allen at Rome; concerning the success of his and other Jesuits, their late mission into England, by commission from him.

Admodum rde in chro'. pr. pax Chri.

MSS. ecclesiast. penes me.

FÆLICISSIMO plane itinere in Angliam pervenimus: ubi magnum in veritatis hostibus furorem, in catholicis vero fervorem non imparem, sumus experti. Percrebuit jam fama adventus nostri, et ex eorum, qui reginæ a consiliis sunt, ore, meum quibusdam nomen innotuit. Terret res adversarium, et magnum nescio quid, a nobis timet. Adeo nunc evasit meticulosus. Cum Londinum pervenissem, primum inter gladios, tum vero in carcere quodam catholicos conveni. Quæ (si ominari fas est) quiddam mihi non ingratum portendunt.

Post unum aut alterum diem, hominem, cui nos commisisti, incolumem, et de nostro adventu lætissimum, convenimus, et quibusdam leviuscule tractatis, longiores sermones in tempus magis opportunum rejecimus. Quod non ita multo post nacti, præmissis de more confessionibus, vota nostra, non magno quidem apparatu, sed maxima sane consolatione, renovavimus. Et si commode res cecidisset sacrum habuissemus, eodem die, qui Stæ. Mariæ Magdalenæ sacer, solenni ritu, et insigni, variorum instrumentorum et vocum symphonia decantatum. Verum in sequentem diem rejecta res est: quem ego illic alio vocatus agere non potui. Ea tamen quæ ad facultates nostras, et præcipua quæque negotia pertinent, simul expendimus. Mirum in modum noster in insulam appulsus catholicos animavit, recreavitque qui se quodammodo a societate derelictos prius conquerebantur, dubitabantque, ne difficultatibus territi pastores gregem, operis nunquam magis indigentem, desererent.

Capti sunt hisce mensibus sacerdotes non pauci, quamvis neque tam arcte asserventur. Nonnulli etiam e carceribus pretio redempti, et liberi dimissi, nulla plane apposita conditione. Verum lictores illi, quos penes est illos comprehendere, lynceis oculis urbem obambulant, domos evertunt;

et quos capiunt, nummis, equis, omnibus denique spoliant. Mortui sunt Nugati, carceris pædore confecti catholici aliquot, et eo in loco situ et squallore misere cruciantur. Newgate.

In aula regia fertur quoddam jam præ manibus esse negotium, quod si fæliciter succedat, extrema quæque in nobis impendent; serena autem omnia, si secus acciderit. Verum hæc catholicis puerorum terriculamenta visa sunt: quippe quos eo redegerunt, ut ad novam crudelitatem, fere reliquum sit nihil. Et quamvis post primam decreti illius, quod in parlamento, seu comitiis, condiderunt promulgationem, magnum etiam optimi quique concepere timorem; postmodum tamen, collectis animis, ad pristinum redire fervorem; licet operariorum defectu, nonnulli qui tunc languerent, nondum ad ingenium sunt reducti. At certe dolendum maxime est, multos hic esse comitatus non paucis orthodoxis refertos, in quibus nec unus quidem degit sacerdos, quamvis a plerisque eorum maxime expetitus. Et nisi mature suppetias mittant aliqui, res catholica vehementer laborabit. Quanquam et illud ad malum accedit, quod qui jam sunt in messe sacerdotes, dum ad unum aut alterum comitatum frequentiores confluunt, alios orbos plane pastoribus relinquant.

Comiti Arundelliæ propositum fuit a primoribus, et, ut arbitror, a regina, quod si vellet tantum honoris causa, gladium de more, ante reginam ad templum ferre, et illi ad finem usque conciliabuli et vesparum adesse, liber dimitteretur. Verum ille fraudem veritus, aut detrectabit penitus, aut certe nihil faciet, quod, consultis doctioribus, non cognoverit licere. Neque enim in animo habet, vel latum quidem unguem ab officio catholici discedere.

Contigit hisce diebus sacerdotem quendam, qui, ut suspi- 152
cionem effugeret, nautico sese habitu induerat, in portu comprehendi. Is ad curiam ductus, et hinc inde per ludibrium circumactus, tandem in reginæ conspectum venit. Quæ ut sacerdotem esse rescivit, lepide percontata est, an illam vellet convertere. Cui sacerdos, Certe, inquit, modo et locus et attentio præbeatur, ego libentissime omnem movebo

BOOK II.

lapidem. Illa vero, has prius, ait, ancillas meas convertas oportet, quam ad me deveniatur. Post multa tandem scommata et irrisiones sacerdos carceribus committitur.

Mira quædam, ut audio ab oculatis testibus, circa *energumenos* hic facta sunt. Quæque et multos converterunt ad fidem, et alios vacillantes magnopere confirmarunt. Unde nonnullos sacerdotes, quorum et in his officiis pietas et sublimis plane potestas ita insigniter apparuit, hæretici magos et veneficos appellant. Ut quod factum negare non possunt, saltem non potestate sacerdotali, sed dæmonis præstigiis calumnientur: immemores illius, quod Christus ait, *Omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur.*

Ego concionibus, confessionibus, aliisque societatis muneribus vaco; quotidianis quidem circumseptus periculis; nec ullo unquam vel brevissimo tempore securus. Sed ipsis animor difficultatibus, et succedentium sibi timorum multitudo, dum nullum sinet esse diuturnum, adimit fere omnem. Id ego unum contendo, ne imparatum hostis adoriatur. Quod reliquum est, Dei negotium esto.

Tu vero, reverende pater, pro eo quo filios hujuscemodi casibus objectos amore complecteris, conatus nostros, et suavissimos certe labores tuis aliorumque patrum sacrificisque precibusque prosequere; ut qui ingressum præbuit, progressum secundet, et fælicem tandem tribuat dolorum exitum.

Mirum hic desiderium est, et magna necessitas eorum quæ ultimo petivimus privilegiorum ac facultatum; quæ certe si concedatur plurimum erunt e re catholica. U. P. precibus nos omnes huc usque Dei gratia incolumes, humillime commendamus. X Xplirz [a] 25 Julii. 1586.

R. V. filius indignus et servus in Christo,

Admodum rdo. pri. nro. Robertus.

[a] A cipher perhaps of the place from whence he wrote this letter.

Number XIII.

The justices of the peace in Suffolk to the lords of the privy-council, concerning certain payments required of the popish recusants there.

Our humble duties to your lordships remembred.

IT may please you to be advertised, that according to the commandment exprest in your lordships letters, we have called before us all the recusants; whose names in a scedule we received enclosed in your lordships said letters: to whom we imparted the contents therof; advising them to consider of her majestys gracious favour extended towards them; and mesuring the benefit which hereby they are to receive, to make offer by writing severally under their hands, what reasonable portion they can be contented yearly, of their own disposition, to pay unto her receipt, to be eased of the common danger of law for their recusancy. Whose several offers under their own hands, which herewith we send unto your lordships, may particularly appear. Their several rates and valuations, by your lordships former letters upon the disarming of them, we before certified to your lordships. So very humbly we take our leaves, &c. From Ipswich, the 23. of April, 1586. MSS. politic. pen. me.

Signed, 153

Rob. Wyngfield. Nic. Bacon.
Ph. Parker. Will. Synger.
William Walgrave. Joh. Heigham.

Mr. Fr. Mannock, esq. mentioned in the scedule received from your lordships, hath of long time, and doth, ordinarily and dutifully repair to his parish church; and there doth continue the time of the reading of divine service, and preaching of the word of God.

" I Ro. Rokewood, of Stanfield in the county of Suffolk, " am content yearly during my recusancy, to contribute and " pay to her majestys receipt of her highness exchequer, " the sum of 20*l.* thereby to receive and enjoy the benefit

BOOK II.

" of her majestys gracious favour, to be exempt from all " forfeitures, vexations, perils, and penalties, that may here- " after happen unto me, my heirs or executors, by reason " of any offence or forfeiture heretofore by me committed, " or that hereafter by me shall be committed against the " law established touching recusancy, for not resorting unto " the church, or other place assigned by the said laws in " that case made and provided. March the 28. 1586.

" Rob. Rokewood."

Will. Yaxley offered 40*l.* per ann. His estate, he asserted, was but 220*l.* per ann. He writ, he had been levied for his lands for recusancy, 280*l.*

Wal. Norton, 20*l.* per ann.
Henry Drury, 20*l.*
H. Everard, 10*l.*
Ri. Martin, 6*l.*
Edward Sulliard, 40*l.*
Tho. Sulliard, 20 nobles.
Ambr. Germin, 20 mark.
Marg. Daniel, 20*l.*
John Bedingfield, 20*l.*
Rob. Jetter, 6 13 4.
Joh. Daniel, 20*l.*
Mich. Hare, 50*l.*
Edw. Rookwood of Euston, 30*l.*
Roger Martin, 40 mark.

Number XIV.

The examinations of Martin Ara, alias Cotton, a seminary priest, and Mr. Gervase Perpoint, a popish recusant; taken before Mr. Young, a justice of peace in London, the 16th day of June, 1586.

The examination of Martin Ara, alias Cotton.

MSS. Burg. THE said examinate saith, that he hath been chiefly known by the name of Martin, without any other name. That he is a seminary priest: so made at Doway in Arthois by the bishop of Cambray, about eight years past: and was brought up twelve years in the university of Lovain; where he proceded master of arts. And after that he was made priest he went to Rome, and stayed there 18 months in the

hospital; and came into England about six years past. During which time he hath made his most abode about the city of London: and hath sometimes layne in Southwark, sometimes at Lambeth, and at common inns, and other places, and not elsewhere. BOOK II. 154

He went to Hampshire, to a market town five miles on this side Winchester, and came back again to Guilford. The cause of his going there was to se if he could live quietly there; for that he lived with great danger and trouble in London. And as he journeyed, he enquired how the bishop behaved himself towards recusants; and hearing that he was very troublesome, he thought there was no staying for him, and therefore returned, as is aforesaid.

Four years before, he was in Hampshire; two years ago, in Sussex. He heard no bruits or reports in his journey, save that the poorer sort were ready to break down barnes to get corn. And denyeth, that he heard any thing of the firing of the beacons, or of any ships coming on the seas.

Saith that he hath known Mr. Gervais Perpoint this half year, and had been with him sundry times in the Old Change at his lodgings: and one night this examinate would have lain with him; but he said he durst not, the laws were so rigorous.

That at his coming to London he went to Mr. Perpoints lodgings; and that he invited this examinate to dine with him: wherunto he granted: and that he followed him aloof, because he would not be seen in his company, for fear of danger; and dined with him at a carpenters house neer S. Bartholomews the less, where this examinate was apprehended by the pursevants.

He denyeth to declare in what place he lay on that day, the 7th of June, or at any time before. Neither will he signify where the apparel, linnin, and books are, [used at the celebration of the mass; at which it seems he had been discovered.] And denyeth to take his oath, to answer to any matters concerning the state of this realm: [which was, it is likely by agreement among themselves, to avoid discovering any thing of Babington's plot, now hatching.]

BOOK II.

The examination of Gervais Perpoint, gent.

Imprimis, he denyeth to take his oath, to make answer to any matter concerning the state of this realm.

He saith, that he hath lain at Earsleys house in the Old Change ever since his coming out of the Tower, which was shortly after Christmas was twelvemonth; and useth not to ly out of his own lodging, unless it be with some gentleman or friend of his, coming to town.

That he was acquainted with no Hampshire gentlemen, but Mr. Gawen of Islington.

Blithe, a priest, went with him to Mr. Gages, and stayed there with him, as Blithe confesseth.

Denyeth that he knoweth Martin Ara, alias Cotton, or Marten, or one Heywood, alias Blithe. And saith, that toward the 9th of June he went to Mr. Edward Gage his lodging in Southampton house, where he found Gages wife, and Mrs. Banister his sister, and no body else. And denyeth that any man went with him thither and returned from thence in his company.

That on Sunday the 12 of June, he this examinate, Henry Earsley his host, James Taylor of Fleet-street, grocer, and Christopher Askwith of S. Martins, jerkin-maker, went together to Sr. Tho. Fitz Herbert his house, about 8 of the clock in the morning, and returned about 4 of the clock in the evening: and denyeth that he heard any service there.

That on Monday last he dined at Mr. Walgraves lodgings, neer little S. Bartholomews. And that one Mr. Charles Tilney [one of that name was concerned in Babington's plot,] living in Westminster, went thither with him. And that during the time of dinner two pursevants came in, and would needs have this examinate and another from away with him: and as they went, the other ran away. And they both went after him. So that this examinate, being left alone, repaired to his own lodging. And so he denyeth, that he did know the other man.

He invited Martin Ara, a seminary priest, to dine with him: who is the man that was apprehended with him.

Number XV.

Anthony Tyrrel, a priest, his letter to the queen, giving his reasons for revoking what he had before confessed, and denying what he had before declared, concerning Jesuits; and recanting his recantation.

IF ever your majestys pity inclined unto the complaint of a sorrowful and distressed subject, vouchsafe, O gracious queen, as to encline to mine, which craveth no more at your highness hands, than that you peruse these letters, which are longer than willing I would; but that they contain matter that concerneth your princely justice, by defending your innocent subjects, and protecting them from harm. MSS. eccleasiast. penes me.

I am the same, altho' now far different in condition, that presumed heretofore to write letters unto your majesty, and as it hath been told me, you vouchsafed to receive and read them: and if the report that hath been told me be true, you took great joy and comfort of them. Alas! my right dear lady and sovereign, I am right sorry, that the effect of your comfort, whatsoever it were, proceded from so ill a cause: the ground wherof, when once it shall be known, will yield you more discomfort than fully may be shewed. For as for the comfort your majesty received, it is onely that you were informed now, that I being a seminary priest had recanted my religion, and submitted my self to your majestys mercy, should shew my self more loyal in discovering of traitors, detecting their treasons, and doing many other actions unto your majestys good liking: all which if they had been truly and sincerely don, your comfort had not been in vain. But now, when your highness shall hear that I have revoked all that back again, I fear me it will amaze your majesty, and make you to think, at the first blush, that a catholic hath no faith, no fidelity, no fear of God, no religion, no duty, no subjection. And so indeed it may seem to appear, if abruptly you mesure the disposition of all others according unto one.

But when your majesty by your great wisdom shall

BOOK II. justly ponder the weight of the cause with the truth of the thing, how grievously soever the news shall appear at the first view; yet if you will not let to shew your princely temperance, until you come to the full knowledge of the thing; which thing when you have vouchsafed, next unto Almighty God, I require no other judge to determine of my punishment. The which, if you think me by your justice worthy to sustain in rigor, I patiently do accept it; or if by mercy you shall vouchsafe any way to qualify it, I do humbly acknowledg the benefit, whatsoever shall be allotted unto me.

Let your innocent subjects be defended, truth preserved, falsehood contemned. And care not I, tho' I be made the one and only example of all offenders that ever so transgressed: onely craving this, that by his favour and pity, from God his eternal fury I may be exempted. I shall hope there is none so cruelly enclined, that notwithstanding whatsoever offence I have committed, would wish my punishment, for to be tormented eternally.

156 To come to the effect of my purpose. I am now able, most gracious sovereign, to let you understand the weight of the cause and greatness of my faults: that rejecting of my religion, lately received, the returning unto my former faith again, unless I unfold truly unto your highness with what mind and intent, I being made priest in Rome, came first unto your majestys land; how I have conversed since the time of my being there; the cause that made me forsake my old religion, and the cause that hath now brought me back again: for without the knowledge of these particulars your highness cannot discern the offences that I have don. In the perusal wherof, altho' it may seem somewhat tedious unto your majesty, yet doubt I not, but that it shall breed some contentment by that time you have don. Wherby you may the better be warned of the nature of a true loyal subject, from him that playeth the counterfeit and hypocrite.

I. As touching therfore my first coming to your majestys realm, since the time of my priesthood, from Rome, even as if I were to dy this present hour, and as I shall

answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, I never was of other mind than this, as if I protest unto my knowledge all other priest to be of the same, only to help in my vocation to save your subjects souls, and to keep them from damnation. My meaning was never to persuade any to disloyalty, but to fear God above all things; and so far forth as they did not hazzard the loss of their souls, to obey your majesty. This was the only mind I had, when I first came into your majestys realm, welpleasing unto God; and so directed by my superiors. But since in this point our profession is different from your highness mind; and that by the learned in your own realm you are persuaded that religion to be false which we profess most true; it is not my meaning, being so vile a vassal, to dispute the same with my liege and sovereign, but only to say this, that for the truth of our religion I was of this mind when first I came unto this kingdom, that if I had a thousand lives, I would have lost them all for the defence of the same. And so long as the fear of God was before mine eyes, I so continued. And so purpose I now again to continue, until the day I dy. And thus much briefly, as touching the mind wherewith I came unto this realm.

II. Now as touching my conversion, this is most sure and certain, that if my life had been agreeable to my profession, this mind in me had never changed; neither fear of death, nor hope of preferment, would have made or altered my opinion; but rather than I would have been brought for to relent, or to have forsaken my faith, as I have don, I would have yielded my body most willingly unto death, as divers of my most vertuous brethren most gloriously have don, and every good priest hereafter will do, in despight of all the devils in hell, or torments of any men. But alas! here, oh! most gracious sovereign, to my temporal shame and confusion, so as my soul may find mercy at the dreadful day, I must openly confess, that I fell into a great corruption of life, and dissolute maners; suffering my self to be drowned in all sensuality and pleasure, that the grace of the Holy Ghost could no longer abide in a temple so defiled

BOOK II. and polluted with sin. Insomuch that my own conscience crying out against my own impiety, I not amending yet my evil maners, the Devil seized, and so expunged my faith. Wherupon my religion began to be irksome unto me; not for that I knew my religion to be evil, but because I knew my self to be passing naught, as that God nor any goodness could not any longer abide in mee. I was therefore oftentimes, before that ever I did fall into the danger of your majestys laws, minded to have renounced my religion, and to have yielded my self unto your majestys council: and so either to have played the dissembling spy, or else to have counterfeited a recantation, for no other end, but to have served the world, and to live for the time in plesure; altho' in the end I was sure thereby to purchase eternal damnation.

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Yet Gods mercy expecting my repentance, preserved me still from that horrible crime. And altho' all the branches of the tree of my soul were withered dry by sin, and ready to be cut off, and cast into the fire; yet so long as there was any life left in the root, that is, that my faith was not yet forsaken, there was some hope of my return to God again. And so being by Gods providence taken and brought into the danger of your majestys laws, whereby I thought I was to lose my life for the same; those thoughts then came into my mind, that to dy for Gods cause, or the catholic religion, I was not worthy, by reason I had so contaminated my life by sin. Yet such was the mercy of Almighty God, as he letted not to offer me the grace, if I most wickedly had not forsaken him for the Devil, having gotten so great an advantage of me through sin, envied now my happy state, for to be called unto my tryal for my profession: fearing, lest that hereby he should have lost me altogether, assailed me more fiercely in another kind. Procuring me under the colour of plesure to save my life, by recanting my catholic religion. Altho' therby I was sure in the end I should leese that altogether.

III. And now I am come, most gracious sovereign, unto the true cause of my last conversion, or rather meer perversion, (as truly I may term it;) by the which means what

lamentable stratagems have been committed may now easily be seen. For after that the Devil had prevailed with me, that I was content, for my temporal life and worldly preferment, to yield unto all maner of sin, oh! sweet Lord, (for I tremble now to recount unto your majesty what a number of monsters I did presently let in,) think you, that I had either care or conscience of my doings; when I had abandoned all grace, all goodness, all truth and honesty, and cast my self wholly unto sin? No verily; for from that time I became more malicious than ever was Judas, that betrayed Christ: for I converted my malice wholly against him. And for one chop I forsook my faith, which I knew for certain to be pure and good, and accused the pope, and slandered the Jesuits, belyed D. Allen and Lewis, and D. Gifford; reporting of them and divers others of our nation, unto my lord treasurer, such horrible matters, as against the Turk or the Devil I could not devise the like. What Ballard his practices were against your majesty, or any of the rest that suffered with him, I protest I know not, nor ever yet could learn. And if they were guilty of any crime, I do not nor will not here excuse them; but rather will rejoice at their deservings. Only this, O gracious queen, I cannot but confess a truth, (what peril or danger of my life soever I sustain,) that I accused Ballard most falsely, in conspiring your majesty's death, that he should have begun to break the matter with D. Lewis at Milain; continued the same with the rector of the English seminaries, and the general of the Jesuits at Rome: by whose helps his speeches should have been commended unto pope Gregory XIII. and by him the action of your majesty's death should have been allowed and confirmed. The same he should have imparted unto D. Alen at Rheimes, who should like well enough of the thing; and after should have been practised by Ballard, or some of his complices here in England, when they should se their time.

Wherin I accused Cha. Tilney and Edward Windsor, the one dead, the other living, to have been two of the chiefest attempters of that fact: all which (as I hope to be

BOOK II.

saved at the latter day) was as false as God is true; for never in my life did I hear so much as a thought conceived awry of your royal person. When I had deeply waded into the ford of lying, I spared no maner of person upon whom I might colour any cause of mischief to be don: in-
158 somuch as I accused the French ambassador in many things most wrongfully: as also his secretary. I accused the earl of Arundel, and his countess, of many a hainous matter: divers other noblemen and women of your land, of matters most false and untrue. Among the rest I falsely accused the Scotish queen unto your majesty of matters I knew no more than the child new born. What otherwise she deserved I know not, nor mind not to defend her, if she have offended your majesty in any thing. But whatsoever I did inform your highness, it was only to bring your majesty into a greater hatred, where I suppose you did not greatly love: and that made me to enlarge lyes against all catholics: and namely, against my lord Windsor, the lord Storton and his wife, my lord Compton, sir John Arundel, and others. And I remember, that being settled in this malicious humour, that I did write unto your majesty, wherin I warned you of three things. The first, to extirpate and root out all seminary priests, as members most pernicious unto your realm: for that they went about, wheresoever they came, to bring your majesty in hatred and contempt with your subjects, persuading them, that to seek the destruction of your person was a very laudable thing. The second, that you should have great regard unto the Scottish queen, by whom your majestys life stood most in danger; who sought by all the means she could, not only by foreign power, but by domestical attempt at home, to shorten and end your days, that she her self might be advanced unto the crown. The third was, that your majesty now having censured the heads of the conspirators, and had all your enemies now at such an advantage, that it were not good that you should let to prosecute the same: and to enact such laws against all recusants, as whosoever should refuse to swear against the pope and all his procedings against your majesty and this

He accused the Scots queen falsely.

realm, he should be accounted no better than a rank traitor unto your majesty. BOOK II.

All which invectives, most gracious prince, if you consider with what a mind I did write them, you have no maner of cause to believe them. For I uttered these matters as one replete with all malice, and intended not to say truth in any thing.

For as for pope Gregory, I protest, as I hope to be saved, I never heard him speak any thing unto your majestys prejudice or harm; but I have heard him with mine own ears, and seen with mine own eyes to shed tears for your majesty; wishing that all the bloud in his body were spilt to do you any good. And so far he hath been from persuading us to any treachery towards your person, as he hath by his own mouth commanded us to pray for you, and not to intermeddle in any thing but that directly concerned our profession: and this is the worst that ever I did know pope Gregory to wish you, whom I have most falsely accused in many things. Pope Gregory.

And as for seminary priests, I protest, as I hope to be saved, that never since I came into England, (which is now more than six years past,) I never heard of any one but wisht unto your majesty, as to his own soul, and would willingly bestow his own life unto the uttermost drop of his bloud, for the preservation and safty of your majesty, as well in soul as in body. And that in all their sermons, exhortations, informations, as well private as public, they persuade your subjects to all obedience; to pray for your majesty, and to suffer the affliction of your penal laws withal patience, and not resist, or move sedition for any cause. And this is the worst that ever I did know by any priest, Ballard only excepted; from whom neither I heard ever any hurt intended (as I most falsely reported) against your anointed person. Seminary priests. Ballard.

And as for the queen of Scots, who being dead, and God knows now whether she hath don well or ill, I can neither accuse her, nor will defend her but from the wrong which Queen of Scots.

BOOK II. I have don her, which hath been in objecting such matters against her, as in truth to me were never known.

Catholics. And lastly, for all catholics, as I accused them unto your majesty for most notorious traitors, I would to God your highness did but see their inward minds and intentions: and then I doubt not but you would not then so much wonder at them, their treasons and conspiracies; or at least for a
159 few wicked and evil disposed members to condemn all the rest. For since my coming into England, God be my witness, I never heard of one or other that sought or wished hurt or harm to the least hair of your majestys head. And therfore that I should advise you to prosecute them now upon the advantage, as so to beat them down, it was spoken only of a devilish mind on my part, and for no trespas that they had committed of their own.

For who seeth not, during the time of your majestys reign, with what patience and obedience they have lived under the sovereignty of your majestys laws? which, when it shall please God, you may ease and mollify again. And if some few disordered persons have strayed aside, (as in no government or commonwealth of any continuance, but there have been always some,) yet how their doings have been hated and contemned of the rest, your majesty may judge, if you please, by your own experience that you have seen. Therefore there is none that can justly accuse them of disloyalty, or worthily procure them your majesty's disfavour; but only such as either in respect of a contrary religion cannot abide them, or such as be desperate persons, and seek to curry for his own particular credit and advantage, that cares not which end goe forward, so they may stand upright; or pass not who be the loosers, so they may win. Men without all pity and compassion of others, that care not who lament and weep, so they may laugh. Of which kind I must confess my self unto your majesty to have been one, and therefore worthy of all punishment; not knowing what way to make satisfaction, but by penance, death, or true repentance.

Thus have I in part recounted unto your majesty the causes that induced me to forsake my religion, to write such letters unto your highness, to give out such sore and grievous informations against many of your majesty's most loyal and loving subjects. Now, and if it may please you to give me leave but to say a word or two of my turning back again; then will I make an end. And truly to speak, as I shall answer before God, and not ly, the Devil was the cause that made me so to counterfeit unto your majesty a *conversion;* and the grace of God, undeserved on my part, hath brought me back again. For I could never have been induced to have made so many notorious and monstrous slanders against so many worthy princes, against so many noble and worshipful, against my dearest friends and acquaintance, whom I know to be most clear of all the matters wherof I had charged them, had not sin only and the Devil procured me unto it. Justice Young, with all his cunning, could never have catched such hold of it, nor never could have brought me to that offence, as to forsake my faith, to abuse your majesty and my lord treasurer with so many writings and false informations, had not sin and the Devil procured me to it.

His conversion.

Therefore think not, good madam, that I could write or speak unto your majesty with a pure and sincere heart, being so foully stained with filth and corruption. Think, that I imagined nothing but lyes; practised nothing but lyes; sought the effusion of innocent bloud, by betraying of priests, betraying of catholics, and by doing all the injuries I could against them which never imagined hurt or harm. I was not so forward unto these mishapps my self, as I was also persuaded unto them by justice Young. Of whom I cannot but say, altho' I abide all the torments that he can procure me, if ever I come again under his hands, that he is a most cruel bloudsucker, a destroyer of your people, and a great abuser of your majesty; for his cruelty in shedding of bloud, it is too well known. For such as he cannot destroy both in body and soul, (as he hath don me,) he will be sure to preferr unto the gallows: otherwise, under the

Account of himself.

Justice Young.

BOOK II.

colour of persuading them unto Gods truth and religion, he will not let to bring them strait headlong unto damnation. For so some as he hath made, either priests or catholics, to relent, all religion is set apart. For his first ground of his new faith must be to play the spy: and under the colour of godliness to practice all the knavery that he can, before we come to enjoy the perfection of our new faith.

We must learn the rudiments how to betray Christ and his anointed, and to impeach the innocent, be they never so good, never so vertuous, never so far from offending your highness or your laws: some means we must seek to find a hole in their coats, to no other end but to cut their throats. And when we have learned perfectly this lesson, then we must procede unto greater evils. For we must yield unto all kind of dissimulation; for that was the chiefest point of justice Young his persuasion, never talking with me of any matter of religion, albeit I craved it my self very often. I desired him that I might have books, that I might have conference; nay, that which is more, that I might come unto his house, if I might not in the church, and receive the communion: but no such matter could be obtained, so long as there was any means for me to persecute the catholics. In which mischief I must play the seminary priest, which, notwithstanding your majesty's laws, which have made us traitors, and all such felons as shall receive us, yet must we now boldly practise our treasons, and make as many felons as we can. Laws were wont to be made to prohibit evil, and to save the innocent; but now, by the justices and ministers of the law, we must do contrary to the law, to make others traitors and felons, which otherwise perhaps would not.

Dissimulation required.

Before I made any semblance of my counterfeit and feigned conversion, it was a damnable thing with justice Young to be a papist, much more to practise papistry; as to say mass, or to reconcile, or to do other such like actions. That there could be no means of salvation, but presently to return unto the Lord: and when I was desirous so for to do, the Lord was not then at leisure for to receive me. It

Discourse between justice Young and him.

is no matter, altho' I continue a papist still. It is no sin to say mass; no treason to reconcile; no offence to commit idolatry by way of dissimulation, with intent to do mischief; to seek innocent bloud; to betray such silly souls as never thought hurt or harm; to destroy your majesty's subjects, and to make you guilty of their bloud. Oh! heaven, Oh! earth, what heart would not bleed for pity, to hear of these things? O! gracious queen, whom God hath made governess over us, to protect and defend us, to whom, next unto God, but unto your self, may we complain? How are your subjects betrayed! how are they spoiled! how are they brought like sheep unto the slaughter!

Is it your plesure that innocents should be thus cast away? that treasons should be thus practised? Was this the end of your laws, to bring men, whether they would or no, unto their deaths? If I wist it were so, whether I have no more to say, but *Moriamur in simplicitate nostra: Let us dy in our simplicity.* Better were it to dy, than so to live: like birds that be brought to the pitfal unawares, by the procurement of such as be ministers of your majestys justice. Is this the way to bring your subjects unto reformation? Is this the sum of their religion; dissimulation, spiry, [viz. to be *spies*,] knavery, and all abominations? I cannot contain, most gracious prince, altho' I should dy 10,000 deaths, as I look for no life, nor desire no life, if ever I be taken. Yet if I would still have continued in this damnable course, I might have lived, until God of his justice had cut me off; and should have been accounted no traitor, but a good subject, and have had I know not what preferment.

Lord treasurer's letters to him.

I have my lord treasurers letters for my safty. He persuades me to continue in dissimulation still: and so long he will continue his good will. But that I now leave to play the dissembler, I fear me I shall again be reputed for a traitor. Oh! dear sovereign, what a world is this, that flattery and all impiety breeds friendship, but truth and honesty gets hatred!

I have also Mr. Justice Youngs letters, wherin I am 161

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commanded by your majesty to continue my dissimulation, and against poor catholics to do all the mischief that I can.

And justice Young's letters.

For my own part, I cannot be persuaded that ever your majesty would wish me, or any of your subjects, so to deal. For albeit you affect not our religion, you pity our misery, you acknowledg us your poor subjects. We love——your scepter; we obey your laws; and so far forth as we incurr not damnation unto our souls: and more, I trust, you will not require at our hands. At the least, if we that be papists may not scape with our lyves, (altho' wee do nothing but our duties,) yet grant us of your princely favour and pity, that we may go unto our deaths with safty of conscience. Let us not be molested as we are, to be allured to play the spyes, as many have don besides my self, and I fear may remain as yet in that perverse and wicked mind; which I know they cannot do without a continual [curse] unto their conscience.

Popish spies.

And therefore I wish your majesty not to trust them; for they will never be true unto you that are false to God. Therefore whatsoever they do, whatsoever they promise, it is but for the saving of a temporal life, and the gaining of a little worldly preferment. And whensoever God shall touch them with remorse, they cannot do but as I have don.

Think not therefore, my right dear lady and sovereign, that because I am returned back again unto the catholic religion, that now I am become unto your majesty a traitor;

Flatters the queen.

God forbid: I wish rather presently that my flesh were torn in pieces with hot irons, than I would become any ways treacherous unto your royal person. Think not that I love your majesty less now then I did then; but much more: for now I love you truly, where before I loved you dissemblingly. Now would I willingly loose my life to do you good, where before I would scarce loose a point to do you a plesure. Your majesty may well think some important cause hath moved me thus to alter my condition, or else of all men living in the world I were the most desperate and unwise.

His present condition.

For first, I have so grievously offended all catholics, as I

shall be ashamed for ever, during my life, to look any of them in the face. And now had I gained the good will of your majesty, the favour of my lord treasurer and other noblemen, as I might have lived temporally in great credit and grace, for me now voluntarily without compulsion to return back again where I had deserved most to have been contemned, and to forsake the state or condition wherein at this present I was best to be friended, what is the cause? Verily, no hope of any reward: for all the days of my life I must look for no other than penury, poverty, penance, and affliction; and very likely a temporal, violent death for my sins that I have don. And yet all this I am most willing and desirous to embrace, rather than for ever I would be cast out of Gods favour, and dy the child of reprobation.

And think not, most gracious queen, that now I have received your majestys reward, that I have given you the slip. I never received of justice Young, but 30*l.* and that by piecemeals. I lost in my chamber, that the pursevant robbed me, when I was taken, better than 40*l.* that never yet, for all my favour, I could recover. Besides, by the searches I procured justice Young, he had gotten better than an 100*l.*: so that in truth I am nothing in his debt. My rewards have not been comparable to my losses, altho' they have been greater than in truth I could deserve for any such service. And I would to God your majesty from henceforth would reward all dissembling spies as Parry was rewarded. Then should your realm in short time be purged; your majesty quieted from a number of devices wherewithal now daily you be terrified. That your life is more grievous unto you than the state of a private man. How many false reports and lyes doth justice Young bring your majesty in a year, partly by his own devising, and partly by such as I have been! How oft think you he hath been tampering with me, for to accuse some ladies of your privy chamber for poisoning of your majesty! And of truth I know of 162
none. Yet for the satisfying of the mans humour I accused the lady Drury, that she should say, when your majesty

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had given her a blow, that she would remember it. How fain would he have had me to appeach the earl of Cumberland, the lord Scroop, the lord Mountagu, and others. And I did what I could, especially against the earl of Arundel: of whom I made so many lyes, as, if they may be credited, were able to dispatch him. I am in conscience bound to certify your majesty of this, that you may understand how your subjects are bought and sold, and your highness tormented with continual fears. For as I hope to be saved, I say nothing now of any malice, but that which I know by mine own experience; and much more, if I should not be too tedious unto your highness to repeat it.

I have, for my own discharge, truly set down in a book the truth of every thing: if it may please God it may come to your majestys perusal, you shall find therin that it may pity your majesty for to know, and yet very necessary that you should understand.

To conclude, now that I have informed your majesty, as briefly as I could, what mind and affection I had when I came first priest into your realm, as sure as God lives, I never was nor never will be any traitor, to intend any kind of treason. If my continual conversation had been agreeable unto my profession, I had never so grievously transgressed the laws, abused your majesty, and don so much hurt unto my neighbours; I had never feigned a recantation, to discredit your majesty and my lords of your honorable council, nor played such pageants as I have don. And sure I know mine own doings to be naught, and to have proceded from a corrupt ground. And since I have been taught no other thing, since the time of my feigned recantation, but how to dissemble, and how to throw my self down headlong to the Devil; grant me this favour, most gracious queen, that I now dismist, blame me not for seeking true amendment, howsoever you blame or punish my offences committed. And let noe innocence be cast away upon my false complaints, as your majesty will answer it at the latter day. For now, altho' too late, I tel you truly, I accused them all falsely, and betrayed them wrongfully. And for

my self I crave no further favour or mercy than it shall please God to put into your majestys mind, enclining always unto pity. If I be taken, I think no death too grievous for me. Onely, not presuming in mine own strength, I have sought means to save my self. If I escape untaken, I think no penance too sharp to suffer all the days of my life. If I hap to be taken here, I protest I have not presumed this act upon any contempt, but in all humility, fear, and trembling: knowing, that howsoever I might have abused the world, I could not have escaped the judgment of God. And therfore, whatsoever death I suffer, what torment soever I endure, God give me grace to embrace them, as wholsome medicines for my soul: praying notwithstanding unto the last moment of my life most humbly, that God may long preserve your majesty, and grant you a prosperous reign; and finally to reign with him in glory everlasting. Thus craving on my knees your majestys pardon, I most humbly take my leave. From my chamber in London, the 20th of Febr. an. 1586.

Your highness most lamentable and repentant subject,
Anth. Tyrell, priest,
most unworthy of that vocation.

Number XVI. 163

Dr. Copcotts, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, to the lord Burghley, high chancellor of that university; concerning matters out of order in Christ's college: and his visitation of it.

My duty unto your lordship in the humblest maner remembred, &c.

YOUR lordship, as chancellor of this university, or your vicechancellor, is yearly visitor of Christs college. A thing omitted of long time heretofore; yet of such necessity at this present, that I was bold, at the time appointed by the statutes of their foundress, to put it in practice. And therby do find almost every statute given unto them transgressed. MSS. Burg.

And this abuse following, not provided for by any statute or order among them. Dr. Hawford left at his death in the treasure almost 700*l.* Wherof they have laid out 400*l.* for a purchase. Which maketh the commons of the fellows 3*sh.* a week, that by statute is but 12 pence. They use no means to restore in time this mony to the common treasury, or to encrease that which there is left; but take all commodities of fines for leases and woodsales to themselves; and have a dividend at the bakers hand, who alloweth 15 to the dozen. The commodity wherof goes to the fellows. The size in that respect is the less, and the scholars and others of the house therby are pinched.

If I give any injunctions unto them in these matters, the master, within a month, is to se them executed. Else he is to be admonished the second time. And if then he se not those things performed which I require, it is loss of his place. So that for the time I continue in office here, that which I give in charge shall be accomplished. But if it might please your lordship to amend and ratify the injunctions here enclosed, (in that there is not one clause but meets with some breach of statute, or some disorder complained of among them,) they would be observed to the great benefit of that society during your lordships life. Which I beseech the Almighty long to preserve. From Trinity college, Cambridge, the 12 of Decemb. 1586.

Your lordships most bounden,

John Copcot.

Number XVII.

Injunctions for Christ's college, Cambridge. Given by the vice-chancellor, their visitor, Decemb. 1586.

1. MAGISTER, socii, scholares, pensionarii, omnes denique in collegio vestro literarum studiosi, intererunt publicis supplicationibus in choro, temporibus et habitu a statutis academiæ et collegii vestri designatis.

2. Sacrosancta communio celebrabitur temporibus et mo-

do a legibus hujusce regni et statutis istius academiæ requisitis.

3. Communes loci ita tractabuntur, ut nullus cujuscunque tandem loci aut conditionis homo notetur, aut perstringatur in iis, et statim post auditam horam sextam finientur, ita ut habendis in aula prælectionibus posthac amplius non sint impedimento. 164

4. Magister curabit sedulo, ut in eos qui in re divina celebranda, aut scholasticis muneribus obeundis negligentes sese præbuerint, animadvertatur, ut quicunque in collegio literis operam dant Latino tantum sermone, in area et aula utantur, ut nemo extra aulam, nisi magna aliqua de causa per magistrum aut locum ejus tenentem approbanda prandeat, vel cœnet: ut ibi singuli juxta gradum et conditionem suam pileis scholasticis utantur ut in oppidum nemo nisi in eo habitu quem permittunt leges academiæ, sese conferat: et hisce in rebus ipse aliis exemplo erit: ut quisquis in quacunque tandem facultate obibit disputationes, vel ad clerum concionabitur, eum illi qui ejusdem sunt collegii concomitentur ad scholas publicas et ad templum Mariæ pro antiquo more academiæ.

5. Magister cubicula distribuet scholaribus secundum tempora admissionis, eum ad locum, quem in collegio obtinent, nec pensionarium quempiam aut sisatorem, cujuscunque tandem loci sit, iis præferet, nec senioritatem in collegio, ex ea, quam in oppido habent bacchalaurei artium facti, metietur.

6. Cubicula ad magistri domicilium sive cameram pertinentia generosis elocabuntur in commodum collegii, nec patietur aliquid pecuniæ erogari pro cubiculo aut musæo aliquo, quo quispiam ex eo, quem in collegio possidet, loco fruitur gratis.

7. Magister rationem sive computum reddet secundum statuta præsente majori parte sociorum, in quorum conspectu et præsentia pecuniam omnem numerari curabit, ac vasa aurea et argentea, seu jocalia ut vocant, ostendi, petetque ut ratio a se reddita a majori parte sociorum comprobetur, quam nisi approbaverint pro nulla habebitur.

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8. Magister nullos sumptus de collegii pecuniis faciet, pro conducendis equis, nisi cum negotia collegii per majorem partem sociorum approbata procuraverit, nec cum peregrinos invitaverit in nundinis Sturbrigiensibus.

9. Magister initio anni dies absentiæ nemini sociorum concedet nec alio quovis tempore sub prætextu negotiorum collegii procurandorum, nisi majori parti sociorum idem innotescat, et ab iis approbetur, nec sine consensu eorum ullis discipulis permittet absentiæ dies, præter numerum illum dierum a statuto constitutum, nec statuet quenquam promum, vel custodem sacelli sine approbatione eorundem.

10. Non sinet quenquam in collegio manere, qui ibidem, quamdiu in academia versetur non pernoctaverit, nec iis omnibus per se fungatur exercitiis quibus et per statutum et per ordinem astringitur, nullosque in collegio pueros nisi togatos feret.

11. Non patietur mulierem quampiam lectos sternere in collegio, nisi quis graviter ægrotaverit: nec quenquam ibidem commorari qui aliquando fuerit expulsus, nec puerum quempiam a debita castigatione detineri, nec quenquam sese insolenter gerere in superiores dicto aut facto, prælectionum tempore aut alibi.

12. Curabit ut decani officia sua sedulo præstent secundum statuta collegii, et ad eos delatas schedulas legant publice in aula unoquoque die Veneris, non autem in promptuario aut cubiculis correctiones, quas vocant, habeant, et ut nullus officiariorum bis mulctet aliquem pro uno exercitio negligendo, tametsi in absentium nomina sæpius inquirat.

165 13. Curabit ut senescallus menstruus sit sociorum aliquis, alius autem communis cistæ custos annuus quisque suo ordine: et ut id quod statuta exigunt, debite exequantur, et ut commeatus computetur unaquaque hebdomada, itemque ut termini tempore tantum undecima hora, exceptis feriis, die Dominica, et Sabbatis, nisi dies sint jejunio destinati, prandeant.

14. Curabit ut lector ipse philosophiæ partem aliquam

singulis hebdomadis quater prælegat, et ut ex consensu magistri et majoris partis sociorum alios magistros artium vel bacchalaureos socios præficiat aliis lectionibus per statuta requisitis, eam laboris compensationem illis tribuens quam magister et major pars sociorum æquum judicabit: prælectio humaniorum artium sedulo fiet in magna vacatione, nec discipulorum quispiam disputationibus moderabitur.

15. Vasa argentea quorum non sit quotidianus in aula usus, in thesaurario reponentur, nec inde expromentur nisi illis admodum opus esse liquido apparebit. Quod si quando accidat, quamprimum rursus recondantur. Pecunia collegii ne sit in custodia magistri, sed in thesaurario, prout statuta requirunt, indeque duntaxat desumatur cum præsens necessitas postulaverit.

16. Tam socii quam pensionarii gradus in se suscipere cogentur quamprimum illis per statuta academiæ licuerit, et omnes ejusdem societatis intererunt problemati theologico, diebus Veneris, quando non licebit respondenti statam cœnam aliquam de industria contra legem et laudabilem consuetudinem apparare. Nec patietur præfectus quenquam disputandi munus subterfugere ullo modo, nisi gravissima de causa per magistrum et majorem partem sociorum approbanda.

17. Socii intra sex dierum spatium post singulos menses expletos quod debitum fuerit solvent collegii officiario ad id munus constituto, et officiarius eodem tempore debitam pistoribus, potificibus, vel cuipiam alteri pecuniam solvet, nec quisquam in collegio commorabitur, qui socium non habeat qui pro illius debito collegio satisfaciat.

18. Conciones in fundatricis vestræ et benefactorum memoriam unaquaque anni quarta debite celebrabuntur secundum statutum academiæ.

19. Pensionarii in collegium vestrum non admittentur nisi secundum formam in statutis vestris descriptam, nec quispiam tenebitur Græcæ lectioni audiendæ nisi constet eum aliquid inde emolumenti capere posse.

20. Commoditas venditarum sylvarum et prædiorum ad

BOOK II.

firmam dimissorum et quicquid commodi percipi possit a pistoribus et potificibus non amplius dividetur inter magistrum et socios, sed in collegii usum cedet, quoad honoratissimi hujus academiæ cancellarii authoritate secus constitutum fuerit.

21. Magister curabit ut omnes hæ injunctiones fideliter observentur sub pœna expressa in statuto fundatricis de modo visitandi.

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Number XVIII.

The archbishop of Canterbury to the vice-chancellor and heads of the university of Cambridge: to stay the printing of a book, called, The Harmony of Confessions, &c. An original.

To my very loving friend the vicechancellor, &c.

Regist. acad. Cantabr.

SALUTEM in Christo. I understand that there is now in printing by the printer of that university, a certain book, called *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei*, in English, translated out of Latin; which book, for some special causes, was here rejected, and not allowed to be printed. These are therefore to require you, that presently upon receipt hereof you cause the said book to be stayed from printing any further; and that nothing be don more therein, until you shall receive further direction from me. And wheras there is order taken of late by the lords of the council, that from henceforth no book shall be imprinted, either in London or in either of the universities, unless the same shall be allowed and authorized by the bishop of London or my self, I do likewise require you to take special care, that hereafter nothing be imprinted in that university of Cambridge but what shall be authorised accordingly.

And so not doubting of your diligent circumspection herein, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. From my house at Croyden, the 8th of August, 1586.

Your loving friend in Christ,

Jo. Cantuar.

Number XIX.

The archbishop of Canterbury to the vice-chancellor and heads: to require subscription to the three articles, of such as should be admitted university preachers. An original.

SALUTEM in Christo. Forasmuch as a general order hath been taken, that whosoever should be admitted to preach should first subscribe to the three articles lately agreed upon and confirmed by her majestys authority, these are to require you to take care, that you do not hereafter admit, either to be your universities preacher, or any other preacher whatsoever in that university, unless he shall first subscribe unto the said articles. Otherwise you shall give me occasion, not only to make further complaint, but also to call in question your authority to admit so many preachers: which how slender it is I do well know. And so requiring you to have such a special regard hereof as appertaineth, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. From my house in Lambehith, the second of May, 1586.

Your assured loving friend,
Jo. Cantuar.

Number XX.

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Petitions of the university of Cambridge; for quietness to be had with the townsmen. Delivered by Dr. Perne to the lord Burghley, their high chancellor. Feb. 25, 1586.

FOR that the maior of Cambridge, with other of the freemen of that corporation, have made certain order, that no scholar nor scholars servant shall have any booths in Sturbridge fair, nor receive any commodity springing to the town: and also hath shewed otherwise lately great ingratitude to the university; bending themselves more contemptuously, and, as it appeareth, contentiously against the same, than they have don heretofore: MSS. academ. penes me.

May it please your lordship to address your letters to Mr. Vicechancellor and to the heads, to give your lordships

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advice and consent, that they do take order, that no college, scholar, or scholars servant, shall sell or let any lands or tenements to any freeman of the town of Cambridge, but onely to scholars, scholars servants, or foreigners, without your honours express consent, and with the whole consent of the body of the university, regents and non-regents; nor shall buy any cloth, apparel, victuals, or any other such usual and necessary things, of any freeman, without the like consent: as your honour hath written heretofore.

2. *Item*, That if any scholar, or scholars servant or servants, or foreigner, taking to farm any such house, land, or tenement, do at any time afterward become a freeman of the same town; or shall bargain, let, or set over the same, or any part or parcel therof, to any freeman of the town; that then the same lease to cease, and be utterly void, and frustrate: any covenant, clause, article, or agreement in any such lease or grant to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. Wheras there is a privilege to the university of long time, for the provision of corn and victuals within the compass of five miles, which hath been little profitable unto the university, but unto the inhabitants within five miles, for that the university hath no justices of the peace within the said five miles out of the university; besides divers other incommodities that the said university doth receive, by reason that for the most part all the justices within the said compass of five miles be sworn to the town of Cambridg and freemen of the same: may it therefore please your lordship to move my lord chancellor, that the vicechancellor for the time being, with certain others of the heads of the colleges, which have any livings within the said compass of five miles, as Dr. Perne, Dr. Bell, Dr. Bynge, and Mr. Ellis, may be in commission of the peace for the shire and county of Cambridge.

4. Whereas the town of Cambridge hath drawn their book for Sturbridge fair, not only to the prejudice of the university and other corporations, for their own private gains, but also to the great abusing of her majestys great goodness shewed to them in this said grant of Sturbridge

fair; the forfeiture wherof they do not acknowledge, nor the great benefit therof, to procede from her majesty, but by right of certain surmised free grants; the which they neither do nor can shew the same, as Mr. Solicitor did plainly declare unto them: it may please your honour, therefore, that the said book of the said town of Cambridge for Sturbridge fair may not pass without the allowance of the queens solicitor; for that Mr. Atturney is of the fee and counsil of the said town of Cambridge, as he saith himself.

5. The university humbly desireth your honour to be a 168
means to her majesty, that there be a proviso put into their said book, that it shall not be lawful for them nor their heirs, by vertue of her majestys said grant of Sturbridge fair, to make any law, constitution, or ordinance concerning the booths in Sturbridge fair, contrary to the common laws of this realm; but that any scholar or scholars servant may lawfully buy for their mony, or receive by gift, or other lawful means, any of the said booths, as any other of her majestys subjects may do, according to the said laws.

Number XXI.

An inventory of the money and jewels of Anne duchess of Somerset: taken after her death, by the queen's order, by John Wolley, one of the privy-council, and John Fortescue, master of her majesty's great wardrobe.

1. A GREAT chain of pearle and gold enamelled, with MSS. Burg.
knotts. 2. A carkenet of gold and pearles with knotts, with a pendent sapphire, with a fair pearle annexed. 3. A carkenet of pearl, and padlocks of gold. 4. A chain of fair pearls, furnished with pipes of gold, enamelled with black. 5. A plain chain of gold with small links. 6. A pomander chain with small beads of pomander, and true-loves of pearl, and many small pearl to furnish the same, with pendants of mother of pearl, and a little acorn appendant. 7. A salt of gold like a bell. 8. A faucon of mother of pearl, furnished

BOOK II.

with diamonds and rubies, standing upon a ragged staff of fair diamonds and rubies. 9. A great jacinct, garnished with flowers of gold and pearl, with a less jacinct on the backside, with a rough pearl appendant. 10. A tablet of gold of a story, furnished with diamonds and rubies, with a pearl appendant. 11. A tablet of gold made like an artichoke, black and blew enamelled. 12. An agate, set in gold, garnished with small pearls, with a pearl appendant. 13. A book of gold with artichokes of day-work upon black velvet. 14. A pair of flaggon braslets of gold plain: in each braslet a jacinct. 15. A pair of braslets of gold, wrought with escalop shells with hollow work. 16. A double rope of pearl, of one ell long. 17. A fair pendent of mother of pearl, flourished with gold like an S. 18. Twenty eight small rubies, unset. 19. Three pearls, wherof two pendent. 20. A double rope of pearl, of one yard 3 quarters long. 21. A chain of pearl of a bigger sort of four double. 22. A lilly pot of gold, with a sea-water stone in the midst, with two pearls pendant. 23. Four fair emeralds set in collets of lead. 24. A little tablet of gold enamelled with gold, with a pearl appendant. 25. A pillar of gold, garnished with eight diamonds. 25. 19 amethists, wherof one great one. 26. A fair jewel of gold, set with diamonds on both sides, bordered with small pearl. 27. A great tablet of gold, enamelled black and white, garnished the one side with an agate and six rubies, and on the other side with twelve diamonds. 28. A tablet of gold curiously wrought, set with six fair diamonds and three fair pearls; whereof one pendent. 29. A tablet of gold, garnished round with small pearl, with a great ballast in the midst, and a pearl pendant. 30. A fair square tablet of gold like an H, with four diamonds, and a rock ruby or ballast in the midst, garnished with pearl, and a pearl pendant. 31. A sopertakle case of gold. 32. A chain of gold enamelled black. 33. A book of gold, enamelled black. 34. A spoon of gold, enamelled black. 35. A bodkin of gold with a clawes in the end, enamelled black. 36. Two pieces of an uni-
169 cornes horn, in a red taffata purse. 37. A folding spoon of

gold. 38. A little signet of gold with her graces own crest. BOOK II.

Besides this in gold, in several single purses, either of leather, or sattin, or silk, in one coffer, 2200*l.* in gold, in single baggs; in another, 1500*l.* in gold; and in another, 1500*l.* in gold: in all, 5200*l.*

Jewells more.

1. A confect box of gold, like scallop shells. 2. A pair of bracelets, laced with beugle. 3. The pearls, in number four score and eight. 4. A pair of bracelets of coral, cut like acorns, laced with small pearl. 5. In a little black box, six rings set with diamonds, some less and some bigger. 6. In another little black box, two rings of gold; one set with a fair emerald, and the other with a ruby. 7. In another box, two rings; the one a topis, the other a small ruby. 8. In another little box, one little ring with a diamond. 9. In a little white box, divers sorts of coarse pearl.

Number XXII.

Howland the bishop of Peterburgh's letter to the lord treasurer: requiring some account of the justices of peace in his diocese; with his certificate concerning some of them.

YOUR letter, right honorable, of the 4th of September, I received the 8th of the same month. For your great care wherin, for the due administration of justice, as I thank God, desiring him to bless your good purpose, with all other your honorable studies for the peace of his church and this realm; so I am heartily sorry that I am not able to perform that duty herein which you have so lovingly laid upon me, and I would most willingly discharge: but by reason of shortness of time, and want of the knowledge, as yet, of my country, with the great diversity in reports of men (even by good men whom I have herein used) in nourishing their own humours and partial conceits; by means whereof I know not what to write. For as I would be loth, in this matter of so great import, to commend any man that Epist. episcop. penes me.

BOOK II.

shall not be found fit for the place, so to disable any whom I do not know, upon any mans report, it were a great rashness in me, and a greater injury unto them. For

Turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur hospes.

So that I would be an humble suitor unto your lordship, not for my self alone, but for the rest of my brethren, (unto whom you have committed the like charge,) that some more time might be granted; whereby we may with better assurance (than by the information of one or two) deliver that which may be for our credit, and discharge of our duties herein. Lest that we be deceived, as some of the justices of assize are said to have been. So shall the thing being well don, be but once don. The want wherof hitherto, (pardon, my good lord, if in the dutiful love unto your lordship I lay open my own folly, in telling you what I think and hear,) and the often putting in and out of the commission, gives occasion of more speeches than are convenient; the more earnest I am herein, and humbly desire, for that I understand your lordship hath taken the cause in hand, that as in all other things you have don, so in this also, upon sound information, you may lay a firm and honorable foundation. Wherin also I beseech your lordship to go forward; assuring your lordship, that altho' you have don many things of very great import to the benefit of the realm, which all men do acknowledg, yet, for the sound settling of the whole realm in firm obedience to their sovereign, and for the preservation of love between every member, you could never take (I speak like a fool, but yet as I think) a more honourable cause in hand, and more acceptable to the people; who think it their greatest good or hurt, to be under good or evil justices. But the putting in execution of this, I take to be the greatest labour, and to require a longer time, both for the choice of the persons to be, as Jethro counsilled, *men of courage, fearing God; men dealing truly, hating covetousnes.* And therefore not to sail in a needy vessel. As also for their seat and abode, wherby every part of the shire may have their needful use of them, to their best convenience and least charges. Wheras

being a great number in some part of the shire on a plumpe, and in some other needful place few or none, it is rather accounted (and so used) as a countenance to the parties than a benefit to the country. Which if your lordship can redress, in placing a good physician neer that patient, you shall do a comfortable act, and bring the commission to its right use.

But lest I should be thought to have used these speeches to cover my negligence, and for that I could not do all that I would to have don, therfore nothing, I have sent herewith unto your lordship the names of such as are in the commission in Northamptonshire, (for Rutland and the Soke stand as they did,) and of such as are lately left out, as I received from the clark of the peace; with a short note, what opinion some in the country have of them: wherby your lordship will find, as no great cause to restore them which are out, so as small to retain those that are still in commission.

For my own self, this only I have to say, referring my cause to your honorable and favourable consideration; that tho' I acknowledg my self unworthy of that place, yet seeing it hath pleased God and her majesty, by your onely means, to place me in this bishopric, it was thought strange unto many, that I should be left onely, of all other bishops, out of the commission in my dioces. What the cause is, I know not, that, twice or thrice before, I was wrong named Edmund, and now altogether left out. Wherof as I would gladly know the cause, if there be any, so I humbly beseech your lordship to vouchsafe me that countenance, to the better strengthning of my necessary duties, which now I am often, through want therof, compelled to let pass, to my grief and discredit: for that my ordinary jurisdiction is over-short, and not able to reach to the execution of them. And recommending your lordship to the protection of the Almighty, I rest

Your lordships at commandment,

Rich. Petriburg.

Castor, the 17. Octob. 1587.

BOOK II.

The names of the justices of the peace in Northamptonshire: with the bishop's notes at each of them.

Edward Griffin, armig. A man of no great capacity or religion. And whose wife is a great recusant.

Edward Watson, armig. A man suspected in religion.

Edward Cope, armig. An honest gentleman: but that he doth over-greatly countenance such preachers as do impugne all orders established. Which some others also in this commission do.

George Lynne, armig. An ancient justice, but yet thought through age to be easily overruled.

171 Tobias Chauncy, armig. A man of small hability in learning; but yet, as I hear, favoured greatly by the earl of Warwick. By whose means he is thought to be put in again: wheras he was with others put out of commission.

The justices of peace out of commission.

Robert Lane, miles. A man not hable, through infirmity of his body.

—— Elmer, armig. A man likewise not hable by reason of infirmities.

Val. Knightly, armig. His father in commission.

Tho. Harbie, armig.
Tho. Paget, armig. } These two I cannot know, but that men say, they are not greatly needfull.

Jacobus Ellis, LL.D. chancellor to the late bishop. But now he hath no abode in the shire.

—— Clark de Crowtor, armig. This man is well reported for his sufficiency: but that his wife is a recusant.

In comit. Rutland.

Kenelmus Digbie. A man, whose house, as your lordship knoweth, hath been notably touched; and is thought to be not sound himself in religion.

Henry Herenden, armig. A man suspected in religion, and thought to be a nourisher of suits, by reason of his profession, being a lawyer.

Number XXIII.

Herbert, bishop of Hereford, to the lord treasurer, certifying him of the justices of peace in his diocese.

Right honorable and my very good lord,

ALL those points set down in your lordships letter, concerning justices of the peace within this dioces, either lately left out of the commission, or meet to be left out hereafter, or to be put into the same again, I have, according to my duty, enquired after, with such circumspection and diligence, as my small acquaintance yet in the country, the little knowledge of mens discretions and secresie, some urgent and necessary occasions, and the shortness of time, would suffer me: for your lordships letter, dated the 2. of Septem. came not until the 17th of the same month. Since which time I have had two commissions sit upon; the one between me and Silvan Score, [son or relation to bishop Scory, this bishop's immediate predecessor,] the other between me and Richard Abington; both of good weight. Lit. episcop.

But if by reason of these hindrances, any want of this service shall be found, I will by Gods leave, as I shall come by more knowledge, supply the same with all convenient speed. For I certainly persuade myself, that this your lordship's care and course (if it shall be answerable accordingly) will in a short space work a very sensible and great effect, beneficial both to the state and true religion. Which I must, with the rest of my brethren, acknowledg my self most bound to seek for, and to the uttermost of my power to promote.

I. In the mean time therefore it may please your lordship to be certified of those that were left out of commission in the county of Hereford, I am informed, that,

1. Rich. Tomkins, esq. were meet to be again put into the same: being a man very well affected in religion; a good justitiar, of sufficient livelihood, and convenient place for service. 172

2. Robert Vaughan, esq. also for like respects.

II. Of those that are remaining in commission; and for

BOOK II.

the causes, mentioned in your lordships letter, meet to be left out thereof; I am informed, that these might be spared.

1. Roger Bodenham, esq. For his wife is said to be a recusant.

2. Rich. Minors. Thought to favour recusants.

3. Walter Baskervile. For his wife is a recusant. And he is now departed this life.

4. Humfrey Baskervile. For he is not thought well affected in religion, and greatly noted, and touched for incontinency: being also aged, and not meet to travail.

III. Of fathers, which have their sons in commission; I hear not of any: saving, that Mr. Comptroller hath his son, Mr. Everard Crofte, and his son in law, Mr. Wigmore, in commission. And Mr. Edward Crofte his sons in law, Mr. Scudamore and Mr. Rudhal.

IV. Of such as answer not her majesty after the rate of 20*l.* land, or like value in goods, there are none, as far as I can learn, but onely Dr. Bevans, my chancellor, whom I think, in respect of the better executing of his office, meet to be continued.

Touching the justices of any other county within this dioces I have not to certify your lordship any thing, because I understand not any of them to be other than according to the meaning of the articles set down by your lordship. Only I wish that William Hopton, esq. (meet in all respects, before noted in others to be put into commission for the county of Salop) might be named in the same, as one that the place and circuit where he dwelleth hath need of. And might it please your lordship also to name Mr. John Watkins, dean of Hereford, among the justices of the county of Hereford. I doubt not but as I take him to be every way fit for the room, so the naming of him would be found both an ease and benefit; especially to such of the county as be inhabiting neer to the city, where in mine opinion some want is of such an one.

And thus have I simply and faithfully (as the matter requireth in answer to your lordships letter) uttered mine opinion in all the points mentioned in the same, according

to such credible report as hath been made unto me: not doubting but your lordship will so use the same, as it may best further that good which your lordship sheweth your self only to respect; and by occasion of any effect, as especially in this country, where I am yet a stranger, and must live, I have need to beware of. And so I humbly commend your good lordship to Almighty God. From Whitburn, this viith of Octob. 1587.

Your honour to command,

Harb. Hereford.

Number XXIV. 173

Freake, bishop of Wigorn, to the lord treasurer: in answer to his, to inquire of the justices of peace in his dioces. With the bishops certificate concerning them.

My duty unto your good lordship humbly remembred,

WHERE upon an intended reformation of the late renewed commission for the peace within this realm, upon more deliberate advertisements given in that behalf, it hath pleased your lordship to inform your self privately by my reports of the conditions and livings of the justices of peace within my dioces, as well such as be continued in commission of the peace, as those which be left out of the same, I have with all diligence and secresie made inquisition accordingly, to give your lordship the best light I can therin. Ubi supra.

First, Therefore in generality to signify mine opinion and knowledg of the justices of peace in this county of Wigorn, continued in commission, I do observe some weakness in that number; divers of them being but superficial, either for advice or for execution of any weighty affaires of the country. And for matter of religion, albeit they are conformable enough, and forward in outward obedience and services; yet do I not perceive any such fervent zele indeed in some of them as I could wish, or that may give me cause to assure my self of their constant affection upon all events

BOOK II. and mutations. And truly, my lord, they do cary themselves modestly in the administration of justice, and are the principallest gentlemen for living and countenance that be in the shire; being at hand for all services, by reason of their residence in the same. Against whom I have not heard nor do know any material objection, either for hindring the state of religion, or nourishing any suits by colour of law.

Secondly, For some of those that be left out of the commission, I am not able to accuse them of recusancy, albeit some of their wives be recusants. Which exception set apart, they are otherwise, for wisdom, livelihood, reputation and discrete government, of the best and meetest men that were in that association. And as this country never laboured, sithence my time, of any superfluous company in commission, so cannot the number now remaining therin be conveniently diminished in my opinion, the same being so decreased by the persons excluded. And if there were any need of new supply, this country, to my judgment, yieldeth small choise of sufficient men in all points to bear rule and authority.

But for the like particular instructions touching the justices in Warwickshire, (wherof some part is within my jurisdiction,) I cannot so precisely satisfy your lordship, because I have not conversed with them in services of the country as I have with the justices in this shire. Howbeit I have sent thither to be informed of the particularities of your lordships letter. And so soon as I shall hear from thence, I will certify the same.

And for your lordships more particular information of the conditions of both sorts in this shire, and their several names in the subsidy books, I have made a calendar therof enclosed herein. Which I desire may be conceled with my letter, by reason of the dependancy or displesure on this service; and in that also I have been the more liberal in re-
174 porting things, presuming upon your lordships promised secresy. Wherein reposing my self, I humbly recommend

your good lordship to Gods tuition. From Hartlebury castle, the vith of October, 1587.

Your lordships humbly at commandment,
Edmund Wigorn.

A calendar containing the names of the justices of peace within the dioces of Wigorn, as well such as be now in commission, as of those that are lately left out of the same. Together with the several valuations of every of them in the subsidy book, conditions, and affections in religion in Worcestershire.

Conditions and affections in religion.	Justices continued in commission.	Valuation of the subsidy.
He is custos rotulorum, and accounted wise.	Sir John Littleton, kt.	66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
A gentleman well conditioned.	Mr. Guilleel Littleton, his son.	I cannot learn his valuation.
A good, wise gentleman.	John Packington, esq.	In lands 50*l.*
Commended for forwardness in religion, but not so for discretion.	John Russel, esq.	40*l.*
Very honest, wise, and religious.	Francis Walsh, esq.	In lands 13 6 8
Very honest and religious.	Gualter Blunt, esq.	In lands 13 6 8
I think him to be religious.	Edmund Horwel, esq.	In lands 20*l.*
Old and past service.	John Knottesworth, esq.	In lands 15*l.*
A man very meet for his experience in service.	Edmund Colles, esq.	In lands 16*l.*
A good gentleman.	Tho. Foliate, esq.	In land 20*l.*
I think him to be religious.	William Sheldon, esq.	In land 13 6 8
A very honest gentleman.	Joh. Washborn, esq.	In land 13 6 8
A good sufficient gentleman for service.	Geo. Winter, esq.	In land 30*l.*
A man meet and able to serve well.	Fra. Brase, esq.	In land 13 6 8

BOOK II.	Conditions and affections in religion.	Justices continued in commission.	Valuation of the subsidy.
	An honest peaceable gentleman.	Joh. Rows, esq.	In land 20*l.*
	I think him to be very wise, honest, and sound in religion.	Arthur Saloway, esq.	In land 13 6 8

175 *Gentlemen left out of commission in the county of Worcestershire.*

Conditions and affections in religion.	Justices left out of the commission.	Valuations in the subsidy.
Left out by reason of his office. He is both wise and wealthy.	Will. Child, esq. high sheriff of Warwickshire.	*In terris* 16*l.*
Both of them very wise, honest, and religious.	Sir Henry Bartley, kt. / Miles Sandes, esq.	They lived out of the shire, and therefore not cessed in the same.
His wife a recusant, himself very wise, and a man of good sufficiency.	Raphe Shelden, esq.	In land 60*l.*
His wife a recusant; she is now lord of Aburgavenies daughter. Himself a man not inferior in wisdome to the rest.	Edward Blunt, esq.	In land 16 6 8
His wife a recusant, himself an honest gentleman.	Fra. Clare, esq.	In land 10 6 8
He is commended to be both wise and religious, and dwelleth within the shire, as I have heard.	Giles Read, esq.	In land. His valuation I cannot learn.
A man of no great account.	Edward Pitte, esq.	In land 10*l.*

Number XXV.

The bishop of Norwich to the lord treasurer, concerning the justices in his dioces, and their qualifications.

Right honorable,

YOUR lordships letters concerning the justices of peace, wherof your honour requireth to be advertised, came very late unto my hand, with some suspicion of the opening of them, being usual almost in this place, either to intercept such letters, or else to make a stay of the delivery. By which means I have had but a little time to enquire their hability to maintain that calling, and less conference in respect of the weightiness of this cause, to set down perfectly sure grounds of their forwardness in religion: for the parties themselves are close and prudent, pretending outwardly many signes to further religion, howsoever inwardly they stand affected. Nevertheless I have penned truely unto your honour my opinion and understanding in this your lordships request, so far as I can be at this time informed, or if the voice of the country may afford any certainty. Wherupon I have briefly collected and sent your honour here enclosed the names, places, and conditions of them. Which if it be not so perfect as your honour doth expect, I desire to be excused; for that the commission of peace is so often altered and daily renewed. Ubi supra.

Furthermore, I pray your good lordship, use this my report for your honours own advertisement; because the knowledg of such information is offensive, and truth hath many enemies, as knoweth the Almighty. To whose protection I commit your lordship; praying unto him daily to multiply your lordships days with health and encrease of honour. Ludham, the xi. of Octob. 1587. 176

Your lordships most assured at command in the Lord,

Edmund Norwich.

The certificate of the justices of peace sent in by the bishop is contained in a large sheet of paper, entitled,

A brief report of the justices of peace in the county of Norfolk.

BOOK II.

Then follow in three columns, their *names*, their *places of abode*, and their *conditions*.

The first names are the earl of Sussex, and the bishop of Norwich, Harry lord Crumwel, his place North Elman, and Edward Coke, recorder; of whom it is thus certified, *These are well known to your lordship.*

The two next names are sir Roger Woodhouse and sir William Paston. Of these the character set down is, *observers of laws.*

Then follow sir Arthur Hevininghame, sir Drue Drury, sir Nicolas Bacon, sir John Payton, sir Harry Woodhouse, sir Edward Clere, dealers in counsilship; sir Will. Heydon, Nathaniel Bacon, Basingborn Gaudie, William Benerhasset, now rated only to the value of 20*l. vere* Harry Gaudre, the son of sir Tho. Gawdie. The conditions of all these set down, *favourers of religion.*

Then follow the names of Tho. Lovel, Herry Doylie, Tho. Towsend, Will. Rugg, Nicolas Hare, Clement Paston, and four more. Their characters, *suspected*, and *reckoned to be backward in religion.*

Sir Robert Southwel, kt. a young man, not experienced; whose associates for the most part are popish.

Two more young justices, whose fathers are in the commission of peace.

Three more, whereof one is Harrie Yelverton, *popish.* Out of the commission. And yet there is no want of them.

Will. Gresham and John Reppes, late justices. Humfrey Gibbon, rich, but of no religion.

Miles Hubbard, sound in religion, and very sufficient. Robert Kemp, aged, yet religious. Thomas Fearmer, observer of law, and sufficient. These three were put out; and two yet so remain.

Memorandum. For their wealths and habilities, either all or the most part of them are sufficient to maintain that charge and calling; but they differ in religion, and are not so sound and forward.

Number XXVI.

The bishop of Winchester to the lord treasurer: his letter and report, concerning the justices of peace in his diocese; and chiefly in Hampshire. 177

IT may please your lordship to understand, that Hampshire is parted into seven divisions. Which indeed causeth division oftentimes in the government therof: for that the justices in each division govern in the same without intermeddling the one with the other. And seldome times meet together with the residue for a conference touching the common state; no not at the quarter sessions. Wherby divers times there is some slackness in service. Lit. episcopales penes me.

For your lordships better understanding of the things which your letters principally mention, I have enclosed herein a scedule, noting the names of those justices that remain in commission in each division, and also of the residue that were left out in the last commission, which be to the number of seven or eight. Which in my opinion, under correction of better information, may be well spared, in respect of divers of those notes which your lordship layeth down in your letters.

Onely Mr. Jephson, who dwelleth within the division of Alton, I understand to be a very sufficient man in all respects, saving that I know not for what causes he hath withdrawn himself from all service, either public or particular in that office. And therefore I think he was by some information left out of the last commission. And yet therefore he, or some other, would of necessity be added in that part. For that division, being one of the greatest, hath only sir Richard Norton remaining in it. Who in this last assessing of the subsidy hath none to joyn with him; but was fain to entreat some other, dwelling out of that division. If Mr. Jephson be added again, he would be by some letters provoked to attend that service more than beforetime he hath don.

Besides those justices contained in the scedule, here be sundry others in commission, and not dwelling in the shire,

BOOK II.

neither coming hither to any service, of which number some be in respect of their state of honour, some in respect of their service about the prince. As for example of the latter sort, Dr. Dale, master of the requests; Mr. Killigrew, Mr. Fines.

Mr. Kirby, who remaineth in commission, and dwelleth in the division of Christs Church: how he came into the commission, I know not. Neither is he a man of any value in substance, either dexterity in government; nether doth he come commonly to any meeting, &c. I cannot note any of them to be backward in religion, but one whose wife and daughters be recusants. Himself never communicated since the queens time, that is, Richard White, esq..... Dated the 2. of October, 1587.

Number XXVII.

Godwin, bishop of Bath and Wells, to the lord treasurer. His letter and certificate concerning the justices in his diocese.

Ubi supra.

AFTER my due commendations unto your lordship, to your letters of the 2. of September, this mine answer. Upon conference with the trusty, I shew your lordship, that of
178 such as be removed out of the commission, Mr. Sam. Norton, Mr. Anthony Scutt, and Mr. Watkins, being sound in the faith, and meet for their abilities in the places of their abode, being very convenient, especially since the death of sir John Horner, are surely very fit men to be replaced.

Of such as be left in commission, I think sir Jhon Sydnam and John Lancaster to be unworthy of the place, on these considerations: sir Jhon Sydnams lady is a recusant; his eldest sons wife a recusant; and suspected to be maried at a mass. Jhon Lancaster, of all honest men taken to be an enemy to the truth. And for the same once expelled Grays Inn. His father and mother *lady-matin* folks. One of his beloved brothers a seminary at Rhemes: his wifes father no recusant, but backward in religion. And so is all his alliance; and more countenanced by his place. His ha-

bility too smal; that at this last rating in the subsidy refused to be cessed at 10*l.* lands.

Thus heartily thanking your lordship for the good opinion yee have conceived of me, that yee would trust me in so weighty a cause; wherin I have, and ever will, deal without affection, I humbly take leave, wishing to your lordship all health of body and mind long to endure.

From Bunwoll, Octob. 2. 1587. By,

Your honours assured in the Lord,

Thomas B. and Wells.

Number XXVIII.

Sandys, archbishop of York, to the lord treasurer. His judgment of the justices of peace in Yorkshire, &c.

My honourable good lord,

I HAVE considered of your letters, and will answer your request therin with all faithfulness. I have made one gentleman onely acquainted with the matter; a man of great integrity and good skil, in all his actions governed with an upright conscience; and a man, *qui potest tacere*, Sc. F. P. Ubi supra.

I have noted in a paper, herein enclosed, such as in mine opinion may be well put out of commission, and given some reasons why. As also such as are fit to be put in the commission again, of late put out. Herein I am not overruled with partial affection, but directed by a good conscience for the good of the commonwealth; referring the whole to your wise and honorable consideration.

In mine opinion, such as are put out are well put out, and worthily, saving onely three, which I have noted in my paper. I deal with no knights, lest I should be noted to follow affection; but I assure you some of them be of the baddest sort; unworthy to govern, being so far out of order themselves. One man hath brought in the most part, who will be offended, if any be brought in without him. And to speak the truth, altho' there be many gentlemen in Yorkshire, yet very hard choise of fit men for that purpose.

BOOK II. *Nam omnes quærunt quæ sua sunt, non quæ spectant ad bonum reip.* And if none should be in commission but such as are xx*l.* in subsidy, you should put out half of those that be in, as I suppose. And thus I commend your good lordship to the direction of Gods Holy Spirit. Bishopthorpe, the 27. of Septem. 1587.

Your lordships bounden,
E. Ebor.

179 *Postscript.*

Straker, the promoter, tryed at these assizes at York; and there adjudged to the pillory for composition contrary to the statute; affirmed there in open court, that he had brought in one sitting to the council at York 80*l.* odd mony. If thus much by one promoter, how much by all the rest? And if thus much at one sitting, how much at all the sittings?

Certificate touching the justices of peace in the counties of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire.

Yorkshire justices at this present in commission.

West-Riding.

R. L. i. e. *Rob. Lee.* He is a notable open adulterer. One that giveth great offence, and will not be reformed. He useth his authority as well to work private displesure as to serve other mens tournes. A very bad man, and one that doth no good. Better put out than kept in.

P. S. i. e. *Peter Stanley.* A man noted to be a great fornicator. Of small wisdome, and less skill. One that is little in subsidy. Brought in onely to serve tournes. He hangeth on the brow at all times and in all things. Ever at commandment without further respect. A man of none account.

T. W. i. e. *Tho. Wentworth.* A very senseless blockhead; ever wronging, and wronging his poor neighbours: being a great graine-man of himself. He bought in the beginning of last year, in every market, so much as he could, and heaped it up in his houses to sel against the dearest. He

dependeth wholly upon him that brought him in; and will serve all tournes. If you look into the subsidy book, you shall find him little there.

J. R. i. e. *Jam. Rither.* This man is noted to be a soure, subtil papist, and brought into commission in respect thereof. Ready to hinder any matter that shall touch any papist. He dependeth upon sir Tho. Farefax to make good his evil causes. A man unprofitable for the common wealth, and full of contention.

G. W. i. e. *George Woodrof.* His wife is an obstinate recusant; and of long time hath been. One that doth very much hurt. An argument that he is not well affected himself. Such men as have such wives are thought very unfit to serve in these our times.

B. S. i. e. *Brian Stapleton.* The man is noted to be a great papist. And so is his eldest son. He maketh small abode in this country. He liveth at London, and keepeth company with sir Robert Stapleton. He keepeth no house, having no wife.

EAST-RIDING.

H. C. i. e. *Henry Constable*, kt. He is sheriff of his shire this year; but was in commission before, and looketh for to be in again. His wife is a most obstinate recusant, and will not be reformed by any persuasion, or yet by coertion. Her 180
example is very hurtful.

F. A. i. e. *Francis Alford.* This man liveth much at London. He hath no wife. A man of small living; less skil; of no countenance. One that may be very well spared.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

B. L. i. e. *Brian Lascells.* He is a man full of quarells and contentions. One that maketh divisions, maintaining evil causes; bolstering out evil matters; ever in law, and one that onely liveth by other mens losses.

Such as be fit men to be called in commission again.

G. N. I. L. W. I. i. e. *Gervace Nevyl, John Lewis, Walter Jobson.* All these are wise, upright, skilful, and painful in that office. And no just cause why they should be removed out of the commission of peace, so far as can be here known.

BOOK II.

W. S. i. e. *Wil. Sutton of Aram in Nottinghamsh.* As he is a man of good living, and of an antient house, so he is a very honest, upright gentleman, and very fit to be put into the commission of peace.

Number XXIX.

Toby Matthew, D. D. Dean of Durham, to Mr. Francis Mills, attendant on sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state; upon his being nominated to succeed in the see of Durham, now void. Dated from Durham, Novemb. 23, 1587.

S. P. in Dno. Jesu.

Cott. lib. Titus, B. 2.

SIR; Whereas Mr. Secretary Walsingham, of his own honorable disposition towards my preferment, hath of late once again vouchsafed to advertise me of his purpose to have me placed in the late lord bishops room here, a benefice that I must ingenuously confess I think my self nothing so fit for as I could desire, I have adventured to acquaint you above all others with that his honours plesure and determination; to the end, that albeit you would never yet like to be beholden to me in any respect, notwithstanding the furtherance you gave me in my coming hither; yet I may still be more and more beholden to you, as well for that is to come as for that is past; in case you can think of me, as a man not unmeet to be so far done for, nor unmindful of the state you may stand me therein: which meaning of mine I would in more hast have imparted unto you, having had experience of your friendship tofore, and knowing how inward you are with your master; but that I was unresolved my self to procede therin for some good considerations that did much discourage me: for beside mine own insufficiency for such a charge, best known to my self, and my very hard passage, as it were, through the pricks, for every suit that ever I obtained in court; I see the bishopric greatly impaired. The best things demised at length, and many of the less intangled. No provision at all

of corn by rent or otherwise. The rate very high in the queens books, and 1700*l.* by year, *communibus annis*, going out; yea, after the firstfruits are discharged. In the dioces, namely, in Northumberland, and especially about the borders, most wretched and miserable, able to burst the heart of an honest, well meaning pastor; so small assistance for the public services of religion, and the state both ecclesias- 181
tical and civil, as no where else, I think, in all this realm or the next. The place exceeding chargeable in peace and war . . . . . dangerous; which is more than likely in this broken world, between us and our neibours; together with the night crow, that ever croketh in mine ears, " For Gods " sake get us gone hence. Why came we hither? Who but " we, would any longer tarry here?" Which voice, you wot well, hath half the force of an inchantment sometimes. [The repeated voice, it is likely, of the dean's wife, after his remove to those northern parts.]

These and the like did greatly dissuade me, until of late, I assure you, that divers of my friends, both here and else where, have put some heart into me, by answering and replying to some of these objections. So as now I have submitted my cares and fears to Gods good providence, my service to her majesty's disposition, if it shall be such, my directions to Mr. Secretary by you from time to time.

Wherefore my special request is, that hereto I may have both your advice and assistance, if it shall please you to renew the matter to Mr. Secretaryes remembrance, with my most humble and most bounden thanks for his great favour and goodness towards me, as well therin as otherwise. To certify me by the next what termes the rest that be suitors do stand in your opinion: what course you think fit for me to follow; and in what sort the cause to be solicited. My disadvantages, in comparison of some other men, I know, are great. They are many, and I but one. They are neer hand, I very far off. They that are worthy may be importune. I cannot so be with any modesty. They will have many agents and instruments, I neither can or will use any means, but your master, to her majesty. Nor any but you in effect

BOOK II.

to his honour. If so God will send it, it shall be welcome: if otherwise, I am where I was; and in better place than happly I deserve: less able, I confess, to do for such as have don or shall do for me; but no less will or readiness to do his honour any service, or you any friendship, so long as I shall live. Thus desiring your courteous acceptation of this my motion, together with your speedy answer, I commit you to Gods good keeping.

From Duresme, this 23. of Novemb. 1587.

Your assured friend,

Toby Matthew.

If Mr. Secretary shall find that the bishopric will be for me, I would wish you will not neglect in time to consider of any honest sufficient man to succede me here, [in the deanery.] For I can assure you, there is not a place in this land, all things considered, more worthy to be well bestowed of this calling. For which there will also be many suitors. *Sed non sumus ibi adhuc*, will you say.

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Number XXX.

Ten long leases of the bishopric of Durham, to the queen granted, most of them, by Barnes the bishop of that diocese: with a note of the particulars demised. The date of the leases, number of years, and yearly rent.

Date of lease.	Number of years.	Yearly rent.	Particulars.
Apr. 26. An. reg. 24.	For years 99.	117 17 8	I. All the mannors and touns of Whickham and Gateside. *Memorandum*, Lost in this lease 110*l.* reserved in leases *in esse:* which were for colemines to three persons, viz. Anderson, Lewen, and White; and to one, named Blackston. For way-leave 10*l.* per annum.

Date of lease.	Number of years.	Yearly rent.	Particulars.	BOOK II.
May ult. An. reg. 19.	Years 100.	82*l.*	II. All the fishings in the waters of Tweede within Norham and Norhamshire; with all rents, issues, liberties, &c. *Memorandum*, That these fishings are expressly restored to the now bishop, but paid to her majesty's receiver of Northumberland.	
Apr. 17. An. reg. 20.	Years 40.	27 18 8	III. All the water mills in Darlington and Blackwell, &c.	
June 20. An. reg. 20.	Years 50.	18*l.*	IV. All the rectory and parsonage of Leake in Yorkshire; and all the tiths, oblations, profits, and commodities therunto belonging.	
May 14. An. reg. 23.	Years 80.	26 9 8	V. All the mannour and graunge of Mildredge, with the appurtinences.	
Oct. 24. An. reg. 24.	Years 80.	Rent accustomed.	VI. All Wolsingham park. The water mills there, chappel walls, &c.	
July 13. An. reg. 26.	Years 90.	34 0 8	VII. All the manour of Hoveden in Yorkshire, &c.	
Jan. 17. An. reg. 27.	Years 70.	62*l.* 20*d.*	VIII. All Cowndon graunge, &c. All the manour of Moreton, county Duresm, 12 messuages in Stanhope Park at Westgate, &c.	183
Oct. 15. An. reg. 23.	Years 80.	18*l.* 12*d.*	IX. All those meddows and pastures called Bishops Close, neer Ryers Green. All Bishop Midlam park, with the appurtinences: all the demean of Midlam, &c.	
Sept. 29. An. reg. 28.	Years 80.	108 19 5	X. All the manour of Crayke; and all graunges, houses, messuages, milnes,	

&c. wasts, woods, demean lands, quarries, wards, marriages, he-

BOOK II.

riots, fines, courts, wares, &c. All jurisdictions, privileges, franchises &c.

All the manour of Welehal; the demean lands there. The fishings in the waters of Owse.

The demain lands at Walkington, &c. All the wood and underwood at Walkington.

The passages, shores, fishings, and firy [ferry] boats at Hoveden Dike, &c.

Number XXXI.

Toby Matthew, D. D. dean of Durham; to sir Fra. Walsingham, secretary of state. Concerning his preferment to that bishopric.

Rt. honorable,

Cott. lib. Titus, B. 2.

THIS whole society of her majestys foundation, not the dean and chapter alone, but all and every the members of this troubled body, do acknowledge our selves so greatly bounden unto your honour for the furtherance we have obtained by your several earnest and effectual letters to my lord chancellor, and especially to my lords grace of Canterbury, as we desire an occasion to be ministred, wherin at one time or other we may declare in how dutiful and thankful part we do receive so singular and extraordinary benefits; my self being in more particular and special maner tyed to honour and serve such a patron while I shall have breath; finding you amidst the perils, yea, of your own life, to carry such regard, care, and study of my preferment, as would make me mervail, were I not so long and so well acquainted with your exceeding great favour towards me; a man no way worthy, saving in your own eyes, of so good hap. But the less my desert is, the deeper is my debt, and my bond the strongest, which, unless God's grace shall fail me utterly, (a case, I trust, impossible,) I will never break.

To my lord of Essex, [Walsingham's son-in-law,] as to whom I think I am unknown, but only recommended by your honour to his lordship, I have not yet written so much

as thanks. For that I learn not as yet how far it pleaseth your honour that I take knowledg of the good his lordship hath or may do me for your sake. Wherein if by slackness I have made any fault, upon advertisement, I shall readily amend that is amisse.

In case it mought like your honour to communicate your purpose with my lord Steward, [the earl of Leicester,] my singular good lord and old master, I should right gladly take notice of his lordships disposition. Whose inclination towards any other whatsoever, I would neither seem nor seek to impeach, for all the promotions in this realm. 184

Of my years, wherof it appeareth some question hath been made, to wit 44, within two months, if the Lord grant me so long to live, I have more largely written to Mr. Milles, [Walsingham's chief attendant.] To whose custody, if your honour will vouchsafe at my request to commit these, &c. From Duresme, the 23. of Decemb. 1587.

Your honours humble at commandment,

Toby Matthew.

Number XXXII.

A discovery of the present estate of the bishopric of St. Asaph. Sent to the lord treasurer Burghley, Febr. 24, 1587.

The estate of the bishopric of S. Asaph now standeth thus.

MOST of the great livings within the dioces, some with cure of souls, and some without cure, are either holden by the lord bishop himself *in commendam*, or else they are in the possession of such men as do dwell out of the country. MSS. eccleciast. penes me.

These are holden by the lord bishop *in commendam*. 1. The archdeaconry, being well worth 400*l.* yearly. To the which these benefices with cure do belong; Llangwstenin, Disetth, and Rhylyfnwyde. And these without cure; viz. 4. Abergelo, R. Llundrillo in Rosse parc. [i. e. parcel,] Llanrwst, parc. 2. Cwin, R. *sine cura;* yearly worth 1*l.* 3. Llandrillo in Deiznyon, R. *sine cura;* worth LXXX*l.*

BOOK II. 4. Llangwn, R. *sine cura;* yearly worth LX*l.* 5. Llandrinia R. with three cures; viz. Llandrinia, Llandissilia, Melnerly; worth yearly CLX*l.* 6. Llysvayn, R. *cum cura;* yearly worth L*l.* or better. 7. Castel, R. *cum cura;* yearly worth L*l.* 8. Malloyd, R. *cum cura;* yearly worth LXX*l.*

IX cures, and VII without cure.

The said lord bishop hath had in his *commendam* six other benefices with cure; the which he resigned upon having of the better. 1. Abergele, V. [vicarage.] 2. Battws, V. 3. Grefford, V. 4. Myvot, V. 5. Arbistock, R. 6. Llanyckil, R.

These following are in the possession of them that live out of the country. Wherof some were collated by the lord bishop that now is. 1. Vaynol, prebend; yearly worth 200 mark; in the possession of Dr. Yale, of the Arches. 2. Llanvfyth, prebend; worth 100*l.* yearly; in the possession of Dr. Lewyn, of the Arches. 3. Kilken, R. worth L*l.* yearly, sine cure; in the possession of Mr. Tomson, dwelling about London. 4. Skenviog, R. in the possession of Mr. Henry Mostyn, chancellor of Bangor. 5. Whittinton, R. *cum cura;* of the patronage of Mr. Albany: in the possession of Mr. Bagshaw, of Litchfield. 6. Oswestrie, V. of the patronage of the earl of Arundel; in the possession of ——— 7. Mackynllaeth, R. in the possession of Mr. Hughes, of Merionythshire.

And of antient collation these; the possessors also living out of the dioces; to the number of seven more: 1. Meleden, prebend; worth yearly L*l.* in the possession of Dr. Ireland, of Chester. 2. Llanerwst, R. in the possession of Dr. Jones, of the Arches. 3. Llansanan. R. parc. [*particula:*] in the possession of the same. 4. Llonarmon, R. in the possession of the dean of Canterbury, [Mr. Rogers.]
1855 5. Estyn, R. in the possession of the said man. 6. Covwen, R. in the possession of D. Meurick, of Litchfield. 7. Llandissyl, R. in the possession of Dr.... Lewis, the queens chaplain.

There is never a preacher within the said dioces (the lord bishop only excepted) that keepeth ordinary residence

and hospitality upon his living, but Dr. Powel, and Dr. Morgan, and the parson of Llanvechem, an aged man about LXXX years old.

By reason of the *commendams*, and absence aforesaid, hospitality is now of late greatly decayed in that dioces.

These are clean gon, which of late were great housekeepers. 1. The dean; [[a] one Banks, not 23 years old.] He that now hath the name to be dean never kept house in all his life; and is an unfit man for that place and calling, in all respects, being not past XXIV years old. 2. The archdeacon hath been the best housekeeper in the country: but now the living is in the lord bishops *commendam*. 3. The parson of Llysvaen: now the lord bishops *commendam*. 4. The parson of Skeiviog: now absent. 5. The vicar of Cwin: the now incumbent, being also parson of Northop and of Whitford, (two of the greatest livings in all the dioces,) boardeth in the ale-house. Five livings more follow wherin hospitality ceased; viz. 6. The parson of Whittinton; now absent. 7. The parson of Llandernio: now the lord bishops *commendam*. 8. The parson of Castel; a great housekeeper: now the lord bishops *commendam*. 9. The parson of Llandrillo: now the lord bishops *commendam*. 10. The parson of Mallayd: now the lord bishops *commendam*. The livings being subducted, the relief of the poor must needs decay.

[a] Added by the lord treasurer's hand.

Parcels of the bishopric leased and confirmed by the lord bishop that now is, to the hinderance of his successors.

1. The lordship of Meleden; the moyety wherof being in lease before, he bought of Mr. Symon Theloal, esq. (to whom he gave for the same the vicarage of Moulde for his son;) he hath confirmed for lives, to the use of his own children. 2. The rectory of Llanhasaph he hath for the sum of CCC*l*. confirmed for lives to Mr. Piers Mostyn, esq. 3. The manour of Llandegla to his cousin [Hue Kendryck[b]] of London. 4. The bishops lands in S. Martins he granted to the old tenants, if they will pay him 170*l*. otherwise the same are granted to the use of his own children. 7. A por-

[b] Added by the lord treasurer.

BOOK II.

tion of tiths in the parish of Blodwal, of the yearly rent of xv*l.* he hath confirmed in lease to Mard. [Marmaduke] Jones, gentleman, for 40 shil. rent, in part of payment of a purchase of certain frechold lands, which he purchased of the same Jones, to him and to his heirs for ever. For the which, beside the said lease, he gave 100*l.* in mony; the lands being worth 20*l.* yearly. 8. Llanwstonm, a parcel of the archdeaconry, he hath confirmed in lease to William ap Richard of Conwey.

Other leases which the said lord bishop, for money or other pleasures, hath confirmed: to the number of six good rectories.

1. The rectory of Llanrhaiac, being yearly worth CLx*l.* he hath confirmed in lease to the widow of Mr. John Dudley, a smal rent reserved to the incumbent. 2. The rectory of Whytfor he hath in like maner, for a piece of mony, confirmed to Mr. Roger Manering of Nantwych. 3. The rectory of Northope, being the best in all the dioces, he hath in like maner confirmed in lease. 4. The rectory of Estyn he hath likewise confirmed in lease. 5. The rectory of Llanselyn, being the dividend of the chapter, he confirmed to the use of his own wife and children: promising great preferment to some of the prebends, to grant to him their portions of the same: and when he had obtained his request, he now refuseth to perform his promise with them.
1866. He hath also confirmed a parcel of tith, belonging to the vicarage of HenLlay, and the two coportionarie prebends of Llanvair, to his own sister.

And to the end he may confirm what he will himself, he hath gotten all the keyes of the chapter seal to the keeping of his own chaplains, whom he may command. Wherby it will appear what he meaneth to do hereafter.

1. The said bishop, in all his ordinary visitations, caused the clergy of his dioces to pay for his lordships diet, and the diet of his train, over and above the accustomed procurations, appointed by the laws for that purpose, and contrary to the same laws.

2. He commonly giveth no benefice before he hath gotten the harvest for himself, if the same do fall, that he may so do.

3. And now (the more is the pity) he is altogether given to the purchasing of lands to him and his heirs. And hath given great sums of mony upon mortgages of lands. As upon the lands of Mr. Edwards of Chirk, as it is reported, the sum of 700*l.* Mr. Conwey, the sum of ———— Which thing is a scandal to his profession, and an ill example of usury to the laity.

4. The officers of his consistory court do receive great sums of mony of offenders, in redemption of their corporal penance. And never send the same, nor any part therof, to the parish where the offences are committed. But either take the same to their own uses, or give it to his lordship, without any notice or satisfaction to the congregation offended.

5. There is no table of fees set up in the consistory according to the late canons.

6. There are no overseers appointed for divine service within that dioces, according to the Injunctions. Which thing hath been a great cause of so many recusants in that country. All the premisses are to be found of record, or notoriously known, so that they cannot be denyed.

Number XXXIII.

The dean and prebendaries of Ely to the lord treasurer, upon occasion of the queen's letter to them, to grant a lease to one Ashby, her servant, of certain manors of that bishopric, now void.

OUR duty in most humble wise remembred, with most humble thanks for your lordships good favour in procuring from her majesty the grant and confirmation of divers things of late belonging to the church of Ely. These shall be to certify your honour at this time, that we have received, the 7th day of this month of June, certain letters from her majesty in favour of Mr. Will. Ashby, esq. one of her majes- Epist. ecclesiast. pen. me.

BOOK II.

tys well beloved servants, requiring and authorizing us therby to make him a certain lease, under our chapter-seal, of the manours of Dunnington and Thriplow, and of the parsonage of Hinkston, belonging to the bishopric of Ely. And likewise we have received another letter from Mr. Secretary Walsingham, expressing her majestys gracious favour. (The copy whereof they sent enclosed.) And altho' we are most willing to do in all duty that her majesty shall command,
187 and ready of good will to plesure the said honest gentleman, yet, for that we are credibly informed, that your honour hath bestowed divers things, belonging to the said bishopric already, and particularly the manour of Dunnington, upon Mr. Richard Cox, during the time of vacancy of the see of Ely, we are persuaded, that all the rest doth belong to your honour for that time of vacancy.

And therefore we have forborn to seal the said lease, as we are authorized by her majesty for to do, until we shall understand your lordships plesure herein; being our singular good lord, and high steward of our church. Unto whose counsil we do refer our selves herein to be directed.

And wheras the church of Ely, among other of their grants made to the prior and covent, and their successors, hath had a special privilege of keeping and receiving all the temporalities belonging to the said bishopric, during the vacancy, as may appear unto your honours by divers of her majestys noble progenitors under their seals, (which we do send unto your honour to peruse,) like as her majesty hath willed and licenced us to do at this time in these particulars: the which if we, the dean and chapter of Ely, for us and our successors, may likewise obtain of her majesty, and enjoy by your honours good means, the like grant of keeping the temporalities, *sede vacante*, accordingly, then might we not onely safly yield to these her majestys letters, without prejudice to this see of Ely, or any other bishopric hereafter; but also do promise by these our letters, that we will not pass any thing belonging to the said bishopric during the vacancy, but such as your honour shall first be made privy of, and given your assent thereunto. And so with

our daily prayers for the long continuance of your honours happy prosperity, we humbly take our leave. From Ely, the 11. of June, 1587. BOOK II.

Your honours most bounden and daily orators,

Robert Norgate, Andrew Pern,
Jhon Bell, Jhon Parkers,
Edmund Barwel.

Number XXXIV.

Orders made at a synod of puritans, Sept. 8, 1587.

1. DE scribendis et subscribendis literis; nimirum, ut familiari modo fiant. MSS. Rev. T. Baker.

2. Literæ fiduciariæ certa forma scribendæ. Cujus exemplum hoc sit, Salutem in Christo, Amen. Reverende frater, charissimus frater noster dns. N. rogatus est, ut te conveniret. Rogatus est etiam, ut quibusdam rebus, quæ ad me, et alios quosdam fratres in his locis attinent, tecum communicet; et siqui præterea istic sunt, quibuscum utiliter communicare possunt; quos propterea his literis non complexus sum, quia is te conventurus est, cujus fides satis nota est. Cui rogo fidem adhibeas in eis quæ tecum nostro nomine communicaturus est. Vale, frater charissime. Deus omnibus tuis sanctis laboribus et conatibus eos successus concedat, qui maxime Dei honori, et ecclesiæ et tibi ipsi, fructui atque solatio esse possint. *Tui studiosus.*

3. Colloquia fratrum nituntur. 1. Generalibus cohortationibus et mandatis, de nobis mutuo juvandis. 2. Communione sanctorum; illustrata similitudine humani corporis. Quæ rationes magis urgent ministros, qui sunt præcipua membra ecclesiæ. 3. Specialibus mandatis, et cohortationibus ad ministros, de curanda ecclesia, quæ aliter procurari non potest. 4. Exemplis, quæ sunt Act. 8. 14. et 25. 2. (Schismatis calumnia refellitur, in communicatione fratrum cum ecclesia in verbo et sacramentis, et cæteris omnibus, exceptis corruptelis. 2do. quia nullam authoritatem assumant alios ad sua decreta obstringendi.) 5. Hæc est 188

maxime opportuna ratio occurrendi schismatis. 6. Et continendi fratres in sani judicii unitate. 7. Et vitandi securitatem. 8. Et temeritatem. 9. Et augendi scientiam, omniaque dona ministerio necessaria. 10. Magistratus potestas non minuitur, cum sit plane ecclesiastica; nec adhuc diserte prohibetur.

4. Ratio habendi colloquia et conventus sumenda ex synodica disciplina. In quibus commodum erit, ut fratres prophetia, vel alia ratione ad augendam scientiam commoda, se exerceant.

5. Acta conventuum referenda eadem ratione, qua ferenda sunt ipsa mandata; hoc est, breviter ad fratris ferentis memoriam juvandam.

6. Quærendum de mulierum baptismo, privata sacramentorum administratione, Apocryphorum lectione, apertis depravationibus scripturæ, signo crucis typico; an simpliciter impia.

7. Ad quæstiones de sacra disciplina, et synodica, (1. An conveniat cum verbo Dei. 2. Quousque cum pace ecclesiæ, uti liceat,) nondum responsum est a plerisque. Quod curandum in proximum conventum.

8. De necessitate idonei ministri, de non communicando cum inidoneis ministris, et non agnoscenda aucthoritate hierarchiæ; et omnino de illegitima disciplina repudianda, atque legitima instauranda praxi nostra; deliberandum est a fratribus inter se, et cum exteris ecclesiis reformatis.

9. Responsio ad dubitationes certorum conventuum de disciplina, dilata est, donec reliqui conventus suam de tota disciplina sententiam significarint.

10. Superioris conventus acta mittenda sunt ad proxime sequentem.

11. Nomen loci et temporis habendi conventus celandum ab ipso, cui significatum fuerit ab aliis; et cum delectu tantum communicandum: idque postquam delectus fuerit.

12. Scribendum

Suffolciæ, { D. Knewstub. / Allen. } Cantiæ, { Nichols. Estwel. / Elvyn. Westwel.

Essex,	Gifford. Rogers.	Surrey,	Rychman. Udall.
Hartford,	Dyke. Pigg.	Northampt.	Barbon. Flood.
London,	Field. Egerton.	Warwick,	Cartwright. Fen.
Cambridge,	Chatterton.		

13. Curandum de libris disciplinæ imprimendis, et per conventus dispergendis. 189

14. De ministerio academico deliberandum a fratribus in proximum conventum, si intersint academici.

15. De libris de Cartwright de disciplina, rogandus ipse primum, ut vertantur. D. Chatterton, et D. Gellibrand procurent.

16. De libro responsorio ad Rhemensis Testamenti translationem, scribendum a D. Fen ad comitem Leicestrensem, et ad D. Fennerum.

17. Juramenta in visitationibus accipienda, nonnisi protestatione, quatenus liceat, salva conscientia.

18. De proximo conventu convocando demandetur classi Warwicensi, ex sententia classium ejusdem comitatus, modo intra tempus semestre, et non ante trimestre.

Ex MSto. magistri Lauton, coll. Trin. Cant. sacellan.

Number XXXV.

Durden, a minister, that called himself Elias; his prophecies concerning the times approaching, and the return of the Jews, by his conduct. In a letter to one of his party, named Williamson, a tailor in Cambridge. With his interpretation of the prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse.

Grace and peace be with you from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ.

Brother W.

'TIS commanded, that as every one hath received a gift, so he should distribute the same to others, as faithful dis- MSS. ecclesiast. penes me.

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posers of the manifold gifts of God. For this cause I durst not concele from you, brother William, as to whom I am especially bound by manifold links of charity, kindred, and calling to be beneficial, I dare not, I say, hide from you that knowledge which I have by an extraordinary means received from God, to impart to all in universal. The matter is this in brief sum.

That we have hitherto, like Saul, kicked against the pricks, yet now, as Paul, we shall become chosen vessels to bear his name not before England only, (for which cause I am in prison,) but even before all nations that are in the world: to fulfil these scriptures, written long since of my calling and works. Esay 49. 1. &c. and 59. v. 20. and Mark 9. 12. and Rom. 10. 26. Dan. 7. 25. 26. Ezek. 38. and 39. Apo. 5. 11. 12. 14. 15. 16. 17. 19. By these places I gather these four points.

I. That the Jews are to be brought from among the Gentils, even unto the land of Judea.

II. That I am appointed and ordained of God to be their deliverer. And that we are the same Israelites, whom this land doth persecute. [Puritans.]

190 III. That we shall be sent unto the land promised us, Ezek. 36. and Jer. 31. and Apo. 12. 23. and that in this queens days, that now reigneth.

IV. That shortly after that, all the kings of the whole world shall be gathered together, to fight against us in Judea; where we shall have the victory: and all the kings of the world shall be obedient unto us, and pay us tribute: yea, and for a whole thousand years shall be obedient to the gospel.

All these four propositions I do thus approve out of those scriptures.

First proposition, That the very Jews by nature must be gathered into their own land from the Gentils, these testimonies, needing no exposition, do convince: namely, Ezek. 36. and 39. Esa. 14. 1. and that of Jer. 7. and fully accomplished at the death of the infants, Matth. 2. For the prophet doth add the cause of Rachels comfort: namely, because there is yet hope, that *they shall return into their*

own border. Jer. 31. 17. Wherefore now rather is this promise to be accomplished, sith they are yet to be brought into their own borders. Neither was the prophesy of Mycheas, cap. 5. 2. yet fulfilled in the person of Christ, Mat. 21. For it is all one with Apo. 12.

Secondly, That I am the person ordained to be their deliverer; and again, that this land doth persecute us; I gather by these testimonies following. But for the first, that I am ordained to these works, I know by these reasons.

1. By mine extraordinary calling I was moved to search these things. And so by searching I understood these things, and perceived that no other interpreter understood them.

2. For this cause I knew that I was ordained onely to se and work them. For it is testified, that no man in heaven or earth, or underneath the earth, was able to open the book, or to loose the seven seals therof, Apoc. 5. but the lion of the tribe of Judah; the root of David, &c. Wherefore, considering mine extraordinary vision, which was most like the vision of those seven seals; and considering that God did inwardly inform me with the understanding of the Apocalyps; I did not doubt to believe that I was the person figured by that lion, and that lamb, as it were slain. Furthermore, I was yet more fully certified of this by another property of that person in the 19 of that Apo. ver. 16. For upon my thigh is a mark and print of a round circle: which I interpret to signify the geometrical proportion of that possession which I am promised. And therefore it is said, that this name written is, *King of kings, and Lord of lords.*

Neither doth that place of Paul to Timothy, Epistle 1. cap. gainsay this interpretation, altho' he applieth it as peculiar to Christ. For it is proper to him, as the only head of the church, and even of all the world in all ages, as Micheas testifyeth, 5. 2. But to his servants it may be also applied, for the power and authority that he doth give unto them sometimes upon earth; as it appeareth in the 2.

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of Dan. 37. For Daniel saith of Nebuchadnezzer, *Thou art a king of kings.* Yea, and in that chapter he promiseth the like aucthority and power to another person, at the end of those four kingdoms. Which doth agree altogether with this, which John also prophesieth Apo. 19. 15 and 16. I conclude therefore by this interpretation that I am the person, having the mark or name of *potentate* upon my thigh.

4. Lastly, that I am the person, the time of my calling doth verify, together with the testimony of Daniel and John
191 of the said time of my calling. For Daniel (Dan. 12.) by vision saw two others standing, wherof one, he saith, asked, when the end of those things spoken of in his prophesy should be. Now these two were not angels, but men: as of him which asked of the time in the 8th chapter it is plainly witnessed. Of these two men, the one was John. But he did not ask after the time: but, without asking, the angel did shew him both of the time and of my calling also. For by the reed to mesure the temple and altar, and them which worship therin, he did signify my raising to shew these things. For how could he mete worshipers with a material reed? Therefore John by the reed doth signify no other thing than him whom Daniel saw, asking
Apoc. xi. 1. after the end of the visions. And this is apparent, for they both heard that the time should last but three years and an half, after my calling, for a time, two times, and half: and 42 months are all one with three years and an half. And the meaning of the word must be shut up, until the end of the days, Dan. 12.

Therefore the time must not be literally understood as they are written: onely it resteth upon the raising up of that reed to mete; when we must begin to number.

And now to prove that I am this *reed* and instrument, I alledge experience of time: namely, that now is the time come, and the days and months must begin to be accounted at the day of my calling: which was the 24th of August, 1585. So that the holy city must be trodden under feet, until the 24th of February, 1589. The proof wherof is

this: that the end of these 42 months so accounted shall end just with the time appointed to the two beasts, spoken of in the 13th chap. of the Apocalyps, ver. ultimo. For it is said, that the Jews, which is signified by the *holy city*, must get the victory of the beast, and of his name, and image, and number of his name. Apoc. 15. 2. And the number of his name, that is, his possession and reign, is 666. Which being called *months*, (as no doubt they must,) shall end the same time, namely, anno Dom. 1589, the 24. of February. For this beast is the kingdom of England. And the image of the first beast hath been maintained in it since the 25. of Aug. 1534. and must last 666 months, that is, 55 years and an half. Which shall end the 24 of Febr. 1589. So it will fall out just with the end of the 42 months after my calling. I conclude therefore my experience, that no other person can be allotted to work these things.

Pars secunda propositionis 2dæ 6 modis seu rationibus.

It remaineth that I prove, that this is the land and place from which the Jews must be delivered. First, I alledge the prophesies of Daniel, chap. the 2d, and Apoc. 17. Both which prophesies do agree that the Jews must win victory against the beast with ten hornes; which is without all doubt the government of Rome. But that little horn which Daniel speaks of, cap. 7. 25. and cap. 8. must needs betoken this kingdom, England: which I prove by these infallible reasons following. Wherby it shall appear to all men that this is the land wherin the Jews are persecuted, and out of which they shall be gathered.

For, 1. This kingdome departed from the beast, the pope, as Daniel said it should, cap. 7. 24. and 8. 1. 2. It is unlike to the former hornes, or kingdomes under the pope; for they both serve him and believe the popes doctrine. But this land doth not serve him, but yet doth believe some of his doctrines. Of this Daniel spake, ver. 24, 25. and John, Apoc. 13. 11. and 12. 3. This horn hath subdued three of the other, as Daniel, cap. 7. 2. 4. What way it is enlarged, it is witnessed, Dan. cap. 8. and 9. 5. What opinions it holdeth against the truth, it is witnessed, cap. 7. 25. Lastly, how many months it should last; how many changes it

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should have in this time; yea, how many heads in all this time, as well kings as queens, John doth set forth unto us.

192 So that nothing is wanting in the full description of a kingdom, the very name of place and person onely excepted. For he sets down the time of the whole government; namely, 666 months: the number of heads, kings with queens, are seven. As Apoc. 17. 9. Of which five are now fallen. For he spake then as if he had lived now. For he speaketh of the person of that elder. And by him he meant me. And therefore he noteth this his meaning by that saying, *Here is the mind that hath wisdome*, ver. 9. The like he useth in the 13th chap. ver. 18. that the church might know, that whoso could understand these two places, he should know all. And that it might be allotted to one person onely. For he saith, *Here is the mind that hath wisdom:* not *minds*, &c. But of all things generall he saith generally, cap. 13. *Here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the testimonies of Jesus.*

Now to come to the seventh head again. He saith, as he were living, (for so he is, even that elder, which in vision shewed John these things,) *five are fallen;* as namely, Henry the king of late, of famous memory; and his wife, the queen Anne. 3. Edward the Sixth. 4. and 5. Philip and Mary. One is; the seventh is not yet come: and must tarry but a short time; even five months. For it is that Abaddon spoken of, Apoc. 9. This is manifest by the saying in the 4th verse of the same 9th chapter. For thereby it is manifest that Abaddon is the seventh head; and this queen the sixth. Because the Jews which have the seal of God in their foreheads must not be hurt by Abaddon: but before his time, under the queen, they must be delivered. For this queen her reign is figured by the blowing of the fourth trumpet. And that the Jews must at this time be delivered, it is testified by both Daniel, cap. 8. and by John, Apoc. cap. 12. For by the host of heaven, and the prince of the host, and by the woman and her manchild, which should rule all nations with a rod of iron, the Jews and their prince are signified: as Daniel

doth plainly, cap. 8. and John in his 8th chap. do mean one thing by the host of heaven, sun, moon, and starrs, it is manifest, because John and Daniel do note the same time, in that they both say, This shall be don in the last wrath: Dan. 8. and Apo. 15. For John meaneth by them that have gotten victory over the beast, and his name, and the number of his name, chap. 15. 2. none but the Jews. For they are said to have the harps of God, both in the 15 and 14 chapters. So then they also are the same, which must be the destroyers of the papists: as is signified by the viols which they pour upon the world: cap. 15. and 16. For the seven angels signify seven shepherds and principal men of the Jews. As Micheas, speaking of that time, witnesseth, &c.

And after some pages. So that by the *ascending of the beast* out of the bottomless pit is meant, that he shall again have his full authority in England, at the coming of the 7th head. Which is the next governour of this realm. That he saith, *that the beast was, and is not, and yet is*, he meaneth, that it was when he had full authority in England, but is not now, under the queen Elizabeth, which is the sixth head: and yet is of some authority: not in his own person, but in his doctrin. For some of his ceremonies are maintained. And therefore *they worship God in vain, which teach for doctrines the precepts of men.* Matth. 15. If Christ said it for washing of hands, and for leaving unpunished a loose and careless provision for parents, how much more would he say it for the malicious slandering of his people, that they are called rebells and traitors, because they obey not customs less necessary. For the washing of hands is more necessary than the wearing of a surplice, and crossing the child, and marrying with the ring, &c. And after a great deal more to this purpose, he went on thus:

When I was called to this matter by vision, I was bold to search. And in searching I perceived, that the seventh seal, spoken of by John, Apoc. 6. was very like to the vision I had: and that made me more bold. And when I had well viewed the whole book, and marked the errors of other

BOOK II. interpreters, I was bolder than before. And especially at the length, when I understood, that the time was come in-

193 deed, that the thing must not onely (and not before) be opened, but now to open by the word, when this deliverance promised unto the 144,000 Israelites, must I say, that it shall be before the 24th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1589. Which I prove thus. It is witnessed by the XI. of the Apocalypse, ver. 2. that the holy city must be trodden under foot 42 months. Which doth interpret the meaning of the *time*, *two times*, *and half a time*, spoke of by Daniel, chap. 7. 25. which must begin at my calling, to ask and know these things; as also Daniel spake long before, chap. 12. which also John, who was figured by the one of those two, standing before Daniel, did prefigure, Apo. 11. 27. But he was not that person which asked of the time. For he was enformed without asking. Neither could that person ask and know until the end of the days. But I am that instrument, as appeareth by the falling out of the time of 42 months from the day of my calling, to the end of 666 months appointed to the reign of the second beast. From which beast the foresaid Israelites must be delivered; as Apoc. 15. 2.

Therefore seeing this 666 months (being 55 years) and half began the 24th day of August, 1534, and must end the 24th day of February, 1589, it is manifest, that the time of my calling was figured by the reed, Apoc. 11. 1. For it is just 42 months before the same 24th Febr. 1589. For, as I said, it was upon the 24th of Aug. 1535, &c.

I conclude therefore that these 144,000 shall receive a kingdom by themselves the 24th day of Febr. 1589. And they must be sent from this queens kingdom by the queen before that time. For so Daniel saith, that the little horn should persecute them, until the time appointed, that the saints should possess the kingdom. So that the prophet meaneth, that they shall be under the power of the queen, until the end of the time appointed: but yet shall be eased from persecution before the very end. How much, I have it not revealed. This is also the meaning of the 42 months,

Apoc. 11. 2. And that it must be in her majestys days appeareth, not by guessing, neither by experience, nor yet by consequence upon this, that it must be so soon: but the word saith, that it shall be in the reign of the prince who is figured by the fourth trumpet, Apo. 8. and by the gift of interpretation I affirm that it shall be in her days, &c.

This and a great deal more of this stuff makes up these papers of this conceited enthusiast.

Number XXXVI.

Anthony Tyrrel, priest, to the lord Burghley, after his recantation at St. Paul's Cross; for his favour. With his protestation, and purpose for the future.

LIKE as Absalom, being forced to flee his fathers displesure for the outragious murther of his brother Ammon, (altho' by policy of Joab, and wisdom of the Thecnite, he was brought back again to Jerusalem,) could not be in quiet and comfort of mind, until he had seen the face of David his father; even so, rt. honorable, and my singular good lord, altho' by the providence and mercy of Almighty God, the clemency of my prince, and the favour of your honour, I am not onely restored from death unto life, and left to enjoy the sweet liberty of my country, but also restored unto the life and liberty of my soul; yet can I not be of full comfort or quiet of mind, until I may enjoy your 194
lordships presence, or happily understand the recovery of your lordships good favour again. And wheras my offence, being now less outrageous and unnatural than that of Absalom, hath not only deserved two years banishment from your lordships sight, but also your perpetual contempt for my lewd demeanour; yet hoping there is no less compassion in you than was in David, I trust that your honour hath granted me a perfect forgiveness. I was bold therefore, after some small shew of my true and unfeigned repentance, to address these letters unto your honour; hop- MSS. Burg.

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ing that once again you will vouchsafe to take me into patronage. And that the rather, for that the enemies of God will now hate me for my well doing.

For my part, I hope God will so underprop me with his grace, as from henceforth you shall not hear of me so much as a light suspition, either of treachery, hypocrisy, or dissimulation. And wheras I fear that my cousin, Anthony Cook, be worthily fallen into displesure with me, for falsifying my faith unto God, my prince, and your lordship; I hope your honours favourable good word, spoken in my behalf, shall reconcile me unto his good will and favour again. The which once gained, I shall the more carefully conserve the same than hitherto I have don. As for the residue of my kindred, according to the proverb, I have many, but few friends: and the fewer I shall have, for that I purpose to live in the fear of God, like a good subject and a Christian.

I hope therefore your honour of your accustomed pity will further me some way, that I may have *victum et vestitum:* whereby I may the better serve God, my prince, and country in my vocation. Thus craving pardon of your good lordship for my bold attempt, I cease further troubling your honour to this time. Most humbly praying God for your long and prosperous health. S. Katharines, the 12. December, 1588.

Your lordships most humble and daily orator,

Anth. Tyrel.

Number XXXVII.

Fleetwood, rector of Wigan, to the lord treasurer; upon occasion of a new commission of justices of peace for the county of Lancaster; and the good effect thereof.

Rt. honorable,

Cotton libr. Titus, B. 2.

BEING by your special good favour made acquainted with your honorable action, concerning the placing and displacing of the justices of peace in the county of Lancaster,

I have thought it my part to advertise you of the sequel therof: which I might the more fully be able to do, I bestowed my attendance at the assizes. Where I perceived in them that stand displaced no small indignation towards those whom they could any ways suspect to have been furtherers, or suppose to be favourers of that honourable action. Wherewith also they presumed to possess the rt. honorable the earl of Derby, as of a matter of no small dishonour unto him, and deep discontentment. Whereupon, for the present time and place, I thought good (my self remaining in some part of jealousy with them) in general to lay forth, as occasion served, in the pulpit to their faces, that which before I had more particularly delivered to your honour concerning the corrupt state of the whole country; that every guilty conscience of them might gather up that 195
which was due unto it. Wherof it pleased my lords the judges to take so good notice, that they delivered the chief points therof after to the jurors in charge, and the same also more especially recommended to the justices of peace, to be in their continual service regarded. All which so neerly touched the guilty consciences of the discontented sorts, that they began, for the residue of the assizes, to pluck down their high looks, and somewhat better to pacify their discontented minds, and to brook their emulated friends, than before they seemed to do.

After which immediately, when matters were at the hottest, I also thought good to attend the rt. honorable, my very good lord the earl of Derby, by way of accustomed duty, which I accordingly did; therby to give opportunity to his lordship of speech in the premised matters, and my self also to win occasion to lay forth that to his honour concerning the unsoundness of divers of his counsil, as might either fully satisfy his lordship, or at the least clearly justify your honours most considerate action. But I obtained not one word of the premised matter, tho' I endeavoured to stir him up thereto by many words on my part uttered concerning your honours direction of the ecclesiastical commission: whereat he seemed to have great good

BOOK II.

liking, and professed his best furtherance thereto. Wherefore howsoever the discontented sort (the rather to countenance their discontented state) will seem to cast upon his lordship a prefixed purpose of discontented expostulation; yet I am persuaded, when he shall come in presence with your honour, it will be wholly turned into an honourable request of a most dishonorable matter. Wherin, that your honour should not be narrowly overtaken, as unfurnished of sufficient intelligence, I have with all speed adrest these my letters to your honour, as soon as I understood of the earl his sudden departure towards the court.

By which to give your honour to understand, that as our state standeth the satisfaction of his lordships request, or rather of the suggestion of some evil instruments about him, shall breed not a little inconvenience to your honour, his honour their reformation that are displaced, to the public service, and to the good estate of the sincere professors, both of the commission and of the whole country. For first it shall argue your honours former action of insufficiency; being indeed in all judgment of those that fear God among us, most sincerely, discretely, and fully to all good purposes accomplished; both for the sincere comfort of the faithful professors of the truth, and the rare disparagement of the adversaries thereof in our country. Then it shall not a little nourish in the earl that humour of careless security in tolerating, and no ways soundly reforming the notorious backwardness of the whole company in religion, and chief of the chiefest about him. In sum, it shall harden the discontented in their former state of unsoundness. It shall drive the zelous gentlemen from the public service, and settle in the minds of all the true professors an utter despair of any good course of reformation hereafter to be taken in these parts, when they shall se your honours first acts, and the same of so great importance to their wel doing, to receive so speedy and untimely an overthrow. And therby a main wall as it were of corrupt magistrates set up here at home among us, against all good directions of your honours hereafter to be made from above.

These considerations, rt. honorable, have caused me to wish the earl to want in this matter some part of his desire. Whom yet I honour many ways, not unworthily: and so likewise many others, if such there be, that seek to have their private humours of singular sovereignty still nourished with public discommodity. Neither may your honour think, that two, or but one more of his lordships counsil added (as it were but Mr. Halsall, or Mr. Farrington) to the commission, or Mr. Rigby of the quorum, shall work no great prejudice; for one bad man among many, not all good, shall be able to do no small hurt.

Halsall is a lawyer, presented this last assizes as a recu- 196
sant in some degree. Farrington is as cunning as he: not any thing sounder in religion, tho' much more subtil to avoid the public note than he. Rigby is as cunning and unsound as either, and as grossly to be detected therein as Halsal. All three of them as buisy contrivers of dangerous devices against the peace of the ministry, and free course of the gospel, and direct proceding of justice, in all common opinion, as any that ever bore authority among us. If there were yet room for any more of his lordships counsil, it might rather be wisht, that Mr. Tildesly or Mr. Scarsbrick, gentlemen of best note among the rest, for honest and upright dealing in civil matters. But much rather to be wisht, that his honour would be persuaded to hold himself sufficiently contented with those three of his counsil, and chief about him, which your honour hath already unrequested freely given to his lordship, namely, sir Peter Lee, sir Richard Sherborn, and Mr. Rigby, all three of the same affection of the rest: and yet Rigby as discontented, and as presumptuously using his speech against your honours former proceedings, as any that remain wholly expulsed. But it may be that his honour, or some other, the rather to gain their purpose, shall bring in question the state of the present commission, in respect either of the whole body of the commissioners, or of the particular members therof.

Wherefore I thought it also most expedient to lay forth unto your honour the sundry observations which I have

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made in this behalf. First, for the whole body of the commissioners, they are so proportionably allotted to the shire, as our store of sound men would any way afford. Five, or four, or three justices at the least unto every hundred: by means wherof every hundred hath his sufficient magistracy within it self, and every quarter sessions (entertaining the most of them two hundreds) a competent number of justices, and the general assizes a ful furnished bench of worshipful gentlemen to countenance and attend that great and honorable service. Which appeared evidently in the ey of all men this late assizes, by the most plentiful concourse of all the gentlemen justices well affected, from all parts of the shire: providing therby, that neither the common service, specially laid upon them, should be disfurnished of due attendance, nor the discontented sort should obtain any just occasion to argue your honours direction of insufficiency, or them of any neglect of duty. Where they employed themselves so throughly in the cause of religion, that there ensued a most plentiful detection of 600 recusants by oath presented; as also the indictment of 87 of them, (as many as for the time could be preferred to the jury.) And further a notification by oath of 21 vagrant priests usually received in Lanchashire; and 25 notorious houses of receit for them. Such are the manifold commodities which we feel already by your honours most sound direction. In respect wherof it is of all that desire reformation among us (as justice of her children) most confidently justified.

The only want in general is, the want of sound gentlemen in most parts of the country, wherof (I assure my self) they that promote the office against your honours direction will say little. Hereunto your honour conceived a most apt and necessary supply, namely, the attendances of the justices of Salford hundred at the quarterly sessions of other parts of the country worst affected. To which effect it is given out, that your honour hath already sent down letters to the earl; but I fear me, his lordships absence, and the sinister emulation of some of his counsil, as namely, of Mr. Farrington, (as I certainly hear,) will disappoint

them of their due success. Wherefore it were good your honours more especial letters were written to the gentlemen themselves, of whom I doubt not but they shall enjoy a most dutiful acceptance, and a most effectual regard to the great commodity of my self and others that dwell in the most desolate parts of the country, from all goodness and good men.

Then for the particular gentlemen, by your honours more particular direction assigned to this service: as namely, Mr. Warren and Mr. Talbot, most commodiously borrowed of the two countries next adjoyning: Mr. Banister and Mr. Hopwood, for their former most approved service, put forward to the quorum: Mr. Wrightington and Mr. Brodshaw, for the special benefit of the ministry, most happily planted in the parts where they both dwel; necessarily added: Mr. Lancton, Mr. Eccleston, still retained in place, most disfurnished of able men for that service; there is no exception to be taken, either for their gentry, livings, affections in religion, good discretion, and well furnished experience for all parts of the services. And so I beseech your honour to rest most resolute upon my poor credit with your honour; which I be easily able to uphold in this matter with your honour; with the most plentiful testimony and censure of my brethren, the preachers of the country, and of the gentlemen best affected in the commission, if your honour require it of me. 197

In the mean time I shall crave your honour to vouchsafe me your special letters unto them of encouragement and direction, by which they shall not a little be strengthned in the buisy charge they have in hand, for the suppressing of many ungodly enormities of the sabbath, imposed upon them by my lords, the justices of assize, at the special instance of my self and some other of my brethren. Where I must not omit to signify unto your honour the special good countenance I enjoyed at their lordships hands; being indeed the more favourably bestowed upon me, as upon special notice they had some way taken, and there openly professed, of your honours good favour towards me:

BOOK II.

wherupon, I suppose, your honour shall gather convenient occasion to make your honorable good liking of their effectual procedings this last assizes in the cause of religion, to appear unto them. Wherby, no doubt, they shall receive no small encouragement to continue the same hereafter, to the great comfort of the true professors and faithful preachers. For the which I shall not cease to be thankful to the Lord, withall my brethren of the ministry; by which we shall enjoy a most sound means of thankfulness to your honour.

Commission ecclesiastical.

Concerning my procedings with the commission ecclesiastical, I have, according to your honours direction, wholly possest Mr. Soliciter therewith. And he further required of me and Mr. Goodman a full advertisement of our manifold enormities, which, by mutual conference with all my brethren, I have readily furnished; and against the next week to attend the bishop and Mr. Solicitor by their appointment. I fear nothing therin, but my lord of Darby his discontinuance, lest it breed some inconvenient delays. But your honours continual presence and ready mind shall work us, I trust in the Lord, a more speedy dispatch.

Thus commending my humble duty to your honour, and your soul and spirit and body to the most comfortable presence of Christs Spirit in you now and for ever, I humbly take my leave. From Wigan, the 7 day of September, 1587.

Your honours most bounden in the Lord,

Edward Fleetwoodde, pastor of Wigan.

198 Number XXXVIII.

Persons executed under Q. Elizabeth, priests and others, of the popish religion, in the years 1570. 71. 73. 77. 78. 1581. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. *as they are set down in a book, entitled,* Theatrum Crudelitatis Hæreticorum in Anglia: *printed* 1587. *at Antwerp.*

Priests.

Thomas Woodhouse, John Nelson,
Cutbert Mayne, Everard Hance,

John Shert,
Robert Johnson,
William Tilby,
Luke Kirby,
Laurence Richardson,
Tho. Cotton,
John Pain,
William Lacy,
Richard Kirkman,
James Thomson,
William Hart,
Richard Threlkeld.
P. Edm. Campion,
Rodulph Cervine,
Alexander Briant,
Tho. Ford,
John Mundin,
John Nutter,
George Haddock,
James Fenn,
Thomas Hemerford,
Tho. Alfield,[a]
James Bell,
Hugh Taylor,
Edward Stransham,
Nicolas Woodfin,
Francis Engleby.

[a] He was executed for bringing in cardinal Allen's books.

Laics.

Tho. Percy, earl of Northumberland, whose brother Henry not long ago was murthered in prison.
Joh. Story, Jur. D.
John Felton, gent.
Tho. Sherwood,
James Laburn, gent.
John Fynche,
Richard Wit,
John Bode,
John Slaide,
Tho. Webly,
Will. Carter,
Margaret Middleton,
Marmaduke Bous, [Bowes,] gent.

Such as were executed for religion in the reign of king Henry VIII. in the years 1535. 37. 38. 39. 1541. 43. *as they are set down in the* Theatrum.

Priests, to the number of 52. wherof one cardinal, [Fisher,] nine abbots, three priors. Besides thirty two Franciscans, that dyed in several prisons. And *laics* six, whereof two of them were sir Tho. More, lord chancellor, and the countess of Salisbury.

But in truth some of them suffered for denying the king's supremacy; and others about the business of the holy maid of Kent.

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Number XXXIX.

A decree of the vice-chancellor and heads of the university of Cambridge, for discommoning Edmunds, the mayor of the said town.

Maii 27. 1587.

Registrar. acad. Cantab.

QUIA constat ven. viro Johi. Copcot, S. Th. P. hujus almæ academiæ procan. et majori parti præpositorum coll. et aliorum doctorum in universitate præsentium; viz. doctorum, Goad, Norgat, Tyndal, Hickman, Betts, Ward, Baroe, Mundeford; magistrorum, Whitaker, Barwell, Preston, et Nevell, Johannem Edmundi, modernum majorem villæ Cant. gravem, imo maximam ingratitudinem adversus academiam, scholares, et eorum famulos, exhibuisse, et exhibere: ideirco D. procan. præpositi collegiorum, et cœtus doctorum super nominatorum, secundum statuta universitatis, decreverunt; Quod nullus scholaris, aut sub privilegio scholarum, in hac universitate degens, deinceps, et in posterum, aliquo modo, directe vel indirecte, emptione, venditione, contractu, aut quasi, cum eodem Johe. Edmundi, alias Meers, ingratissimo, aut contrahat, aut communicet, sub pœna 100 sol. legalis monetæ Angliæ, communi cistæ academiæ præd. solvend. toties quoties in contrarium huic decreto aliquid quisquam prædictorum attentaverit.

Acta pub. acad. Cantab. ad ann. 1587.

[Number XXXIX.]

The master and fellows of Peter-house in Cambridge, to the lord Burghley; occasioned by the queen's letter to them, to admit one unqualified to be fellow of their college, against their statutes.

Rt. honorable, and our very good lord.

MSS. Burg.

WHEREAS her most excellent majesty hath of late directed unto us her gracious letters of dispensation in the behalf of one John Tenison, student in our college; and therin hath willed us, notwithstanding his degree, being

master of artes, to elect and admit him into the place of a fellow, either presently void, or next hereafter to become void, in our said college; which gracious favour hath been vouchsafed to the said Tenison, chiefly in consideration of his poverty and want of maintenance, as may appear by the copy of her highness letter enclosed:

May it please your good lordship to understand, that by divers points of certain statutes (wherunto upon our oaths we are straitly bound) being not yet dispensed with by her highness, we are barred from accomplishing her highness plesure in the said behalf: as namely, it is required by our said statutes, that the said Tenison should stand a year in probation, and at the end therof should be admitted by the bishop of Ely, or visitor, or by some deputed for him in like cases. And further, that he should be poor, and of a quiet and humble spirit. Wheras on the contrary, he is taken to be of sufficient hability. For that heretofore he hath been taken ward; and of late the thirds of his mother have fallen to him. Besides a lease, as we are informed, yielding a yearly rent, exceeding the rate of living allowed by our statutes: having otherwise of certain worshipful friends very good and sufficient allowance by the year. And 200
during the time of this his suit, he hath shewed some manifest tokens of disposition *neither quiet nor humble.*

And further, it may please your good lordship to be advertised, that as we have not any room void at this present, so for the next places we have provided, before the coming of her highness letter, an election of four young men very poor, and utterly destitute of maintenance; yet very studious, and of great towardness in vertue and learning, and brought up among us in the places of poor scholars. By reason wherof they were the rather capable of preferment by the statutes of our house; and accordingly have been elected. For all which causes, not dispensed with by her majesty, we do, in most humble and earnest maner, pray and beseech your lordship, of lawful favour to us, our statutes, and the said young men, to whose great prejudice and discouragement the suite of the said Tenison directly

BOOK II.

tendeth, that being not in case to continue in the university, if by reason of the said suit the said election should miscarry. As also to the disturbance of our quiet, and of the said lawful and orderly election.

And further, we beseech your good lordship to be an honorable means to her majesty, that wheras at divers and sundry times heretofore we have performed all due obedience to her highness to the like suits, to the manifest violating and infringing of our said statutes, we may now at the last be suffered to use the liberty of the same. And namely at this time, when we cannot plesure the said Tenison without the manifest prejudice and hurt of so many poor and forward young men. As upon the sight and knowledg of her majestys mind, we were in all humbleness of duty and reverence willing to do. And we assure your lordship, that when it shall appear unto us that the said Tenison is not able, as it is supposed and reported to be, we can be contented to plesure him all we may; that is, to take order for his entrance next after the said young men already chosen, he bearing himself in the meantime in other respects, provided for by our said statutes, as one capable of such preferment. And this to perform by vertue of her highness command, without any further delay or let at all to the contrary.

Thus our duty to your good lordship remembred, in most humble maner we commit the same in our prayers to the Almighty, beseeching his heavenly Majesty to bless the same, with encrease of good health and honour, to his glory, and the comfort of many with us.

Your lordships ever at commandment,

Andrew Pern,	Peter Baro,
Richard Betts,	Raphe Amery,
Marke Sadlington,	Fynes Morison,
John Mountford,	John Blythe.

Number XL. BOOK II.

The master and fellows of Christ's college, Cambridge, to the lord treasurer, thanking him for putting so seasonable an end to a long controversy between Dr. Copcot, late vice-chancellor, their visitor, and them. 201

To the rt. honorable and our very good lord, the lord Burghley, lord high treasurer of England, and chief chancellor of the university of Cambridge.

CUM curam tuam qua reip. summam complecti soles, MSS. acad. honoratissime domine, ad privatas collegii nostri res demittere dignatus fueris, ac singulari et prædicanda humanitate certis viris negotium per literas dederis, ut de causa quæ inter procancellarium ac nos controversa esset dijudicarent; alterum necessitas expressit, ut de tota re quid actum sit honorem tuum certiorem faceremus, alterum meriti tui magnitudo libentibus ac volentibus nobis, imo cupientibus elicuit, ut quam qua maximas quamque mens hominis capere potest amplissimas ageremus gratias, ob maximum æternumque beneficium tuum. Literas ergo tuas, vir honoratiss. ad quos scriptæ erant iis dedimus, qui et ipsi procancellario legendas tradiderunt: ille vero cum primum judices sibi ferri recusasset, postea tamen summa certe (ut nos interpretamur) benignitate et modestia, ne alterutri parti, si secundum se nosve decisa lis esset, levis aliqua labecula aut nota addita videri posset, rem silentio effluere passus est, et quem diem visitationis suæ prolationi dixerat, ad eum diem ipse non aderat: ita visitatione defuncti sumus: quæ certe nisi, immortali beneficio tuo, et magna procancellarii moderatione, hunc exitum habuisset, turbulentissimæ profecto (ne quid gravius dicamus) tempestates extitissent, et collegio vel vincenti parum utiles. Tibi ergo, honoratissime Burghleie, quem toties afflictas res nostras erigere atque excitare voluit Deus, quod florentes sumus, quod liberi, tibi uni acceptum referendum est; quem cum habeamus authorem salutis voluimus etiam grati nostri animi habere testem: sed cum id non tam oratione qua re appareat, nulla autem res esse queat; quæ a nobis in tantam fortunæ amplitudi-

BOOK II.

nem, pro meritis tuis, proficisci possit, cum omnia dixerimus, id tantum consequi nos fatendum est, non ut grati, sed ne ingrati fuisse videamur. Deum ergo Opt. Max. precamur veneramurque, ut is, vicem nostram, te augeat ornetque omnemque tibi vitam, jam longam, lætam, atque honorificam, et cum naturæ concesseris beatam immortalemque esse velit.——Dat. Cantabrigiæ e collegio Christi.

Honori tuo plane devoti, præfectus et socii collegii Christi.

Edm. Barwell.

Guilielmus Perkins.	Franciscus Johnson.
Johannes Powell.	Robertus Baines.
Thomas Morton.	Georgius Downame.
Thomas Bradocke.	Andreas Williatt.
William Knight.	Cuthbert Bambrigg.

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Number XLI.

The epistle of the university of Oxford to the lord treasurer, in thankful acknowledgment of favours shewn them.

MSS. acad.

NON quasi (vir honoratiss.) insolitum hoc, aut etiam solum in nos collatum beneficium extitisset, quod dudum in rebus academicis suscipiendis, tantum tibi negotium facesseres, idcirco solennes has gratias amplitudini tuæ instituendas, arbitrari velimus: at vero, cum tua (quantum ab eruditissi. nostro vicecancellario accepimus) aliis atque aliis, nos academiamque nostram, ornandis beneficiis, pietas indies succresceret auctiorque fieret, gratitudinem nostram silentio perire, et prolabi, improbitatis esse duximus: præsertim cum, ea fuerit modo amplitudinis tuæ non cura solum, sed plane anxietas et solicitudo, ut prius eam, in rebus nostris versari intellexerimus, quam honorem tuum eas intelligere potuisse putaremus. Quare (ne multis amplitudini tuæ, rerum agendarum immensitate obrutæ, importuni videamur) cum tua nunquam insperata, reipsa, jam notissima, animos omnium nostrum amplitudini tuæ, tam digno, tam indissolubili, tam denique volenti et non violento vinculo,

pietas devinxerit et colligarit, ut fortiori, etiamsi maxime cupiamus, minime tamen possimus, nec certe alio quoquam, nisi hac certa animorum consensione, gratificari; nos omnium fælicissimos judicaverimus, si honori tuo, hoc nostrum quod reliquum est, grati animi munusculum, acceptum iri intellexerimus. Quod quidem ita esse, amplitudo tua planum efficiet, si gratias, quæ pietate tua, dignæ exprimi non poterant, eas, tacitis cogitationibus nostris, magnas imprimi, multiplicesque confundi, id quod res est interpretari voluerit. Deus Opt. Max. amplitudinem tuam quam diutissime reipub. servet incolumem. Decemb. 18.

Honoris tui studiosissima,

Academia Oxon.

Amplissimo, honoratissimoque viro, dno. Cecilio baroni de Burghleigh, summo totius Angliæ thesaurario, regiæ majestati ab intimis consiliis, dno. nostro colendiss.

Number XLII.

Mr. William Lambard to the lord treasurer, upon notice of his being nominated for a judge, or some other eminent place in the law.

AFTER my most humble and bounden duty, my rt. honorable good lord, your lordships letters of the 30. of September were even now delivered to my hand, having (by whose default I wot not) suffered that great delay in the coming towards me: which howsoever it may fall out to my detriment in the matter that they purport, yet came they not unseasonable to glad my poor heart, in that they were the infallible messengers, not only of the continuance, but of the encrease (if any may be) of your most honorable favour and disposition to work my good: who as I never demerited any thing at your hands, so nevertheless have I drawn more from the fountain of your mere bounty, than

MSS. Burg.

BOOK II.

from all the good willes and wyles of all the persons that be alive. Thus tyed, I may not cease to pray to God for
203 your honour; praying withal, that he will make my prayer effectual for you.

As touching the matter contained in your lordships letter, albeit I know mine own insufficiency (now also encreased by decay of sight, and discontinuance from study) to serve in any place where wisdom or learning must be set on work; yet acknowledging that I do reap some benefit by her majesty, (which I received from the free hand of your honour,) I hold my self double bounden to serve her highness with all the powers that I have. And the rather also, for that it hath pleased you, my most honorable lord, to give my name and your report of me. Therefore——only I do most humbly beseech your lordship to add this unto the rest of your great favours vouchsafed, that I may be not invested in the service, but upon probation; and for this next term onely: to the end, that after such an experiment and conference made of my small abilities with the office it self, I may faithfully (and in that duty which I bear to God, her majesty, and your honour) assure your good lordship, whether I shall find my self fit to discharge the trust that belongeth to the place.

Thus much I most humbly pray your good lordship to accept at this time; and until that I may, as duty bindeth, personally attend your good lordship, which also, by the favour of God, I will not fail with all good speed to perform. And so I most humbly take my leave of you, my rt. honorable lord, and do in my heartiest prayer recommend you to the gracious protection of the Almighty. From Hallyng this 4. of Octob. 1589.

Your lordships most humble and bounden,

Will. Lambarde.

[Number XLII.] BOOK II.

Certain true general notes upon the actions of the lord Burghley: in answer to a libel.

BUT above all, it is a strange fancy in the libeller, that he maketh his lordship to be *primum mobile* in every action without distinction. That to him her majesty is accountant of her resolutions; and to him the earl of Leicester and the secretary Mr. Walsingham, both men of great power and great wisdome, were but as instruments. Wheras it is well known, that as to her majesty there was never counsillor of his lordships long continuance, that was so appliable to her majestys princely resolutions, labouring always after faithful propositions and remonstrances, (and those in the best words and the most grateful maner,) to rest upon such conclusions as her majesty in her own wisdom determineth, and them to execute to the best. So far hath he been from contestation, or drawing her majesty into any his own courses. Cott. libr.

And as for the forenamed counsillors, and others with whom his lordship hath consorted in her majestys service, it is rather true that his lordship, out of the greatness of his experience and wisdom, and out of the coldness of his nature, hath qualified generally all hard and extreme courses, as far as the service of her majesty and the safty of the state, and the making himself compatible with those with whom he served in like parity. So far hath his lordship been from inciting others, or running a full course with them in that kind. But yet it is more strange, that this man should be so assuredly malicious, as he should charge his lordship, not only with all actions of state, but also with all the faults and vices of the times. As if curiosity and emulation have bred some controversies in the church, (tho' thanks be to God they extend but to outward things;) if 204
wealth and the cunning of wits have brought forth multitudes of suits of law; if excess in plesure or in magnificence, joyned with the unfaithfulness of servants, and the greatness of many men, have decayed the patrimony of

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many noblemen and others; that all these, and such like condition of the time, should be put upon his lordships account, who hath been, as far as to his place appertaineth, a most religious and wise moderator in church matters, to have unity kept: who with great justice hath dispatched infinite causes in law, that have been orderly brought before him. And for his own example may say, (that few may say,) that what was said by Cephalus the Athenian, so much renouned in Plato's works, who having lived neer unto the age of an hundred years, and in continual affairs and busines, was wont to say of himself thus, *He never sued any, neither had been sued by any.* Which by occasion of his office hath preserved many great houses from overthrow, by relieving sundry extremities towards such as in their minorities have been circumvented. And towards all such as his lordship might advise, did ever persuade sober and limited expence.

Nay, to make proof further of his contented maner of life, free from suits and covetousness, as he never sued any man, so did he never raise any rent, or put out any tenant of his own, or ever give consent to have the like don to any of the queens tenants: matters singular to be noted in his age. But he that will blame his lordship for the tales of every *novellante*, and for the vain and fond pamphlets and ballads of every idle fellow, that will put news in writing or in print, sometimes upon gain, sometimes upon humour; wheras his lordship neither hath any charge of the press, neither can his great and weighty business permit him to intend such trifles; doth shew, that tho' this libeller meant to spare no powder, yet surely he shot but at rovers.

But however by this fellow, as in a false, artificial glass, which is able to make the best face deformed and hideous, his lordships doings be set forth; yet let his procedings, which be indeed his own, be indifferently weighed and considered, and let men call to mind, that his lordship was never no violent and transported man in matters of state, but ever respective and moderate; that he was never no vindicative man; in particular, no breaker of necks, no heavy

enemy, but ever placable and mild; that he was never no brewer of holy water in court, no dallier, no abuser, but ever real and certain: that he was never no bearing man, nor carrier of causes, but ever gave way to justice and course of law: that he was never no glorious, wilful, proud man, but ever civil, familiar, and good to deal withall. That in the course of his service he hath rather sustained the burthen, than sought the function of honour or profit: scarcely sparing any time from his cares and travail to the sustentation of his health. That he never had nor sought to have, for himself or his children, any penny worth of land or goods that appertained to any person that was attainted of any treason, felony, or otherwise. That he never had nor sought any kind of benefit by any forfeiture to her majesty. That he never was a factious commender of men to her majesty, as he that any ways intended to besiege her, by bringing in his at his devotion; but was ever a true reporter unto her of every mans desert and ability. That he never took the course to unquiet or offend her majesty; but to content her mind, and mitigate her displesure. That he ever bare himself reverently, and without scandal in matters of religion, and without blemish in his private course of life.

Let men, I say, without passionate malice, call to mind these things, and they will think it reason, that tho' he be not canonized for a saint at Rome, yet he is worthily celebrated as *pater patriæ* in England. And tho' he be libellated against by fugitives, yet he is prayed for by a multitude of good subjects. And lastly, tho' he be somewhat envied without just cause while he liveth, yet he shall be deeply wanted when he is gon. And assuredly many 205
princes have had many servants of trust and sufficiency. But where there hath been great parts, there hath often wanted temper of affection. Where there hath been ability and moderation, there hath wanted diligence and love of travail. Where all three have been, there have wanted sometimes faith and sincerity. Where some have had all these four, yet they have wanted time and experience.

BOOK II.

And where there is a concurrence of all these, there it is no marvail that a prince of judgment be constant in the employment and trust of such a person: of whose faithfulness, as she hath had proof so many years in her own time, as it were very hard, but if he had gon about to abuse her, at some time she should have espyed it; so to begin withall, he brought with him such a notable evidence of his constant loyalty, as a greater could not have been.

For to confirm her majestys opinion in choosing him to be her first counsellor, as he is the only counsillor living of those she did use many years from the beginning of her crown, so she had cause to do. For that he, of all other counsillors in king Edwards time, refused to consent to the determination of a pretended will of king Edwards, to deprive the lady Mary, afterwards queen, and then the lady Elizabeth, now queen. For whom two times he only, of all the then counsillors, did for conscience sake adhere, to the peril of his head, if queen Mary had not enjoyed the crown. For the which it is well known, that queen Mary did not only reward him, but offered him to have been of her counsil: which he for good respects did forbear to accept.

Number XLIII.

The earl of Leicester to the lord treasurer; justifying himself for some angry speeches used to that lord; who had thwarted him in somewhat discoursed before the queen in council.

My lord,

MSS. Burg.

I KNOW not from whence my hap hath it, but hit hath fallen out sundry times, both contrary to my expectation, (and much less by any desert of mine,) that I have found your lordship more ready to thwart and cross my endeavours than any other mans; especially in the presence of her majesty, and for such causes as I have been the more earnest in: when, by your lordships own allowance and opinion, hit had been so resolved on by our conference before, as fit and meet advices to be given her majesty, for

the best furtherances of her own services. And these causes have lately been most in question, in which I my self, by her appointment, have been furthest employed: [viz. about assistance of the Low Countries.] And therefore did, both at your lordships hands, and other my lords, hope to be assisted and comforted, so far as my opinion should tend to the service of her majesty, and to matters being before, by your lordship and others, debated and agreed upon. Wherefore finding it to fall out otherwise, and to draw difference in argument, where there was good assent before, what was it but to leave mee, in her majestys opinion, to be a man either affectionate, or opiniative in mine own conceits; and withall to se her majestys service hindred, and to take lack, through such needless and unprofitable controversies among counsillors.

Albeit I know and grant among counsillors there may and must rise, by way of argument, divisions in opinion; which is both lawful and very convenient: and oft doth, without any causes of mislike at all: and God forbid there should be. But, my lord, in these causes we have been two or three times before her majesty, we had debated the 206
matter before; and the course I took was no other than your lordship did best like and most advise. And to fall into contrary opinions before her majesty, caused me both to take it ill, and to shew it plainly to you as I did. And for the words which I added withal, which your lordship doth set down in your letter, that I did charge you with some matters towards her majesty; assuredly, my lord, I used no such words. But finding my self grieved with such cross handling, as both at this and at other times I have don, I told your lordship I saw your lordship very ready to cross me now a days before her majesty. That I like it so ill, that I would and could find way to anger you as well. And that I had not dealt in this sort either with you, or any of yours; but much otherwise. And so, my lord, I have don to my poor power, and with as much desire to have you my assured friend as any friend you have found in England, which finding these occasions more than

BOOK II. once falling to my lot, I can hardly dissemble, or bear the unkind dealing of them: but rather to deal as I am dealt withall; when all kindness is not only so little regarded, but hardly requited.

In which conceit, my lord, I pray you think I can be as others are to me. And to that end was my speech and my meaning. And that I said was to your lordships self, and before none other; but moved, as your lordship said, in passion. And as I have been loth to have the occasion that should drive me to take such hard or unkind courses as I see some do, and my self very deeply felt.

Thus much, my lord, I have thought good to set down; which receiving your lordships letter even as I came away from the court, had no time till late this night to answer. Wherein I will not hide the conceit I had upon the causes I have shewed; finding my self indeed heartily moved and grieved: but plainly and flatly to deliver my mind, rather than to dissemble, as many can. Leaving to your lordship to consider of my doings, how you have found them, if I be well used. And so in very hast, leaving the rest till I speak with your self, I commit you to the Lord. From my house, this Monday night.

Your lordships very friend, if you so regard me,

R. Leycester.

208 Number XLIV.

Mr. Rither, a gentleman in the north, his letter to the lord treasurer Burghley: consolatory; upon the death of his mother, the lady Cecil, dying in those parts.

MSS. Burg. MANY are the persuasions lying upon your lordship to take this cause of grief as becometh your gravity. And tho' Socrates and Phocian are sufficing witnesses, that deep, wise minds are seldom moved with intemperate joyes or immoderate sorrows, (the uncomelines of both which Plutarch condemneth,) yet all this cannot discharge my duty, burthening me with your lordships care, in respect of my pri-

vate, but more for the common good of my country: knowing that a mite, when might can afford no more, will be accepted. And if the griefs, in respect of your lordships grief for this cause, imposed upon the back of all the best affected subjects of this realm, yea, and upon our sovereign her self, might ease your lordship, no doubt the weight would then be most light and easy, where the burthen now lyeth most heavy and painful. By which this comfort may accrew to your lordships mind, that next her majesty, all the good hopes of all good men, in their good causes, principally do depend upon your lordships health, life, and help.

Your honour daily saith to God, *Thy will be don.* If we could all at all times so think, there would be no adversity come to men, for our crosses commonly of discontentment with his will, that must command all wills. Who, as he is best, doth all for our best, if we do not oppose our selves against our sovereign good. And this is manifest, that to Christians there ought no cross to seem bitter; because all know, that he which did no sin endured worse for our sins than he offereth to any of us for our own. And all adverse accidents, be they never so much against our minds, we are yet assured that they do either exercise in patience, correct to amendment, or satisfy the merciful justice of God. Can wee then, within any compass of our duty, think otherwise?

When Paulus Emylius the pagan, yet a most worthy and noble pillar of the common wealth of his country, took the loss of his only two sons, chancing immediately after he had prosperously delivered the empire from a dangerous enemy, to be a satisfaction for the justice of the gods, having so good cause of offence against the Romans, now by their continual good success and greatness grown newly into the vice of such nations, as by their old virtuous disciplin they had subdued; your lordship may compare with him for the stay, state, and delivery of your country. But your causes of comfort left do so far exceed his, as the number of imps grown out of your noble house excel the

BOOK II.

number of none. But as your lordship looketh to reap comfort of these remaining, so you must with a cheerful heart offer up to God your patient consent for such as he hath taken. Your honour is a Christian, he was an Ethnic, that not only gave solace to himself, but also comforted the commonwealth, mourning generally for his loss. And all this he did for the transitory glory of this life. Your lordship must do it for the glory that shall never dy.

And to draw your lordship on further from these present causes of sorrow into the manifold blessings yet left you by God, your lordship, I say, may live happily and long, because your age is underset with all comforts of this instant, and those in the world to come.

The wise man said true, *His life was dear to few, whose death is lamented by none.* But this late weak lady, by the divine Providence longer lent to your lordship than by hu-
209 mane reason could be expected, as she is, for her own sake, of many lamented much, so more for your lordships cause; lest nature, who will have her course, (tho' with the more wise the less while,) should in your lordship excel nourture, and by piercing care cut off some of your years by sooner death, whose life is so dear and necessary to many.

The only ornament to the dead is the tears of the good sort. To the which most honorable obsequie and epitaph, as your lordship may rest assured to come, so that it may be late, all good subjects heartily wish and daily pray. Among the rest, I, the meanest in many respects, yet not hindermost in hearty desire of your honours long continuance here, to the glory of God and comfort of your country, your lordships principal care, do now remain more satisfied than before I had delivered my simple endeavour. Sacam, this 7th of Apr. 1588.

Your honours ever desirous in all duty,

James Rither.

Number XLV.

John Fox his epistle to Dr. Laurence Humphrey, president of Magdalene college, Oxon, and the scholars of the same; written with his own hand, before his Book of Martyrs; presented to the said college.

Multis magnisque dotibus ornatissimo viro D. Laurentio colleg. Magdalensis præsidi: pariter cum universo choro reliquorum juvenum, lectissimisque ejusdem collegii sociis.

Joannes Foxus salutem et pacem in Christo sine fine.

ETSI nihil erat in rebus meis dignum atque idoneum quod B. Mariæ Magdalenæ, veteris hospitæ ac nutricis meæ pixidi mitterem; at viduæ tamen evangelicæ opulentam illam imitatus penuriam, has qualescunque lucubrationum nostrarum minutias, pro veteri meo erga vos studio, vel officio potius, eximie, idemque doctissime Laurenti, præsidum decus, vosque pariter universi ejusdem sodalitatis collegæ conjunctissimi, in publicum ærarium vestrum conjiciendas censui. Vos in admittendo libro statuetis, pro libero arbitratu vestro, quod videbitur. Mihi, ut ingenue fatear, indignius quiddam, ac jejunius esse videtur, quam ut in chartophylacium vestrum recipi debeat; præsertim quum eo sermonis genere conscripta historia nullum magnopere usum studiis vestris præstare queat. Et tamen huc me, nescio quo pacto, pertraxit, vincens pudorem et judicium meum, Garbrandi bibliopolæ pellex oratio, sic ad persuadendum instructa, ut non frustra in tali tam diu academia videri possit enutritus. Auxit porro nonnihil hanc mittendi fiduciam tacita quædam, et jam olim insita mihi erga collegium istud propensio, vestræ deinde erga me humanitatis, simulque mei vicissim erga vos officii recordatio. Intelligo enim quid veteri scholæ, quid charis consodalibus, quid demum universo Magdalensium ordini ac cætui, sed præcipue quid ipsi imprimis charissimo collegiarchæ, viro ornatissimo, D. Laurentio debeam: cui quot, quantisque sim nominibus devinctus, nullo modo oblivisci aut præterire potero. Præter

MSS. S. Magdal. coll. Oxon.

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hos stimulos accedit denique, quod quum historiæ hujus bona magnaque pars Oxoniensem hanc vestram attingat academiam, unde ceu ex fonte, prima non solum initia sed et incrementa sumpsit, ac sumit quotidie fælix hæc et auspicata reformatæ per orbem Christianum religionis propagatio; idcirco rem facturus, nec vobis ingratam, nec meo indignam officio videbar, si de rebus maxime Oxoniensibus conscriptam historiam, ad Magdalenæum gymnasium vestrum, hoc est, ad primarium ac nobilissimum Oxoniensis academiæ collegium, velut in arce quadam studiorum ac literarum, penes vos asservandam commendarem. Hoc unum dolet, Latine non esse scriptum opus, quo vel ad plures emanare fructus historiæ, vel vobis jucundior ejus esse posset lectio. Atque equidem multo id maluissem: sed huc me adegit communis patria ac multitudinis ædificandæ respectus, cui et vos ipsos idem hoc redonare æquum est. Habetis rationes et causas, quibus ad mittendam historiam sum provocatus. Nunc historiam habete ipsam, quam, veluti pro tessera Foxianæ erga vos voluntatis mittimus. Eam, pro candore vestro, rogo etiam atque etiam, benigne susceptam velitis. Atque ne nihil aliud quam historiam nudam et incomitatam mittere videamur, en! simul cum historia, inter cæteros, quos in hoc multiplici et numeroso Christianorum militum satellitio Oxonia vestra, tanquam fælix mater, tum imprimis Magdalenæ fælicissima fæcunditas, produxit Jocelinum vestrum Palmerum, e choro vestro proximis his annis ereptum, denuo ad vos tanquam redeuntem et restitutum recipietis: simulque cum eo cæteros, nec paucos, nec vulgares Oxoniæ vestræ quondam alumnos nunc illustres Christianæ militiæ agonistas tanquam veterem martyrii scholam gratis animis suscipite, et Christum in martyribus suis glorificate. Quod superest, quoniam chartæ arctamur angustia, rogo, præstantissimi juvenes, ut Dominus Jesus istum vobis præsidem, vos orbi et ecclesiæ Christianæ diu servet incolumes, vestraque studia indies in majus ac melius provehat ad nominis sui gloriam.

Londini, Maii 24. [1562.]

Vester in Christo,
Joannes Foxus.

Number XLVI.

Inscription upon the monumental stone set up in the chancel of St. Giles Cripplegate church, against the south wall, in memory of the Rev. John Fox, the martyrologist.

JOHANNI Foxo, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ martyrologo fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indicatori sagacissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo, thaumaturgo admirabili. Qui martyres Marianos, tanquam phœnices ex cineribus redivivos præstitit. Patri suo omni pietatis officio imprimis colendo, SAMUEL FOXUS, illius primogenitus, hoc monumentum posuit, non sine lachrymis.

Obiit die 18. mens. April. anno Domini 1587. jam Septuagenarius.

Vita vitæ mortalis est, spes vitæ immortalis.

On a fair plated stone over his body, and the bodies of Richard Bullen and Will. Bullen, M.D. are these verses.

SACRA sub hoc saxo tria corpora mista quiescunt
Guilielmi Bullen medici, fratrisque Richardi;
Ac Johannis Foxi. Qui tres, mihi crede, fuerunt
Doctrina clari, rari, et pietatis alumni.
Guilielmus Bullen medicamina semper habebat,
Æque pauperibus danda, ac locupletibus æque.
Sicque Richardus erat benefacere et ipse paratus:
Omnibus ex æquo, quibus ipse prodesse valebat.
At FOXUS noster per multas hos parasangas,
Vita præcurrit studiisque accedimus omnes.
Extant quæ scripsit tormenta cruenta piorum,
Extant perdocte permulta volumina scripta:
Quæ scripsit FOXUS: nulli fuit iste secundus.

Obiit anno Dom. 1587. Apr. 16.

BOOK II.

Number XLVII.

210 *Inscription upon the monument of Simeon Fox, doctor of physic, buried in St. Paul's. Composed and erected by Dr. Tho. Fox, physician, his nephew.*

P. M.
Simeonis Fox,
Qui Johannis Fox ex Anna Randal,
Uxore, jam quinquagenaria, filius natu minor,
Quum Etonæ gymnacio pueritiæ rudimenta
Posuisset,
In hujus collegii socius merito ascitus est.
Exinde
Johannis Cantuariensis archiep.
Familiam honestate ornavit.
Peregre studiorum causa profectus,
Paduæ claruit:
In Medicinæ Doctoris titulo insignitus
Syndicique officio ibidem functus,
Londini
Symmistarum sodalitio quinquennio
Præsedit.
Arte, fide, probitate eximius.
Quo clariorem
Vix habuit Asclepiadum schola.
Animam Deo reddidit, cœlebs in terris,
Æternum maritandus in cælis,
Ætatis suæ an. 80. sal. humanæ MDCXLII.
Hoc votum solvit tibi mœrens Thomas Fox
Ex fratre nepos,
Amore et officio.

Number XLVIII.

Samuel Fox his diary, concerning himself, his education, travels, gifts, purchases, and children.

I WAS born anno D. 1560, in the third year of queen

Elizabeth, the last day of the year, being new-years eve. Born at Norwich: where I remained til I was three years old; thence brought up to London. My father then dwelling at the dukes [of Norfolk] house, [in Dukes place, or Charter house.] And went to school with several [masters.] And at last with Mulcaster, [an eminent learned grammarian, and schoolmaster at Merchant Taylors school, and afterwards removed to St. Paul's school.]

At 14 years of age, anno 1574, I was sent to Oxford; where I was elected demi of Magdalen college: and so remained seven years. An. 1576, I went into France. An. 1581, I was chosen probationer in Magdalen college: and being repelled by a contrary faction, was restored by the queens letters mandatory. Anno 1583, on Easter-day, I went out of England to Germany; where I studied at Lipsic a year. Ann. 1584, I went to Basil. And after an half years abode there, I passed over the Alpes into Italy: where I remained a year and an half; and returned home 211
through France. Came into England in the end of June, an. 1586.

At my return from beyond seas, my father gave me the lease of Shipton Underwich Wood.

Anno 1587, in Easter-holydays, my father dyed, as may more exactly appear by his monument, ordered by me, neer his burying place, in a wall of the chancel at St. Giles without Criplegate.

In the same year, I took degree of master of arts at Oxford. The same year, I was entertained into sir Tho. Heneages service, being then made vice chamberlain [to the queen.] Anno 1588, I was sent once to Hamburgh.

Anno 1589, maried to Anne Luson, or Leveson, at Eastwel in Kent, in sir Moyle Finches house, being the 15th of August; where were only present, sir Moyle Finch and his lady, my lady Heneage, and Mr. Alworth and his wife, and Mr. Stubbs, the minister.

Anno 1590, the last day of the month and year, being new-years eve, (and the same thirtyeth year wherin my self was born,) was born into this world my deerest daughter

BOOK II.

Anne, at Shipton, in the parlour chamber in the parsonage house. Godfather, sir Moyle Finch; godmothers, lady Heanage and Mrs. Baret.

An. 1590, I had given me the lease of St. James's in Cornwel, of Kings college in Cambridge.

I surrendred my place of Magdalen college in Oxford: for which I had 73*l.* and a promise of the manour of Canket hall in Loveland; which I surrendred to Kemp, the tenant, for 125*l.*

Burges of parlament. [Chosen this year, the place not set down by him.]

Anno 1591, the keeping of Havering house [called Havering at the Bowre, a house of the kings of England] was given me by my master, [sir Tho. Heneage.]

The receivership of the High Peak in Darbishire granted me, which I sold to William Crowshlowe for 90*l.*

I bought Beacon house [perhaps Bacon house in London] of Rich. Copland for 50*l.*

My lady [Heneage] procured me the clarkship of the market of Epping.

I had the leases given me of Sheply and Burton in Northumberland.

An. 1592, I went twice into Lancashire about the manour of Halton; and through Westmerland and Cumberland, all along the middle marches; and into Scotland.

An. 1591, 14. Febr. upon Shrove Sunday, about 2 of the clock in the morning, was born Tho. Fox, [his eldest son, afterwards Dr. Fox, of the college of physicians, London,] at Havering in the Bower, in the kings house. His godfathers, sir Tho. Heneage and sir John Leveson; his godmother, my lady Finche.

Then follow the names of the rest of his sons and daughters; viz. their names, and the times when, and places where born.

Number XLIX.

BOOK II.

An expostulatory letter to the puritans, upon occasion of their contentions in the church; and exhortatory to peace, and earnest application of themselves to preach the gospel. Written, as it seems, about the year 1587, *by John Fox, or Laurence Humfrey, D.D.* 212

Ad omnes fideles ministros Jesu, cooperarios suos in evangelio, et qui verum habent domus Dei reformandæ zelum.

TESTOR vos in Domino, fratres, ista vera esse quæ scripsi; ne resistatis quæso veritati. Scio, nihil tam rectum esse, quin arte possit depravari; nihil tam falsum, quod non dicendo fiat probabile et certe beavit Deus dies nostros mirifice, acumine hoc ingeniorum, et maturitate. Patres nostri non viderunt tantam felicitatem ingeniorum, tantam maturitatem, tantum acumen, in omnibus, in infantibus, in rusticis, sicut nos videmus. Ne imitemur hic Adamum, proavum nostrum, in illo summo sapientiæ ac cognitionis suæ gradu, ut peccata tegamus, ut verba Domini pervertamus, ut subterfugia, latebras quæramus. Exquiret nos certo certius Dominus. In luce, in sole (quod aiunt) degamus; non cum illo in umbra, in latebris, in diverticulis. Et hoc sane peccatum nostri temporis. Adeo sumus ingeniosi, adeo acuti, ut quidlibet facere possumus ex quolibet. Nemo peccatum fatebitur, nemo errorem, nemo lapsum. Hoc turpe ducimus. Omnes jam possint fucum superinducere. Norunt jam omnes, quos habet propheta, linguas suas veluti arcus, ad mendacia, ad dolos, ad lites, ad querelas tuendas, tendere. MSS. R. Tho. Brett, LL.D.

Sed nos, fratres, quantum in nobis est, pacem persequamur, pro veritate dimicemus. Hoc bonum curriculum, hæc bona persecutio; ista sancta violentia. Ad hæc exeramus vires ingeniorum. Non sicut multi ad illa priora; hoc laudem commerebitur apud Dominum. Istos cursores, anhelantes, ipse Dominus sua manu coronabit. Bonum nostrum, contentionibus nostris, ne blasphemetur. Talenta sunt Do-

BOOK II.

mini quæ vobis commendo. Ne sitis hic rigidi censores, ne alios deterreatis, quo minus talenta sua depromant, et in lucem proferant. Hoc Dominus ipse non faciet; hoc non feret: absit a servis ejus in conservos suos vel criminis ejus suspicio. Sedete, quæso, in cathedra fidelium, non irrisorum. Hoc summus improbitatis gradus; hæc cathedra pestilentiæ. Cavete, quomodo in ea acquiescitis, vel vobis ipsis placeatis. Et quod in auro vestro soletis (siquid fractum, siquid imminutum, siquid impurum) ex amore, aurifabrorum fornacibus committatis, ut repurgetur, ut restituatur, non cum contemptu in plateas projicite, vel concultate pedibus. Separate prudenter fæces ab auro, non utrumque projicite. Ut cum Dominus venerit, quod suum est purum, non deperditum, cum fœnore, non in stercore, recipiat.

Ex horto multorum et variorum flosculorum, fasciculum urticarum, quæ succrescent, velimus, nolimus, in hac maledicta terra nostra, colligere, et olfacientibus præbere, improbitatis, invidiæ est. Ex arvo multarum frugum, lolii et zizaniarum manipulos decerpere, et cibum familiæ Domini præbere, nequitiæ est. Apes imitemur. Quod bonum est sectemur tantum; illi adhæreamus: mala siquæ fuerint, et noxia, prætereamus, linquamus, ne attingamus quidem; tantum abest, ut his solis insistamus. Hoc ædificatio est; hoc negotiatio, hoc agricultura Domini.

Jerusalem, mater nostra, non est adhuc cælestis, sed terrestris est; in peregrinatione, non in patria. Tabernaculum nostrum non est illud quod Moises viderat in monte, sed illi simile. Sponsa Christi, cælestis Adæ nostri, non est nuda, ut in paradiso, ante lapsum. Habet sua tegumenta, ceremonias, cultus, ornamenta: non tamen illud meretricium et Babylonicum apparatum, fastum et splendorem. Habet tunicam pelliceam, planum, simplicem, decoram, a Domino ipso illi datam. Mater nostra non est sine ruga, et
213 sine macula. Talis est futura. Triticum nostrum non est sine zizania; imo, non sine palea congenita. Nuces nostræ habent cortices: fructus corda habent. Pruna non sine osse. Et tamen aliqui volunt, pruna, cerasa sine ossiculis.

Poma sine cordibus habere. At hoc curiositas est. Hoc est naturæ repugnare: hoc est ingenium venditare; laudem et gloriam aucupari. Istos in paradiso Domini, in ejus ecclesia, in fructibus nostris et operibus, ne imitemur. Secundum hominem loquamur, vivamus, incedamus, cum apostolo. Mores et consuetudines ecclesiæ Dei ne spernamus. Ejus rugas, maculas, tegumenta, ceremonias agnoscamus. Unusquisque habet suum nævum; omne granum suam aristam. Apostoli ipsi (teste Johanne) non sine peccato. Et præcones omnes evangelii usque nisi fictilia vasa; non aurea, non argentea vel angelica. 2 Cor. iv. 7.

Et ut vita, sic etiam scientia, sic prædicatio, sic precatio, sic politia ecclesiastica, sic nostra omnia imperfecta. Peccata æque gravia, licet forsan non tam vulgaria, in apostolica ecclesia, ac in nostra, et in pastoribus, et in ovibus. Omnes quæ sua sunt quærunt, inquit apostolus, nemo quæ Jesu Christi. Omnes apostolum Paulum, in prima illa apologia sua, deseruerunt, non sine salutis periculo. Quam gravia peccata ista, quam etiam late patentia! Inter apostolos φιλονεικία, ὀλιγοπιστία, καρδία ἀσύνετος, somnus, oscitantia, proditio. Sic est sedulus Satan; sic cribrat oves. Inter duodecim tantum palearum. In ecclesia Corinthiaca, hæreses, lites, incestus, superbia, cœnæ profanatio. Apud Galatas resumptio legis, recessus ab evangelio. Adeo ut dixerat apostolus, vereri se ne inter eos frustra laborasset. Adeo ut ad apostolos, Salvator benignissimus, mitissimus, patientissimus coactus sit dicere, *Annon adhuc intelligitis?* Et, *Quousque feram vos?* Et nos nihil infirmitatum in fratribus feremus?

Ne simus severi judices. Fratres, ne ipsimet in nos ipsos judicium Domini accersamus. Et tum quis sustinebit? Preces sint in ore assiduæ, ferventes, non falces in manu ob transgressores legis Domini; fundamus pro eis lachrymas, non in eos contumelias. Ne propter ista schisma in ecclesia faciamus. Ne tunicam Christi dilaceremus. Hic nobiscum illud Servatoris prævaleat, *Qui non est contra me, mecum est;* licet me non sequatur, non prohibetur: si dæmonia ejiciat, si regnum illud Satanæ oppugnet. Idem in regno An-

BOOK II.

tichristiano subvertendo nos dicere possumus. Et illud apostoli recordemur, Licet quidam ob lucrum Christum prædicent, ob contentionem alii, alii ob invidiam, pauci sincere, quid? Num ista schisma in ecclesia facerent? Num ista communionem precum, sacramentorum, concionum distraherent? Cavete, milites ipsi non dilacerare vellent tunicam Christi; ne sitis illis nequiores. Schisma omnium scelerum gravissimum. Simus pastores, non milites, non semet mutuo vulnerantes. Simus gementes, suspirantes columbæ; non oblatrantes, a tergo mordentes canes. *Non alii alios deinceps mordentes*, quod habet apostolus, *ne ab aliis consumamur*. Τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ὑμῶν γνωσθήτω πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.

Non est jam tempus rixarum, querelarum, contumeliarum. Est jam tempus reconciliationis, pacis, unitatis. Nam judicium appropinquat. Recordamini illius Servatoris, *Reconciliare cum fratre, dum es in via*, (quicquid negotii fuerit,) *ne si ad judicem accesserit, tradat te lictori, et committat te carceri; unde nunquam exibis.* Componamus omnes ergo lites, precor in Domino. *Unitatem spiritus in vinculo pacis servemus.* Ne damnemus, fratres, ne ipsi condemnemur. Ne atomos, festucas, in oculis eorum exquiramus, ne trabes nostras, ne talenta multa in judicium vocet Dominus. Quis est tandem, qui hic se debitorem non fatebitur?

Indefessum illud vestrum concionandi studium in peccato extirpando, conferte. Illud crescit indies, et mirifice ramos suos extendit, manipuli illius, imo sinus pleni non deerunt vobis; si illud solum acutis falcibus vestris demetieritis.

In Apocalypsi reperio tres angelos prædicantes; suas habentes certas legationes, et definitas, et etiam distinctas, sed consentientes. Et sane angeli illi typi erant ministrorum nostrorum. Sicut doctrinam, legationem eorum arripuimus, sic utinam harmoniam et consensum retineremus. Angeli isti, ultimi legati, ante judicium missi: præcones isti nostri
214 temporis. Primus vocavit voce magna, *Timete Deum; date illi gloriam. Num hora judicii venit. Adorate eum, qui fecit cœlum et terram, mare et quæ in eis sunt.* Non creaturas

ullas, sed Creatorem solum. Hoc evangelium, hoc radix fidei, hoc religio Christi; hic finis sæculi.

Secundus sequutus est, et clamavit, *Cecidit, cecidit Babylon, civitas illa magna. Bibere fecit omnes gentes ex vino fornicationis suæ.* Hinc religio papistarum, vinum fornicationis. Religio læta, felix, prospera, hilaris (ut prædicant.) Hic concio contra Antichristum; et hoc ejus regnum.

Et tertius sequutus est illos, clamans voce magna, *Siquis adoraverit bestiam et imaginem ejus, et accipiet characterem ejus super frontem ejus, vel super manum ejus, et ipse bibet ex vino iræ Dei.* Et in hac tanta luce, quæ venit in mundum, siquis adhuc recipiet Antichristi characteres, agnos ejus Dei, ejus grana benedicta, ejus reliquias, non solum illum agnum Dei, Jesum Christum, non sanctum illud granum verbi ejus in terram cordium suorum, in arcam conscientiarum, torquebuntur isti igne et sulphure coram agno illo, quem spreverant, et coram sanctis angelis ejus, in æternum.

Istam angelorum Domini, nuntiorum ejus, ejus legatorum inter nos distinctionem, advertere possumus, alii quasi missi ad fidem et bona opera prædicanda, in illis præcipue seminandis insudant: hoc studium est, hoc gaudium; hoc quasi deligatum munus. Alii ruinam Romæ, Babylonis vastitatem, voce omnibus denuntiarunt. Alii contra Jesuitas seminarios illius hominis nequam, linguas et calamos exacuerunt: et contra istos voce magna intonuerunt, et jam adhuc tonant. Sic imitemur, fratres, doctrinam horum angelorum; sic precor in Domino Jesu, ut imitemur [eorum] harmoniam. Consentiebant inter se isti, docentes diversa; sic itidem et nos.

Non damnat eorum unus alterum: nec nos damnemus fratres. Non cursum interrumpunt; sed sequuntur sese mutuo, pacifice, pacate, placide. Sic non posteri, ne damnemus majores, patres, prædecessores nostros, qui primam hujus legationis partem strenue, non sine sudore et sanguine suo, obierunt. Qui bona opera urgent, ne pharisæos; qui cælibatum profitentur, ne papistas judicemus. Absit,

ut judicemus fratres. Illud Satan solum potest, cum navis Jesu cursum non valet interrumpere, procellas, turbines, tempestates in eandem excitare. Hæc est jam ejus oppugnandæ et expugnandæ sola ratio. Ne feramur nos præcipites hoc vento ejus. Resistamus huic ejus violentiæ unanimes, mutuo hic jungamus dextras, corda, corpora, ut hunc ejus impetum sustineamus, frangamus, superemus. Si nosmet sejunxerimus, sine dubio potens ille abripiet quo voluerit.

Recte item secemus verbum Dei; cuique personæ, loco, tempori, suam doctrinam, suum cibum, idque opportune, administremus. Lac ruri præbeatur; mysteria inter musas aperiantur. In aula, de legibus, de reformatione ecclesiæ, et reipublicæ. In villa, de moribus, de obedientia, de sancta conversatione, prædicetis. Peccatoribus peccata sua, in faciem cum Paulo, non a tergo cum Satana, (qui calumniator fratrum nostrorum dicitur,) idque amice, non aspere, fraterne, non hostiliter, declaretis. Illud enim vulnerare est, non curare, defamare, non sanare. Emplastrum salutiferum applicetur oportet vulneri, et fasciis fortiter alligetur. Si componatur, et ostendatur, et probatum sæpius prædicetur, sine tamen applicatione ista, nil omnino proderit. Multi, qui videri volunt periti chirurgi et medici, et morborum ecclesiæ, et vulnerum fratrum, non hoc observant; exquirunt morbos serio, emplastra parant sedulo; cademque mundo ostendunt crebro: sed non applicant ista, non alligant, non adhibent. Et hinc curationes vulnerum tam raræ inter nos; hinc tumor tantus, et ut ita dicam, rancor ad invicem morbi manifestantur infirmorum; emplastra parantur medicorum, sed non applicantur therapeutarum [manu.]

Johannes prurientem illam libidinem Herodis, sale illo evangelico in faciem, in mensam aspersit. Ahabi avari illius hydropisten inexplebilem, Elias coram aperit, incidit. Sic Amasiam superbientem Amosus, sic principes Judæorum, lascivientes Sodomitas, in præsentia vocavit Esaias.
215 Hæc vulnera post terga revelare, non sanat, non curat: nunquam superinducet carnem, nunquam cicatricem faciet.

In aula ergo reges erudiatis, in villa rusticos reformetis,

in ecclesia, in concionibus ad clerum, (quas dicitis,) fratrum vestrorum nævos, ulcera, morbos manifestetis.

Oleum cum vino misceatis, sicut fecit misericors et prudens ille Samaritanus evangelicus. Redarguatis cum omni lenitate: docentes eos qui resistunt cum omni mansuetudine. Jam opus evangelistarum perficiatis. Non onera prophetarum imponatis. Jesaiam, salutem Domini annuntiate; non Ezechielem, robur, severitatem Domini. *Qui fecerit ista, vivet in eis.* Ezek. xx. 11. Sic ille. *Dominus redemit, non confundar.* Sic ille. Prædicate non quod scripsit Moses, qui fecerit ista, vivet in istis; sed verbum fidei quod prædicaverunt apostoli. *Qui corde crediderit, et ore confessus fuerit Jesum Christum; hic salvus erit.* Ista legatio nostra, verbum reconciliationis, evangelizatio pacis. Et si quando virga opus fuerit, si gladio; ita exerceatis, ut corrigantur refractarii, ut confundantur, ut emergant ex luto profundo; non ut absorbeantur. Melius est in misericordiam inclinare, quam in justitiam. Tutius est olei plus miscere, quam vini. Hoc, mihi credite, sanabit citius, movebit fortius: vel lapides ut mollis guttula cavabit. Repugnant humanæ indoli, cogi, compelli ad aliquid: allici, flecti vult.

Papismum sedulo eradicate; sed ubi se prodit. Alias, si ubi non est, ligonem vestrum inserueritis ad effodiendum, terram subvertetis, et perdetis. Teneram religionis et fidei plantam caute tractetis; cavete ne eradicetis. Satius est mola asinaria in mari demersum aliquem, quam ut unus minimorum Christi fidelium perderetur, imo scandalizetur. Tam propensus et indulgens est in suos Jesus; tam sunt illi chari omnes sui. Cavete offendicula talium; cavete vel fidei, veluti grani sinapis, suffocationem. Quod in vasa stricti oris, in obbas quas vocant, facere solent mortales, hic vos facite liquorem Domini pretiosum, sensim ac guttatim infundite. Sic recipietur; alias defluet. Recordamini verbi illius Jesu, *Qui gustaverit vinum vetus, non statim desiderabit novum: dicit enim vetus melius.* Senes illos educatos, nutritos, assuetos papismo, ne expectate ut non ejus aliquem gustum retineant. Si acetum ipsum effundere potestis; si absinthii illius stellæ, amarum succum expellere,

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gaudete. Et si ejus sapor aliquis remaneat, hoc sapienter ferre, ac tolerare debetis. Ne dum illum saporem etiam expellere laboretis, corrumpatis vasa.

Legimus apud apostolum Paulum pseudo-apostolorum formam. Cavete, ne assimilemini. Imperiosi erant, magni-
2 Cor. xi. 20. fici, acuti, avari, elati, contumeliosi. Ita horum, et vitæ institutionem, et prædicationis rationem depingit nobis Paulus. *Sustinetis siquis* καταδουλοῖ, servos, mancipia, vernas reddat; *siquis* κατασθιεῖ, devoret, consumat: *siquis* λαμβάνει, accipiat, bonis vestris inhiet, fortunis spoliet: siquis ἐπαίρεται, se efferat, alios despiciat, vilefaciat: *siquis vos* εἰς πρόσωπον δέρει, in faciem percutiat, apertis plane contumeliis impetat. Cavete, fratres, vestigia ista ne insistatis, precor in Domino. Cavete hic, quomodo fratres vestros, licet peccatores, errones, mancipia, monstra hominum, ipsum [ipsos] Raca, in doctrina vestra vocetis. Cavete illam comestionem, illam devorationem: ne quemquam verbo perimatis; ne arundinem, vel anhelitu, concutiatis, confringatis. Ne sint conciones enses; verba, gladii. Ne hic obliviscamini, quos vosmet alibi statuatis. Non estis pastores, vel doctores, si ita instructi his telis, in ovile Domini ingrediamini: non piscatores Jesu, sed perditores; non tincæ salutares, sed voraces lupi. Cavete expilationem; ne grex per vos expiletur. Ne auditoribus vestris oneri, imo, ne æris alieni causa sitis. Hoc non est apostolicum. Maluit suis manibus laborare Paulus, quam cuique onerosum esse.

Cavete elationem, contemptum etiam infirmorum cum Pharisæo illo; licet bis in sabbato jejunetis, et etiam concionemini; licet oretis multum; neminem tamen, qui in hoc stadio vobiscum non decertaverit, qui multis gradibus sequitur, despiciatis. Suo Domino stat, aut cadit. Superbia, elatio, contemptus, judicium de fratre, licet justum, fermen-
216 tum est, corrumpens omnia. Cavete contumeliam. Ne percutite in faciem, sint reprehensionibus vestris circumstantiæ adhibitæ, charitatis, ædificationis, emendationis. Φάρμακον, medicamentum omne, licet efficax, licet salutare, non tamen omni tempori, omni loco, omni personæ aptandum est. Habent personæ, ætates, dignitates, loci, tempora, sua phar-

maca. Irritant quædam hanc carnem, quæ sanarent eam. Omnia ad ædificationem (pro virili) et ad sanitatem facitote. Intra domesticos parietes peccata commissa, licet præsentibus duobus aut tribus, ego privatas offensas judicarem. Et iis autem correptionem benignam, privatam, fraternam adhibendam. Ista forsan sanaret, cum aperta bilem moveret. Publica peccata judico, qualia incestuosi illius apud Corinthios, quæ omnino audiuntur; cum extra tecta, in oculos, in ora, in aures omnium evolarunt. Et ista publice, aspere redarguenda censeo, ut cæteri timorem habeant. Ἐπιείκεια, πραότης, mansuetudo, bonitas Jesu Christi in servis suis elucere debet. *Discite ex me*, (inquit Jesus,) *quia mitis et humilis sum ego.* Ista ejus documenta. Indocti plane sunt in Jesu Christo, nihil sciunt, qui non ista didicerunt. Ista apostolus Paulus semper præ se ferebat: majestatem, elationem, asperitatem, contumeliam pseudo-apostoli.

At cooperti avaritia, superstitione, socordia nostri. Sic dicitis; sic insimulatis. Utinam sequaces vestri essent sine peccato. Cavete hic, ne linces sitis foris, et talpæ domi. Judicium auget peccatum, et scientia pœnam. Cui Dominus multum dederit, ab eo multum requirit. Cavete, ne dum Argi videri vultis, sitis cæcis illis papistis obtusiores. Cavete, ne in operibus fidei ἀργοὶ sitis, καὶ ἄκαρποι. Innocentem esse oportet, ac etiam plane mundo corde, qui in evangelio lapides in fratres jacere vult: ipsius Jesu Christi, judicis, jam sic lata sententia de re ista.

2 Pet. ii.

John viii.

Non ego hic excuso nostros, vel accuso. Tantum dico, quod dixerat Dominus Jesus ad Judæos in simili negotio: habent Mosen accusantem, vel excusantem. Nostri vero non Mosen, qui de terra loquutus est, sed Jesum Christum, filium Dei, qui de cælo: quem profitentes in ejus verba jurarunt. Recordentur illius sententiæ judiciariæ, jam etiam ante judicium, ad cautionem nostram a benignissimo judice in lucem editæ: *Cur audes prædicare legem meam, et odisti reformationem?* Habent in manu lucernam, et si in foveam ceciderint, quemnam accusabunt? Seipsos plane (quod habet apostolus) transgressores faciunt, seipsos perdunt.

Psalm l.

Damnandas perhibent leges regni: non-residentium, plu-

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ralitates. Sine causa gravi et approbata, dispensatio non conceditur. Videat quisque, quo animo non modo duo beneficia, sed vel unum capiat. Si per fenestram, (quod aiunt,) si aliunde quam per ostium, quam per Jesum Christum, et propter illum solum, vel in unum intraverit, est illud unum maleficium, plane, et supplicium [meretur] in diem Domini. Hic quisque conscientiam suam probet, et probe examinet. Dominus novit, finis certus, collimatio legitima. Non est hic incerta meta [in quam] jaculandum. Jesus solus, unicus, certus scopus propositus esse debet. Et in hunc solum et manus et oculus et animus est figendus. Alias חטאת, aberrasti a scopo, peccatum commisisti.

Multa sunt, fratres, quæ juxta regulam etiam charitatis, illam quandoque dispensationem postulare possunt. Quid siquis magnam familiam habet? Quid si unum beneficium ad familiam alendam non sufficiat? Annon est operarius dignus mercede sua? Annon præcones evangelii vivere debent ex evangelio? Hoc casu duo possunt beneficia in unum coincidere. Ita ut hic tamen mutua gratia referatur. Ut quemadmodum corpora pascuntur, et refocillantur viscera, sic animæ non negligantur.

Et hic etiam, fratres, cavete. Quod satis est sufficit, quod plus satis est, crapula est. Εὐσέβεια, religio, αὐτάρκειαν illam apostolicam, aureum illud medium Aristotelicum, quadrisyllabum illud Terentianum, *nequid nimis*, proprium omnino, et quod habent *Dialect.* quarto modo adjunctum, habet. Ἀσέβεια, impietas, πλεονεξίαν illam inexplebilem, φιλαργυρίαν illam amarissimam, avaritiam illam cœcam, insatiabilem, infernalem umbram, habet comitem, pedissequam. Cavete jam, cuinam harum dominarum serviatis. Ut ὁδηγοῦς, duces, ore, sermone, sic hic τύπους, opere, τρόπῳ, conversatione, vosmet gregibus vestris in Domino, precor, exhibeatis; ut monstrum hoc avaritiæ exularet prorsus, et ne nominetur inter vos.

217 Quid, quod necessitas, non solum charitas, quæ nullam habet legem, idem videtur quodammodo extorquere? Quod enim apostoli de panibus, idem mea sententia de pastoribus vere dici potest: decem millia pastorum non sufficerent

huic regno, ut quælibet grex, imo, ut bini greges, unum pastorem habeant. Et hic ergo, quod prudens ille pater familias, Dominus Jhesus, fecit de panibus, faciendum nobis est de pastoribus. Quos Dominus dederit, distribuendi in multitudine. Plures etiam exorandi a Domino messis. Et sane numerum eorum quotannis videmus multiplicatum. Addo, ut brevi non est dubitandum, quin cessantibus murmurationibus nostris et litibus, de negotio isto, et precibus potius sursum ascendentibus, Dominus ipse, ut olim in terrestri *manna*, sic in hoc spirituali *manna* verbi sui, illud ipsum affatim omnibus preberet.

Interim illud audeo pronuntiare, ad Dei gloriam, et verorum pastorum, in hoc opere Domini, exsuscitationem, duodecim valent et sufficiunt panem Domini distribuere in septem millia. Non legimus cuique turbæ suum distributorem a Domino assignatum. Hic ego credo, inter nos deesse potius manus ad accipiendum, corda ad servandum; quam manus ad frangendum et distribuendum panem hunc Domini. Hic etiam ego credo, quod etiam illic in evangelio, in panibus illis Domini, non venter plenus, non panes integri; sed buccella unica, vel micæ panis Domini (quas solas Canaanæa illa postulavit ad vitam filiæ) sufficient ad famem extinguendam, imo ad vitam æternam. Verbum Domini jam æque potens ac efficax est ad vitam animarum; ut fuerunt panes illi ad sustentationem corporum. Qui etiam tantam habent fidei mensuram, tantam plenitudinem spiritus, tantum zelum ad ædificandam domum Dei, ut bis in die Dominico, ut sæpius in septimana concionari possint; plus ædificaturos, mea sententia, et profuturos magis, si mutarent, auditores, si loca alia peterent; quam in eodem et apud eosdem, semper conciones suas haberent. Piscatores præcones suos vocavit Servator. Illi vero non semper ejusdem ripæ parti insistunt: mutant stationes suas pisces, qui hac parte fluminis escam non attingerent, alia forte caperentur hamo; sic est in captura piscium Domini.

Hac arte etiam piscatoribus Domini utendum est: ubi plurimum prodesse possumus, ibi figenda statio; ibi esca projicienda. Superstitiosi multi senes, obdurati peccatores, *pa-*

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pistæ refractarii: non interesse volunt sacris concionibus: at forte interesse volunt nuptiis; erunt in baptismate fidejussores; ad amicos in diem festum congregabuntur: ibi rete suum expandat. Hoc est tempori servire. Hoc est summæ prudentiæ. Quis nescit, quantam prædam jam tum dabit Dominus Jesus: licet antea multi multum, forsan incassum, laborarunt?

Venit Dominus Jesus quærere ovem deperditam. Itidem et ejus discipuli, ejus servi et ministri omnes, quærere debent, quod est deperditum; non uno, sed omni loco, ubi erit spes ulla inventionis vel unius oviculæ, vel unius drachmæ. Non est morandum hic, donec revertantur oves, vel ut pastorem exquirant. Non est hic eodem in loco semper habitandum. Et pedes sic peregrinantium, sic evangelizantium pacem, sic quærentium quod est deperditum, speciosi sunto.

Illud certo certius verum est, qui talentum suum ad maximum lucrum exposuerit, cum venerit Dominus, maximam laudem commerebitur. Qui reti evangelico plurimos pisces complexus fuerit, hic piscator optimus. *Qui multitudinem justificaverint*, vel *multos*, (ut habet Daniel,) *hi splendebunt ut stellæ in firmamento.* Stadium est Domini ministerium. In illo partes primæ, secundæ, tertiæ. Multis omnes in eodem gradu consistere? pari passu ambulare? Pugiles Domini sunt præcones ejus eandemne palæstram omnibus constituetis? Operarii sunt; an eadem onera omnium humeris super imponetis? Alius forte valet duos lapides magnos ad structuram adferre facilius, quam unam alius. Vultisne, ut non vires suas hic non exerat? *Unusquisque sicut accepit donum, adinvicem ministrent*, (inquit Petrus,) *ut boni dispensatores multiformis gratiæ Dei.*

Gratia Dei multiformis est: talenta ejus decem, duo, unum. *Secundum gratiam sibi datum, quisque*, cum apostolo, *in anteriora se extendat.* Enitatur, ut quam plurimis prosit. Exerat vires ad summum; ne deficiat a gratia Dei.
218 Hic non anhelitus, festinatio, cursus, sed torpor, fatigatio, somnus damnantur. Qui decem habet talenta, præficiet Dominus decem civitatibus. Quis ad ista idoneus? inquit aliquis. Quis? nisi cui Dominus vires dederit. Proportio esse

debet inter talentum et lucrum; inter gratiam datam, et questum inde enatum.

Hic autem quilibet vires suas consideret; ne plus oneris suscipiat humeris suis, quam sustinere possit.

Qui pluralitatem beneficiorum venantur, non hoc animo, ut talenta sua exponant, ut prosint plurimis, ut lucrentur multos; sed potius ut multum lucrentur, ut prosint suis, ut thesaurizent hic in terris, ut otientur, exulentur, opibus affluant: hii certo certius thesaurizant una iram cum auro suo, in diem vindictæ; damnum animabus suis cum dignitatibus in diem Domini. Isti non cœnam, mercedem, coronam cum agno, in diem nuptiarum, sed maledictionem, infamiam, gehennam, cum diabolo et angelis ejus, in die pœnarum, pro stipendio reportabunt. Et talis pluralitas periculosa: hoc non honos, sed onus gravisimum; qui care nimis emitur. Caveamus ergo.

Illud etiam non minus verum, qui unum beneficium nanciscitur, ut amplectatur præsens seculum, non ut sequatur Jesum, Demas est. Qui episcopatum desiderat, ut crumenam impleat, non ut gregem pascat, Judas est. Qui quærunt quæ sua sunt, non quæ Jesu Christi, licet residentes semper sint, mercenarii sunt. Qui sequuntur Jesum, ut latibulum sibi acquirant, vulpes sunt. Denique qui gregem, vel unum, ut se pascant, ut præemineant aliis, ut avaritia vel socordia..... Domini possiderent, diaboli sunt.

Quare hic sibi ipsis prospiciant, qui ita acerbe in non-residentes invehuntur: ipsi non sunt extra jactum telorum, extra periculum hostis. Caveant ne hic item labantur, ne ingressum dent hosti, ne secure degant, et se prorsus sartos, quod aiunt, et tutos existiment.

Illud vero hic testor in Domino, nos non patrocinari, vel probare quorundam inexplebilem avaritiam, qui nulla habita virium suarum, nulla donorum ratione, nulla cura gregis Dei, nulla fratrum, qui hujusmodi stipendiis carent compassione, tacti, *totquot*, ut loquuntur, beneficia in manus rapiunt: qui hic sibi ipsis nullum modum statuunt: qui quater in anno greges suos, vel videre satis putant, nullo substituto pastore sufficiente; qui non curant pau-

peres, non componunt lites, juxta illud in suscepto ministerio suo pæne votum præstitum Domino; qui non sunt exemplaria gregibus, sed plane peregrini barbari ovibus suis: quorum voces non cognoscunt, et non vix aliquando vultus: tales cæcos (siqui fuerint) avaros, securos, otiosos, non pastores, sed idola pastorum, quicunque tandem fuerint; non probo, sed ut hostes ecclesiæ pestilentissimos, et perniciosissimos judico.

Sed ut ista mittantur conscientiarum negotia, ut hoc scrutinium supremo illi judici relinquatur, ad res ipsas paulo propius accedamus. Et hic una vobiscum, fratres, docemus, et profitemur, regnum Dei non esse nec cibum, nec potum, nec vestem, nec carnem, nec crucem, nec aliquid istiusmodi; sed pacem, fidem, gaudium in Spiritu Sancto. Omnia tamen in ecclesia εὐσχημόνως, et, quoad externam speciem decenter, et non ruditer fieri debent, et κατὰ τάξιν; ordine quodam, non perturbate, non promiscue, ut habet apostolus. Deus noster qui ipse indutus est decore; qui appariturus est ex Sion, in pulchritudinis perfectione: qui ordinem statuit inter stellas, inter feras, inter ipsas apes, inter omnia opera sua, quæ ordine etiam suo et vicissitudine, nobis etiam multo jucundiora et gratiora sunt. Non vult in domo sua ruditatem ferinam, agrestem, apparatum ordinem nullum, vel inversum. Sed vel hic imprimis et decorem illum et ordinem inter omnes domesticos suos, et in omnibus requiret.

1 Cor. xiv. 4.

Hinc licet dignatur nos audire unanimiter precantes, in cœlo existens; vult tamen non in agro, sed in templo congregari. Licet lavare nos dignetur non precioso aliquo nectare, sed aqua; non vult tamen baptizandos flumina jam petere, sed aquam in domo sua. Hoc jam non est fide firmata ecclesia sua regum ac reginarum lacte nutrita decorum, nec pelves manibus nostris lavandis formatas vult huic sacro usui adaptari. Æque peccatum est mea sententia, vasa sacrata, (quod fecit Balthasar) usibus nostris profanare, ac nostra vascula fictilia urnas divinis usibus accommodare. Vult Dominus sua sacra, in sua domo, a suis servis, suis vasibus non alienis, non profanis celebrari.

Pascit nos cibo cælesti, carne et sanguine Filii sui, symbolis panis et vini, rebus visibilibus quidem, sed non humi, Turcarum more, non mensa nuda rusticorum vult nos ipsa 219
participare. Quis nostrûm sic cibum sumere non dedignabitur? Ergo mensa ornata, habitus convivarum externus et corporis et vestis, hic decens esse oportet. Si mulierum orantium habitus, gestus gravis et religiosus esse debet, quanto magis convivantium apud Dominum? David de hoc convivio sic prophetavit: *Comederunt, et adoraverunt, omnes pingues terræ.* Hoc est Davidis. Et cum vobis tum hic cælestium convivarum genuflexio displicere debet. Minister orans Deum, alloquitur. Mulierum orantium habitus gravis esse debet. Et annon, ministrorum? Deus hic respicit vestes orantium, convivantium apud eum. Quid tunica solum tectum eum vultis alloquentem Dominum quod vidi? hoc indecorum? Quid si utatur veste linea ecclesia? Quid, si non habeat propriam, aptam, decentem? Quod multorum vanitas, multorum curiositas, necessitas quandoque multorum facit, *Vestis, incessus, risus declarant, quid sit homo,* inquit Ecclesiasticus. Et sane vanitates vestium hic multorum etiam ministrorum vanas mentes demonstrant.

Quid annon hic tantum ecclesiæ authoritatis concedetis, ut vestem decentem præscribat ministro sacra celebranti? At quamlibet vestem hic scio dicetis præter istam superpelliciam. Si quamlibet cur non istam? At papisticæ efformationis est. At hoc non est probatum. Quod si fuerit, cur vosmet Turcicas, Italicas, paganas, profanas formas vestium, certas, agnitas, induatis? An vestes coinquinant? An fides sequitur vestis formam? Si sequatur, ipsi videte ne conspurcamini. Sed non sunt papisticæ vestes nostræ, sed potius cælestes. Hoc vel consimili amictu cælestes cives in scriptura veritatis induti leguntur. Danielis, interpres mysteriorum, veste linea indutus erat. Minister ille Domini qui Dan. x. Ezek. ix. 4.
in excidio illo Hierosolymitano, atramentario instructus, signavit in frontibus omnes servos Dei, veste linea indutus erat. Cur non jam etiam qui interpretantur nobis mysteria sacra simili veste ornentur? Cur non qui signans jam in ec-

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clesia, non atramento, sed Sancto Spiritu, omnes salvandos; qui scribunt epistolas Christi, non in tabulis lapideis, sed in cordibus, in ministerio suo, simili veste induantur? Typus erat minister ille certo certius ministrorum nostrorum: signatio illa, consignationis nostræ: Jerusalem illa, ecclesiæ nostræ: salus illa, salutis nostræ. Et cur non vestis etiam illa ministri illius, inter tantam convenientiam, ministris nostris non correspondeat? Cælestes item illi præcones, qui docent apostolos et fideles ascensum Jesu, et item reversionem ad judicium, veste item alba induti sunt.

Acts i.

Vestes horum omnium non frustra nobis describuntur. Cur non ministri nostri idem docentes, eodem habitu non vestiantur? Cur dicemus hunc vestitum potius papisticum, quam cælestem? Non lineæ, sed sericeæ; non planæ, simplices, cælestes; sed aureæ, magnificæ, regales erant vestes papisticæ. Poculum aureum habuit meretrix illa in manu sua. Omnia in religione ejus ex auro; omnia sumptuosa, omnia fastu mundano plena. Ecclesia nostra quid habet simile?

At dicet aliquis, nos Dei cultum in his statuere. At caveat quid dicat. De omni verbo otioso reddemus rationem. Ergo de falsa. Mentiri jam peccatum est: et portio eorum in lacu. At de fratre, in negotio pacis, idque ecclesiæ, non mentiri, sed falsum testimonium perhibere; peccatum est sine dubio gravissimum. Usu vestium istorum, voce, scriptione, quantum possumus, testamur vobis, nos nullam in his cultus divini partem constituere. Et annon credetis? Vestes istæ decoris sunt, ordinis, unitatis; non devotionis, sanctitatis, religionis. Hoc nos et ore et opere docemus, et protestamur.

Apoc. xx.

Libro illi precum publicarum in quem tam acerbe invecti estis subscripsistis, baptizati; subscripsistis juxta ejus formam, sæpius sacra Domini participati. Praxis etiam institutionum ejus præsentia vestra in precibus ejus. Illud Amen quod tam sæpe repetiistis, subscriptio est apud Dominum. Et cur jam manum subtrahetis? Subscriptio enim [quid] nisi consensionis testatio est?

Et hic etiam videte, quantum sit, de quo tam anxii estis.

Subscribitis cuique rei in libro illo [non] nisi juxta naturam suam. *Doctrinæ*, ut rei certæ, indubitatæ; quæ mutari non potest, nec debet. *Ceremoniis* vero ejus, et ritibus, veluti rebus mutabilibus, quæ mutari possunt; si ita ecclesiæ et principi visum fuerit. Quid ni ista in ecclesia nostra possint mutari, veluti osculum pacis in ecclesia apostolica; et item unctio illa externa? 220

Sed ut finem faciam, rogo in Domino, ut pacem persequamini: extirpetis peccatum: evangelistarum opera perficiatis; ut de rebus his levibus, externis non amplius litigetis; ut regnum Dei propagetis ut causum cum causa, in his controversiis nostris, non personas, peccata, nævos fratrum, cum causis panderetis. Quid vobis cum fratre labente, ut judicis partes suscipiatis? Domino suo stat, aut cadit. Jungamus dextras in plantatione fidei, in inculcatione bonorum operum, in Jesuitarum profligatione. Hoc est satis operis pro nobis. *Alter alterius onera portemus: et sic adimpleamus legem Christi. Diligamas mutuo:* et sic cognoscent omnes nos ejus esse discipulos.

Quod dignetur ille operari in cordibus nostris per Sanctum Spiritum suum, qui operatur omnia in omnibus, Dominus Jesus. Cui cum Deo Patre, et Sancto Spiritu, sit omnis laus, honor, gloria, salus et imperium, et nunc et in omnem æternitatem. Amen.

Number L.

The queen, upon apprehension of the Spanish invasion; her letter sent to all the lord lieutenants of all the counties, to make large preparations for defence. Her letter to the lord marquis of Winchester, and to the earl of Sussex, for Hampshire, was as followeth:

By the queen.

Elizabeth R.

RIGHT trusty and right well beloved cousins, wee grete you well. Wheras heretofore upon the advertisement, from time to time, and from sundry places, of the great preparations of forein forces made, with a full intent to invade this Cott. lib. Titus, B. 2.

BOOK II.

our realm, and other our dominions; we gave our directions unto you for the preparing of our subjects within your lieutenancy, to be in a readiness for defence against any attempts that might be made against us and our realm; which our directions wee find so well performed, that wee cannot but receive great contentment thereby, both in respect of your careful procedings therein, and also of the great willingness of our people in general to the accomplishment of that wherunto they were required, shewing thereby their great love and loyalty towards us, which as wee accept most thankfully at their hands; acknowledging our selves infinitely bound to Almighty God, in that it hath pleased him to bless us with so loving and dutiful subjects; so would we have you make it known unto them upon our behalf.

Forasmuch as we find the same intention, not only of invading, but of making a conquest also of this our realm, now constantly more and more detected, and confirmed, as a matter fully resolved on, an army being allready put to the sea for that purpose, (which we doubt not but by Gods goodness shall prove frustrate;) we have therfore thought meet to will and require you forthwith, with as much convenient speed as you may, to call together, at some convenient place or places, the best sort of gentlemen under your lieutenancy, and to declare unto them, that considering these great preparations and arrogant threatnings, now
221 burst out in action upon the seas, tending to a conquest; wherin every mans particular state is in the highest degree to be touched, in respect of country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, and (that which is especially to be regarded) for the profession of the true and sincere religion; laying before them the infinite and unspeakable miseries that fall out upon any such accident and change. Which miseries are evidently seen by the fruits of the hard and cruel government that is holden in countries not far distant, where such change doth happen, (whatsoever pretence is otherwise given forth for the cause of religion;) we do look that the most part of them should have, upon this instant extra-

ordinary occasion, a larger proportion of furniture, both for horsemen and footmen, but especially horsemen, than hath been certifyed. Thereby to be in their best strength against any attempt whatsoever. Or to be employed both about our own person or otherwise; as they shall have knowledge given unto them. The number of larger proportion assoon as you shall know, we require you to signify to our privy council. Hereunto as we doubt not but by your good endeavours they will be the rather conformable; so also we assure our selves, that Almighty God will so bless these their loyal hearts born towards us, their loving sovereign, and their natural country, that all the attempts of any enemy whatsoever shall be made void, and frustrate to their confusion, your comforts, and to Gods high glory. Given under our signet, at our manour of Grenewich, the xviiith day of June, 1588, the xxxth year of our reign.

Number LI.

An account of the Spanish armada, that invaded England anno 1588*; their number of galleons, ships, pinnaces, zabres, &c. together with their burdens, soldiers, mariners, munition, weapons, artillery, and other furniture of war, brought with them: taken from a Spanish book, by order published. Briefly here set down.*

Squadron of the galleons of Portugal.

CONSISTED of 12 vessels. Wherof the first was the galleon of S. Mark, captain general of the army, of 1000 tunns; carrieth 177 mariners, 300 soldiers, chosen men, 50 pieces of canon; bullets, powder, lead, corde, and all that which is needful, &c. Felicissime armada.

These 12 vessels, (wherof 10 are galleons, and 2 zabres) in all make 7737 tunns. And there are imbarked in them 3330 soldiers, footmen, and 1230 mariners: which are in sum 4624 men. And they cary 350 great pieces; and all that which is necessary to the rest, as bullets, powder, match, lead, &c.

BOOK II.

The army of Biscay, of which is captain general Juan Martines of Ricalda.

In this squadron are 14 ships, ten of them great, and 4 pinnaces: which are of 6567 tunns of burthen. In the which ships be embarked 2037 souldiers, 862 mariners; and 260 great pieces of canon; 119000 bullets; 467 quintals of powder, 140 of lead, 89 of match.

222 *The army of the gallies of Castille; of the which is general Jaques Flores de Valdes.*

There is in this squadron 14 gallions and ships, and 2 pinnaces, which bear 8714 tunns. In them are embarked 2458 soldiers, 1719 mariners; which are in all 4177: and 348 great pieces; powder, bullet, lead, match, &c. as they shall need.

The army of the ships of Andalousie; of which is captain don Pedro de Valdes.

There are in this squadron 11 ships: ten great, and a pinnace: of the burthen of 8762 tunns. In the which are embarked 2400 soldiers, and 800 mariners, and 260 great pieces.

The army of ships come from the province of Gepouzce; of which is general Michel de Oquendo.

There are in this squadron 14 ships; wherof 10 great ships, 2 pataches, and 2 pinnaces; of 6991 tunns of burthen. In the which there are embarked 2092 men of war, and 670 mariners. All cometh to 2708.

The army of the east.

In the which squadron there are ten ships: which are of 7705 tunns of burthen. And imbarked in them 2880 soldiers, 807 mariners, 310 great pieces.

The army of hulkes.

Which consisted of 14 ships; which are of 10271 tunns. In the which are embarked 3221 men of war, 708 mariners, 410 great pieces; and their necessary provision.

Pataches and zabres.

There are in this squadron 12 pataches and zabres: which are of the burthen of 1131 tunns. In the which there are

embarked 479 soldiers, 574 mariners; and there are 193 great pieces, and all their furniture.

The four galleaces of Naples.

In these are 873 soldiers, 468 mariners, 200 great pieces, 1200 slaves, and the rest of their furniture.

And four gallies.

Bearing 400 soldiers, 20 great pieces, and 888 slaves.

The general sum of the whole army.

So that there are in the said army 130 ships, of 57868 tunns, 19295 soldiers, and 8450 mariners; 2088 slaves, and 2630 great pieces of brass of all sorts.

Moreover and above the aforenamed 130 vessels, there are 20 *caravels* for the service of the above named army; and likewise ten *salves*, with six oars apeice.

The *adventurers*, or voluntiers, noblemen, and gentle- 223
men of quality, and others, that went in the said army, and their servants that were able to fight. Their names are set down; the number wherof (to whom shipping hath been given in the said army) were 124. And the servants brought with them 456 bearing armes and weapons.

Then follow the names of those that were entertained and in pay, in the said army, (wherof are 4 or 5 Englishmen,) to the number of 238, with 163 servants.

Moreover such persons as are embarked for the service of the cannon are 167: consisting of a lieutenant of the captain general, a priest major, 20 gentlemen; two engineers, one of the great master gunners and his helpers; a physician, a chirurgeon, an apothecary, a great master carpenter, a locksmith, other workmen, smiths, &c. a commissary of the moyles, with 22 boyes and officers servants.

Persons of the hospital.

General administrator his lieutenant; physicians 5; the great chirurgeon; 4 other chirurgeons; five persons to help; four cures, a controwler; a great master; 62 other officers and boyes of service: which are in all 85 for all the persons that are in the hospital.

Religious men which do accompany the said army.

Of the order of St. Francis, of the province of Castile, 8.

Of the same order of the province of Portugal, 20.
Friers Capuchins, Castillians, 29.
Friers Capuchins, Portugais, 10.
Castillians of the order of St. Augustin, 9.
Portugais, of the same order, 14.

There were also in the army, of the order of St. Francis, of St. Dominique, of the company of Jesus. In all 180 religious men.

Provisions.

Quintals 11000 of biscuit: which sufficeth to nourish the army six months.

Wine 14170 pipes: which shall suffice for the said 6 months.

Quintals of bacon 6500: that shall suffice for the same time.

Goats cheese, 3458 quintals.

8000 quintals of fish.

3000 quintals of rice.

6320 septiers of beans and white pease: which shall suffice for more than six months.

11398 pounds of oyl olive.

33870 mesures of vinegar: which shall suffice for the provision.

For the service of the said army there is caried a great quantity of hogsheads full of water; dishes, cupps, saucers, in the which they shall part each portion: links, lanthornes, lamps, lead in sheets, neats leather, and tampans, in case that the enemies shot do some hurt to the ships, and quantity of leather baggs for powder; torches of wax, candles for lanthornes, cressets, 8000 Roman bottles of leather, for their wine and water; 5000 pair of shoes, and 11000 bundles of cord.

There is also all the furniture for the sea, belonging to the canon.

Moreover, there is of provision of overplus, double wheels, and other furniture for twelve double cannons of battery, and for 21 pieces of field pieces, with 3500 bullets for them. Besides the provisions that are here above

written; and also cables for ships, pitch, flax. And there be also standards antients and banners; where the figure of Jesus Christ, and our lady, and of his majesty are painted. 224

And for to bring the said cannons a land, they cary moyls, carts, mantlets, gabions, and such like sorts; and the rest which is necessary for the said purpose.

And besides the weapons which soldiers have, they cary also for the necessity armes which are here under writen.

7000 gunns with their furniture; a thousand muskets, with their furniture; 10000 pykes; 1000 partisans and halbards; 6000 half pykes.

Also they cary of overplus, in case they should come a land, all their tools, as iron crowes, porters baskets, masons hammers, tents, sacks for the pioneers in great quantity.

So that there is in the said army, the vessels, the men of war, munitions, necessary furniture, victuals, &c. which are contained in this discourse. Made in Lisbon the 20 of May, 1588.

Afterwards there went out of Lisbon, toward the end of June last, a supply of an army in good furnitures; containing fourscore sayl of ships, to join with the said army.

Number LII.

Litaniæ, et preces pro fælici successu classis regis nostri Philippi adversus Angliæ hereticos, veræ fidei impugnatores. De mandato serenissimi principis cardinalis; excudebat Antonius Riberius, 1588.

Versic. EXURGE Domine. *Resp.* Et judica causam tuam Kyrie eleison. Christe, eleison Kyrie, eleison. Christe, audinos; Christe exaudi nos, &c. Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei genetrix, ora pro nobis. Sancta Virgo virginum, ora, &c. Sancte Michael, ora. Sancte Gabriel, ora. Sancte Raphael, ora. Omnes sancti angeli, et archangeli Dei, orate pro nobis. Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines, orate. Sancte Joannes Baptista, ora pro nobis, &c. And then naming each saint distinctly with the petition *ora*, &c. and so to the end of that part of their

BOOK II. Litany. And then are proper Psalmes appointed for each day in the week: beginning at Sunday. For which is Psalm III. *Domine, quid multiplicati sunt, qui tribulant me? Multi insurgunt adversum me,* &c.

Then follow certain versicles and responses, and after them some collects composed for the occasion. Which were these.

Da, quæsumus, ecclesiæ tuæ, misericors Deus, ut Spiritu Sancto congregata, hostili nullatenus incursione turbetur.

Concede, nos famulos tuos, quæ sumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere, et gloriosa beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis intercessione, a præsenti libera tristitia; et æterna perfrui lætitia.

Ecclesiæ tuæ, quæsumus, Domine, preces placatus admitte; ut destructis adversitatibus, et erroribus universis, secura tibi serviat libertate.

Deus, omnium fidelium pastor et rector, famulum tuum N. (quem pastorem ecclesiæ tuæ præesse voluisti) propitius respice. Da ei, quæsumus, verbo et exemplo, quibus præest, proficere; ut ad vitam, una cum grege sibi credito, perveniat sempiternam.

Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut famulus tuus Philippus, rex noster (qui tua miseratione suscepit regni gubernacula) virtutum etiam omnium percipiat incrementa. Quibus decenter ornatus, et vitiorum monstra devitare; et ad te (qui via, veritas et vita es) gratiosus valeat pervenire.

225 Deus, qui conteris bella et impugnatores in te sperantium potentia tuæ defensionis expugnas; auxiliare famulis tuis implorantibus misericordiam tuam; ut hæreticorum et omnium inimicorum suorum feritate depressa, ineffabili te gratiarum actione laudemus.

Deus noster, refugium et virtus ade piis ecclesiæ tuæ precibus, auctor ipse pietatis. Et præsta, ut quod fideliter petimus, efficaciter consequamur.

Hostium nostrorum, quæsumus, Domine, elide superbiam, et eorum contumaciam dexteræ tuæ virtute prosterne.

Libera, quæsumus, Domine, a peccatis et hostibus tibi

famulos supplicantes ut in sancta conversatione viventes, nullis afficiantur adversis.

Protector noster, aspice, Deus, et propugnatores tuos a paganorum et hæreticorum defende periculis. Ut ab omnibus perturbationibus semoti, liberis tibi mentibus serviant.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, mœstorum consolatio, laborantium fortitudo; perveniant ad te preces de quacunque tribulatione clamantium; ut omnes sibi in necessitatibus suis misericordiam tuam gaudeant affuisse. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. *Amen.*

Vers. Exaudiat nos omnipotens et misericors Dns.

Resp. Et custodiat nos semper.

[Number LII.]

The miserable condition of the Spanish fleet, fled to the north of Scotland; and scattered for many weeks on the seacoasts of Ireland.

Copy of a letter to don Bernardo Mendoza.

THE fleet was by tempest driven beyond the isles of Orkney about the first of August, the place being above threescore degrees from the north pole; an unaccustomed place for the young gallants of Spain, that never had felt stormes on the sea, or cold weather in August. And about those north islands their mariners and soldiers dyed daily by multitudes; as by their bodies cast on land did appear. And after twenty days, or more, having spent their time in miseries, they being desirous to return home to Spain, sailed very far southward into the ocean to recover Spain. But the Almighty God, who always avengeth the cause of his afflicted people which put their confidence in him, and bringeth down his enemies that exalt themselves with pride to the heavens, ordered the winds to be so violently contrarious to this proud navy, as it was with force dissevered on the high seas, west upon Ireland; and so a great number of them driven into sundry dangerous bayes, and upon rocks, all along the west and north parts of Ireland, in sundry places, distant above an hundred miles asunder; and

BOOK II.

there cast away: some sunk, some broken, some run on sandes, some burned by the Spanyards themselves.

As in the north part of Ireland towards Scotland, between the two rivers of Loughfoile and Lough Swilly, nine were driven to land, and many of them broken; and the Spanyards forced to come to land for succour amongst the wild Irish.

In another place, twenty miles south-west from thence, in a bay, called Calbeggy, three other ships were driven also upon rocks.

In another place southwards, being a bay, called Borreys, twenty miles northwards from Gallowey, belonging to the earl of Ormond, one special great ship of a thousand tunn, with fifty brass pieces, and four canons, was sunk, and all the people drowned, saving sixteen: who, by their apparel, as it is advertised out of Ireland, seemed to be persons of great estimation.

226 Then, to come more to the southward, thirty miles upon the coast of Thomond, north from the river of Shennan, two or three more perished. Wherof one was burned by the Spanyards themselves, and so driven to the shore. Another was of St. Sebastians, wherin were three hundred men, who were also all drowned, saving threescore. A third ship, with all her lading, was cast away at a place called Breckan.

In another place, afore sir Tirlogh Obrynes house, there was also another great ship lost, supposed to be a galliass.

These losses above mentioned were betwixt the 5th and 10th of September; as was advertised from sundry places out of Ireland. So as by accompt, from the 21st of July, when this navy was first beaten by the navy of England, until the 10th of September, being the space of seven weeks, and more, it is most likely that the said navy had never good day or night.

Of the rest of the navy report is also made, that many of them have been seen, lying off and on upon the coast of Ireland, tossed with the winds in such sort, as it is also doubted, that many of them shall hardly recover Spain, if they

be so weakened for lack of victuals and mariners, as part of their companies that are left on land do lamentably report. BOOK II.

This was written Octob. the 9th, 1588.

Number LIII.

Ships and men sunk, drowned, killed, and taken upon the coast of Ireland, in the month of September, 1588.

Counties.	Places there.	Ships.	Men.
Tyrconnel.	Loughfoyle.	1	1100 of that ship, and others, that escaped.
Connaught.	Sligo Haven.	3 great ships	1500
	Tyrcawley.	1	400
	Clere Island.	1	300
	Finglasse.	1	400
	Offartie.	1	200
	Irrise.	2	The men fled into other vessels.
	Galway Bay.	1	70
Munster.	The Shennan.	2	600
	Trayle.	1	24
	Dingle.	1	500
	Desmond.	1	300
	The Shennen.	1 burnt.	The men embarked in another ship.
	Total ...	17 ships.	Of men 5394.

Afore the loss of the foresaid seventeen ships in Ireland, there perished in July and August fifteen other great ships in the fight betwixt the English and Spanish navies, in the narrow seas of England. 227

	Ships.	Men.	
First gallies.	4	1622	
Near Ediston by Plimouth at the first conflict.	1	Unknown.	
The same time was distressed and taken don Petro de Valdes ship.	1	422	Don Pedro de Valdes taken.
At the same time a great Biscan ship.	1	289	These two remain in England.

BOOK II.		Ships.	Men.	
In this vessel of Naples don Hugo de Moncada was slain.	Afore Callice spoiled the principal galleass of Naples.	1	686	
	In the conflict was sunk a great Biskain.	1	Unknown.	
Don Diego Piemental taken in this.	The gallion, St. Philip.	1	532	These two forced into Flushing, being sore beaten by the English great shot.
	The gallion, St. Matthew.	1	397	
	A Biscain wrecked before Ostend.	1	Unknown.	
	The day after the fight there sank two Venetians.	2	843	
	A great Biscain forced by two of the queens ships to perish at Newhaven.	1	Unknown.	
	Total of these ships	15	4791 men.	
	Total of both these losses	32	10185. Whereof there are prisoners in England and Zeland at the least 1000. Besides a great multitude of men, not here accounted, that were slain in the fight, and that have dyed of famine, as by the examinations appeareth.	
	Besides many ships not yet heard of, thought to be lost.			

228 Number LIV.

Sir Francis Drake to the lord treasurer. Discovery of the Spanish armada. Their preparations to receive them. The courage of the English. And particularly the lord admiral's forwardness.

To the right honorable, my very good lord, the lord high treasurer of England.

Rt. honorable and my very good lord.

MSS. Burg. THE xxxth of May we set sail out of Plymouth, having the wind eastwardlie; which continued but a short tyme: yet nevertheless all men were so willing of service, and none more than my lord admiral himself, that we endured

a great storm, (considering the tyme of the year,) with the wind southerly and at south-west for seven days. And longer we had, had not the wynde come westwardlie. And that so much as in keeping sea, we should have bin put to leeward of Plymouth, either for Portland or Wight. Which places had not been so meet, either for the meeting of the enemy, or relieving our selves of those wants which dayly will bee in so great an army of shipps.

At our being at sea we had divers intelligences; but specially one of most importance. Which is a hulk, which came from S. Lucar six weeks past; and in her way homewards saw this day sixteen days a great fleet of ships which came from Lishborne, having the wind northerlie, and so coming to the westwards: which the skipper and his company judge to be the great fleet that the king of Spaigne hath made ready: for that they saw so many as they could not nombre them. They say, that they saw 150 or 200 saile; and yet could not discover the end of their fleet, although they lay to the eastwardes, and the fleet to the westwardes.

It is now to be looked for, that either we shall hear of them very shortly, or else they will go to the Groyne, and there assemble themselves, and make their full randevous.

I assure your good lordship, and protest it before God, that I find my lord admirall so well affected for all honorable services in this action, as it doth assure all his followers of good success and hope of victorie.

Thus humblie taking my leave of your good lordship, I daylie pray to God to bless her majesty, and to give us grace to feare him. So shall we not need to doubt the enemye, although they be many. From aboard her majestys good shipp, The Revenge, ryding in Plymouth sound.

This vth of June, 1588.

Your good lordships very ready
to be commanded,
Fra. Drake.

BOOK II.

[Number LIV.]

229 *A prayer used in the queen's chapel, and other places, for preservation, and success against the Spanish navy and forces.*

O LORD God, heavenly Father, the *Lord of hosts*, without whose providence nothing procedeth, and without whose mercy nothing is saved; in whose power ly the hearts of princes, and the end of all their actions; have mercy upon thine afflicted church; and especially regard thy servant Elizabeth, our most excellent queen. To whom thy dispersed flock do fly, in the anguish of their soules, and in the zele of thy trueth. Behold! how the princes of the nations do band themselves against her, because she laboureth to purge thy sanctuary, and that thy holy church may live in security.

Consider, O Lord, how long thy servant hath laboured to them for peace: but how proudly they prepare themselves unto battail. Arise therefore, maintain thine own cause, and judge thou between her and her enemies. She seeketh not her own honour, but thine; nor the dominions of others, but a just defence of her self; not the shedding of Christian bloud, but the saving of poor afflicted souls. Come down therfore, come down, and deliver thy people by her. To vanquish is all one with thee, by few or by many, by want or by wealth, by weakness or by strength. O! possess the hearts of our enemies with a fear of thy servants. The cause is thine, the enemies thine, the afflicted thine; the honour, victory, and triumph shall be thine.

Consider, Lord, the end of our enterprizes. Be present with us in our armies. Terrify the hearts of our enemies; and make a joyful peace for thy Christians.

And now, since in this extreme necessity thou hast put into the heart of thy servant Deborah to provide strength to withstand the pride of Sisera and his adherents, bless thou all her forces by sea and land. Grant all her people one heart, one mind, and one strength, to defend her per-

son, her kingdom, and thy true religion. Give unto all her council and captains wisdome, wariness, and courage; that they may speedily prevent the devices, and valiantly withstand the forces of all our enemies: that the fame of thy gospel may be spread unto the ends of the world. We crave this in thy mercy, O heavenly Father, for the precious death of thy dear Son Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Number LV.

Spanish letters of the success of their armada.

I. *The copy of a letter sent unto Spain by Juan de Gamarra, a Spanish merchant. Dated the* 31*st of September*, 1588.

THAT the English have lost 40 ships at one encounter, where they could not fly: the which was in Luxaten, a port of Scotland. Unto which place the English had followed the Spanish armada from before Calice. And they thinking that our armada had gon to take this port, got before ours, to defend it. But ours seeing themselves so neer the English, (and that they could not retyre, as they had often don before, running for succour to the English ports,) had them now as they would, and set upon them so strongly, that they sunk 20 ships, and took 26 safe and sound: and the rest, perceiving their destruction, fled without men, all rent and torn. And then (it is reported) that our armada took the said port: where they are in very good harbour, as all affirme.

Answer to certain Spanish lies, printed 1589.

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Thus is the news. God grant them such success as is needful. And this is understood by a post that is come from Calice. And that it is commanded in England, upon paine of loss of life and goods, that none write news to any place: which is a confirmation of the aforesaid.

II. *The copy of a letter which Pedro de Alva* (*a Spanish merchant*) *wrote from Roan unto Spain the* 1*st of September.*

I write no news of the Spanish armada, for that they be

BOOK II.

varying, and I desirous to write nothing but truth. Now by news (which run from many places, from Callis, Deepe, Holland, and by some presupposings from England, and other places) it is held for a matter most certain that they have fought with the English; spoiled and sunk many of them, and taken others: and that the rest (reported to be 27 ships) are returned, spoiled, to the river of London, being all that could escape.

With this post there goeth one from George Segum of Callis: who saith, that masters and mariners of Zeland have affirmed to the governour of Callis, monsieur de Gordan, that the armada is in a port or river of Scotland, called Triffla; where, they say, there may ride two thousand ships. This is the common report.

III. *The copy of a letter which Diego Perez, postmaster of Logronno, wrote, in confirmation of the victory against England in the ocean sea, dated the 2d of September*, 1588.

Ubi supra. This day is the English news confirmed by a letter from the governour of Roan: who writeth, that he hath in his power the chief pilot of captain Drake; and that he knoweth, that al the English navy was utterly discomfitted: 25 ships sunk, and about 40 taken, and Francis Drake prisoner; having chased them as far as Abspurge, and put many to the sword: saying, that there was found in Drakes ship a piece of 25 spanns, of one kintal of munition, made on purpose of one only shot to sink the admiral of Spain. But it pleased God, (tho' she was hurt therewith, yet she was repaired again,) and overcome the English fleet.

IV. *By a letter from the postmaster of Bourdeaux, written to the ambassador in France, the 2d of December*, 1588.

Ubi supra. Since the writing hereof is arrived a Scottish man: who saith, that all the Spanish armada are harboured in Scotland: and that the Scots have taken armes against England.

Number LVI.

August the 5th, 1588. *Articles for the examination of don Pedro de Valdes; taken prisoner in the defeat of the Spanish armada: in several questions; with don Pedro's answers.* 231

Questions propounded to don Pedro de Valdez.

Don Pedro's answers.

WHO hath the kings commission? How many are counsillors to the general by the kings commission? The duke of Medina.

If the general should miscarry, who should succede in his places? The vice ad.

Who is the admiral general? who the vice admiral? If they should miscarry, who should succede in their places? They are to succede one to another, accordingly as they are now placed.

To how many was the kings will for landing, and following the invasion, imparted? They were to receive direction from the duke of Parma.

Was it not known to you, that the king about Easter last sent a commission to the duke of Parma to treat and conclude peace with England? He heard that such a commission was granted.

How was it meant that this army should procede, if the duke had made peace? He knoweth not what was the resolution: but thinketh the same was referred to the two dukes.

What opinion was had of the king of Scots, or of any of his realm, to joyne with this enterprize, or to favour it? He knew him not.

What did the earl Morton, otherwise called Maxwel, promise the king of Scotland?

What opinion was had for any landing in Ireland? What men of Ireland, of title or value, be there in the navy?

In how many places of England was there had opinion to land in? And what succours were promised to be had in England?

Was there any promise made to have any rebellion stirred in England? and in what parts?

What opinion was had of the power of England, both by land and sea, to resist the invasion?

What power was thought should come with the duke of Parma?

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What shipping was thought that the duke of Parma had?

If the duke of Parma had come to the seas to land, who should then be the general by land, and also by sea?

The duke of Parma.

What loss had the navy from her coming forth [when a great storm happened] untill their return to the Groyne?

Two hulkes only lost.

Whether was not there a disposition in the duke of Medina to have returned or broken off? and how was that altered?

Upon what occasion did the king write a particular letter to himself, [don Pedro,] and to whom else did he write the like?

The Isle of Wight.

What opinion was had by seamen, where the navy might take water, either in England or France?

Where did they accompt to have any port, either in England, or France, or Flanders?

If the navy of England had not pursued them toward the east, whither meant the Spanish navy to have made their course?

What pilotts have they of knowledg for the coasts of England? In what ships went they?

232 If the duke of Parma could not come with his army to the seas, what should the Spanish army have don?

Whether there passed any advertisements between the duke Medina and the duke of Parma?

Answered before.

If the Spanish navy had not prevailed in their purpose this summer, where should it have wintered?

For how long time was it victualled, coming from the Groyne?

Where was it purposed to have revictualled?

In what state was the water of the navy when he was taken?

What ayd was promised them out of France? and by whom? and out of what ports?

No meaning.

Whether was there any meaning to land in Zealand or Holland? and in what places?

There was 6 months pay due to them.

For how long time was the army pay'd?

Whether was the duke of Medina ever in any service for the warr?

What number of ships were left behind in Spain of men of warr?

Whether was there any purpose in Spain to second this navy with any more shipping, or with more victuall?

Who are the principal men in the navy of knowledge for sea service? and who for land?

What determination was there for the proceding against the queen and the nation of England? He will not touch that string.

How would they have known the catholic from the protestant?

To whom in the land should favour have been shewed?

Who should have had the title of this crown?

Whether should the nation have been ruled by the rulers of the English nation, or the government changed?

Number LVII.

Intelligence sent from Rome, Liege, and Lisle, to the lord treasurer; of divers matters concerning the Spanish armada and king Philip. And his purpose of sending the queen, being taken, to the pope.

I HAD a chamber in the house where one Joh. Dutche (some time of the [queen's] guard, now mace-bearer to cardinal Allen at Rome) lodged; neer to Peter Mountauro, wheras the said St. Peter was martyred. And as he and I were on St. Peters eve, one year now past, walking on the same Mount, on purpose to behold the fire-works that night, as well out of the castle St. Angelo, as other places of Rome, (for standing there we might se most parts of the city,) we fell into talk of the overthrow of the Spanish armado. And after some speeches had of the great loss the king had in that attempt, he told me, that he heard the cardinal say, that the king of Spain gave great charge to duke Medina, and to all the captains, that in no wise they should harm the person of the queen; but upon taking her, use the same with reverence; looking well to the same custody of her. And further, that the duke should, so speedily as he MSS. Burg.

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might, take order for the conveyance of her person to Rome: to the purpose, that his holiness, the pope, should dispose therof in sort as it should please him.

The same Dutche and I beholding, among others, the great number of pictures, as well of emperors, kings, and queens, as others of the greatest nobility, both christned
233 and not christned; and of some dead; all which were orderly placed in degree, (in a certain place, between Castel S. Angelo and St. Peters church in the long street there;) Dutch espied, placed next to king Philips picture on the better hand, the picture of sir Francis Drake. Wherat raging, (in words Italian,) overheard by the painter, (or some his friends,) and hasting to the cardinals lodgings, and to him informing of the same; wherof presently came some, as sent to pull down the same picture: it was before Dutch his repair thither again, taken away. But yet the poor painter was in trouble: albeit he protested he knew not who erected it there, or who took it down, or what was become of it.

The picture of her majesty was not among them; neither, as an heir, is permitted to open shew. Nevertheless sundry Romans have it in their chambers in secret. As one William, a poor man there maried, (after his escape with Fox from bondage of the inquisition,) told me, and brought me into a senators house, whose vinerol the same William worketh in: where I saw her majestys picture at large, and costly set out and depainted. The poor man told me, the same day wherin the tryumphing was in Rome for taking of her majesty and subduing the realm, the cardinal made a great feast, and invited and had at the same all English, Scottish, and Irish men in Rome: but it was his hap not to be there, being at his work in a vinerol.

And the next day after, Dutch met him, asking him, why he came not the other day to my lord graces banquet, as all others did, in rejoyce of the great victory the king of Spains forces had against England, and of the taking of the queen, his dame, captive. Wherunto when he answering, that he would not believe it, and would adventure the loss of his ears, if it were true, the same Dutch informed of the

speeches; and the poor man was checked, and had been ill dealt with, if the news had been true.

At Liege, upon some occasion of talk, as well of your honour, as some others of her majestys privy council; and how by your policy and wisdome your lordship and the rest over-reached still the king of Spain, and all his many counsils and counsillors in all matters: the council of Spain procrastinate and delay, not putting in execution their determinations: the counsil of England using expedition in all their intentions: the council of Spain giving out now what they will do or put in execution a year hence: the council in England at present execution of their determination, before any speech in public be had or blown abroad. And thus the expedition of the one overmatcheth the long temporizing of the other.

At which time of talk, D. D. said, he could not more aptly compare the lord treasurer of England to any man, than to a waterman of the Thames; whose affair is to look one way and row another. When he is to work, or to compass any matter of importance, he will give out matter carying great shew of reason, that the same shall and must of necessity sort to the end and effect of what the ears of men are filled with by that his course of invention and policy. And while ey is had upon the same, and means working to cross as much, then he putteth in execution a contrary determination, and hazzards or effects the same before it be revealed; wherby prevention might or can be had. By which course of policy, with his expedition in all his actions, together with his long time of continuance in place of government, and having wit at wil, he is so experienced and grounded, with so deep a judgment, as his piersing ey foresees and looks into all accidents and sequences that may prejudice or further his purposes and intentions in any matter he takes in hand, or is to be handled in government of the realm, and practised, and followed against any other state.

Upon St. Nicolas day last, being then kept festival, I dined in Lisle with D. Marshal, [a Scotch priest.] Among

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other talk he said, it was time now for the king of Scots to advise himself well, and to cast his ey upon the apparent hazzard wherin the king of Navarr [a protestant] standeth of loss of the crown of France: lest he come also in like
234 *predicament*, not only for Scotland, but also for his claime and interest unto the crown of England; both which, no doubt, but he shall loose too, after the king of Spain hath established a catholic king in France: unless he reform himself and his realm in matter of religion, and yield to the obeisance of the church of Rome, and profession of the same. We were in this country, saith he, [the said Dr. Marshal,] in some comfort, hearing that a course and full determination was had and taken, [and perhaps a Spanish invasion of Scotland,] wherby upon great likelihood he might be drawn to reformation, and other purposes in the catholic cause, and for our return into our country. But we hear not that the same is put in execution. Pope Sixtus promised to disburse some summs of mony to be used in that affair. But what is or shall be don therein, I cannot learn, nor yet think in hast any matter to purpose therof will be forwarded; such variance is among them in Rome, since the said Sixtus dyed.

These before recited, and the like speeches, I have heard among them, beside their talk and opinion of the king of Spain, now of late. Of whom the most part and wisest sort despair of all hope in him, that may sort to their liking; unless he gain victory against Navarr, as they term him. Whereof also they make doubt greatly, as fearing England, Scotland, and the Germaine princes will afford him aid.

[Number LVII.]

An account of the proceedings between Spain and England, beginning at the access of queen Elizabeth to the crown. In answer to a libel.

MSS. Burg. HER majesty at her coming to the crown found her realm intangled with the war of France and Scotland, her

mightiest and neerest neibours. Which warrs were grounded onely upon the Spaniards quarel. But the pursuit of them had lost England the town of Calais: which from the year of Edward III. had been possessed by the kings of England. Now there was a meeting neer Dorleas, towards the end of queen Maries reign, between the commissioners of France, Spain, and England: and some overtures of peace were made, but broke off upon the article of the restitution of Calais. After queen Maries death, the king of Spain thinking himself discharged of that difficulty, tho' in honour he was no less bound to stand to it than before, renewed the like treaty; wherin her majesty concorded. So as the commissioners for the said princes met at Chasteau Cambresy, neer Cambray.

In the proceding of which treaty it is true, that at the first the commissioners of Spain, for form and in demonstration only, pretended to stand firm upon the demand of Calais; but it was discovered indeed that the kings meaning was, that after some ceremonious and perfunctory insisting therupon, to grow apart to a peace with the French, excluding her majesty; and so to leave to make her own peace, after her people had made his warrs. Which covert dealing being politicly lookt into, her majesty had reason, being newly invested in her kingdom, and of her own inclination being affected to peace, to conclude the same with such conditions as she mought. And yet the king of Spain in his dissimulation had so much advantage, as she was fain to do it in a treaty apart with the French. Wherby to one that is not informed of the counsils and secrets of state, as they past, it should seem to be a voluntary agreement of her majesty, where the king of Spain would be party. Wheras indeed he left her no other choice. And this was the first assay and earnest penny of that kings good affection to her majesty.

About the same time, when the king was solicited to renew such treaties and leagues as had past between the two crownes of Spain and England, and by the lord Cobham sent unto him, to acquaint him with the death of queen 235

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Mary, and after by sir Thomas Chaloner and sir Thomas Chamberlain successively, ambassadors resident in his Low Countries, who had orders divers times, during their charge, to make overtures therof, both unto the king and certain principal persons about him; and (these former motions taking no effect) by viscount Mountague and sir Tho. Chamberlain, sent into Spain in the year 1560; no other answer could be had or obtained of that king, but that the treaties did stand in as good force to all intents as new ratifications could make them. An answer strange at that time, but very conformable to his procedings since: which belike even then were closely hatching in his own breast. For had he not at that time some hidden alienation of mind and design of an enemy towards her majesty, so wise a king could not be ignorant, that the renewing and ratifying of treaties between princes and estates do add a great life and force, both of assurance to the parties themselves, and countenance and reputation to the world besides: and have for that cause been commonly and necessarily used and practised.

In the message of vicount Mountague it was also contained, that he should crave the kings counsil and assistance according to amity and good intelligence, upon discovery of certain pernicious plots of the house of Guise to annoy this realm by the way of Scotland. Wherunto the kings answer was so dark and so cold, as nothing could be made of it, till he made an exposition of it by effects in the express restraint of munition to be caried out of the Low Countries, unto the siege of Leith; because our nation was to have supply therof from thence. So that in all the negotiations that past with the king, still her majesty received no satisfaction; but more and more suspition and hard tokens of evil affection.

Soon after, when upon that project which was disclosed before, the king had resolved to disannul the liberty and privilege unto his subjects the Netherlanders antiently belonging, and to establish among them a material government, which the people (being very wealthy, and inhabiting townes very strong and defencible by fortifications, both

by nature and the hand) could not endure, there followed the defection and revolt of those countries. In which action (being greatest of all those which have past between Spain and England) the proceding of her majesty hath been so just, and mingled with so many honorable regards, as nothing doth so much clear and acquit her majesty, not only from passion, but also from all dishonorable policy.

For first, at the beginning of the troubles, she did impart unto him faithful and sincere advice of the course that was to be taken for the quieting and appeasing them; and expressly forwarned both himself and such as were in principal charge in those countries, during the warrs, of the danger like to ensue, if he held so heavy a hand over that people, lest they should cast themselves into the armes of a stranger. But finding the kings mind so exulcerate, as he rejected all counsil that tended to mild and gracious procedings, her majesty nevertheless gave not over her honourable resolution: which was, if it were possible, to reduce and reconcile those countries unto the obedience of their natural sovereign, the king of Spain. And if that might not be, yet to preserve them from alienating themselves to a foreign lord, as namely, unto the French; with whom they much treated; and among them the enterprize of Flanders was ever propounded, as a mean to unite their own civil dissensions; but patiently temporized, expecting the good effect which time might breed. And whensoever the state grew into extremity of dispair, and therby ready to embrace the offer of any foreigner, then would her majesty yield them some relief of mony, or permit some supply of force to go over unto them, to the end to interrupt such violent resolutions: and still mediate unto the king some just and honourable capitulation of grace and accord, such 236
as whereby always should have been preserved unto him such interest and authority, as he in justice could claim, or any prince, moderatly minded, would seek to have. And this care she held interchangeably, seeking to mitigate the wrath of the king and the dispair of the country; til such time as after the death of the duke of Anjou, into whose

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hands, according to her majestys prediction, but against her good liking, they had put themselves, the enemy pressing them, the United Provinces were received into her majestys protection. Which was after such time as the king of Spain had discovered himself, not only an implacable lord to them, but also professed enemy unto her majesty, having actually invaded Ireland, and designed the invasion of England.

For it is to be noted, that the like offers which were then made unto her majesty had been made unto her long before: but as long as her majesty conceived any hope either of making their peace, or entertaining her own with Spain, she would never harken therunto. And yet now even at last retained a singular and evident proof to the world of her justice and moderation, in that she refused the inheritance and sovereignty of those goodly provinces, which by the States with much instance was prest upon her: and being accepted would have wrought great contentment and satisfaction both to her people and them; being countries, for the seat, wealth, and commodity of traffic, and affection to our nation, most convenient to have been annexed to the crown of England: (and withall one charge, danger, and offence of Spain:) only took upon her the defence and protection of their liberties. Which liberties and privileges are of that nature, as they may justly esteem themselves but *conditional* subjects to the king of Spain, more justly than Aragon, and may make her majesty as justly esteem the antient confederacies and treaties with Burgundy to be of force with the people and nation, rather than with the line of the dukes: because it was never an absolute monarchy. So as to sum up her majestys proceding in this great action, they have been but this, that she hath sought to restore them to Spain, or at the least to keep them from strangers, and in no wise to purchase them to her self.

But during all this time the king of Spain kept good conformity in his procedings toward her majesty, breaking forth more and more into injuryes and contempts. Her subjects trading into Spain have been many of them burnt; some cast into the gallies; others have dyed in prison without

any other crime committed, but upon quarrels picked upon them for their religion here at home. Her merchants, at the sack of Antwerp, were divers of them spoiled, and put to their ransome, tho' they could not be charged with any partaking. Neither upon the complaint of Dr. Wylson and sir Edward Horsey [the queen's ambassadors] could a redress be had. A general arrest was made by the duke of Alva of English mens goods and persons, upon pretence that certain ships stayed in this realm, laden with goods and mony of certain merchants of Genua, belonged to the king: which mony and goods were afterwards to the utmost value restored and payd back: wheras our men were far from receiving the like justice from the other side. Dr. Man, her majestys ambassador, received, during his legation, sundry indignities, himself being removed out of Madrid, and lodged in a village; as they are accustomed to use the ambassadors of the Moors: his son and steward forced to assist at a mass with tapers in their hands: besides sundry other contumilies and reproches. But the spoiling and dammaging of a merchant, vexation of a common subject, dishonour of an ambassador, were rather but demonstrations of evil disposition than effects, if they be compared with these actions of state; wherin he and his ministers have sought the overthrow of this government.

As in the year 1569, when the rebellion in the north parts of England brake forth: wherof who but the duke of Alva, then the kings lieutenant in the Low Countries, and don Guerres de Espees, then his ambassador ledgier here, were discovered to be chief instruments and practisers, having complotted with the duke of Norfolk at the same time, as was proved at the said dukes condemnation, that an 237
army of 10000 men should have landed at Harwich, in aid of the party that the said duke had made within the realm; and the said duke of Alva having spent and employed 150000 crowns in that preparation.

Not contented thus to have consorted and assisted her majestys rebells in England, he procured a rebellion in Ireland: arming and sending thither, in the year an

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archrebel of that country, James Fitz Morris, (which before was fled,) as truly to speak the whole course of molestation which her majesty hath received in the realm by the rising and keeping out of the Irish, hath been nourished and fomented from Spain. But afterward, in the year he invaded the same island with Spanish forces, under an Italian collonel, being but the forerunner of a greater power, which by treaty between him and the pope should have followed; but that by the speedy defeat of those former they were discouraged to pursue the action. Which invasion was proved to be don by the kings own order, both by the letters of his secretary Escobed and of Guerras to the king, and also by divers other letters; wherin the particular conferences were set down which past concerning this enterprize between cardinal Riario, the popes legate, and the kings deputies in Spain; touching in general the number of men, the contribution of mony, and the maner of prosecuting the action: and by the confession of some of the chiefest of those that were taken prisoners at the fort. Which act being an act of apparent hostility, added unto all the injury aforesaid; and accompanied with the continual receipt, comfort, and countenance, by audiences, pensions, and employments, which he gave to the traitors and fugitives, both English and Irish; as Westmerland, Paget, Englefield, Baltinglas, and numbers of others, did sufficiently justify and warrant the pursuit of revenge. Which either in the spoil of Cartagena and San Domingo in the India by Mr. Drake, or in undertaking of the protection of the Low Countries, when the earl of Leicester was sent over, after followed.

But before that time her majesty, tho' she stood upon her guard in respect of the just cause of jealousy which the sundry injuries of the king gave her, yet had entred into no offensive action against him. For both the voluntary forces, which don Antonio had collected in this realm, were by express commandment restrained, and offer was made of restitution to the Spanish ambassador of such treasure as Mr. Drake had brought into this realm, upon proof that it

had been taken by wrong. And the duke of Anjou was (as much as could stand with the neer treaty of a mariage, which then was very forward betwixt her majesty and the said duke) directed from the enterprize of Flanders. BOOK II.

Number LVIII. 238

A speech in parliament an. 31. regin. against a bill of subsidy to be granted for four years, in order to a preparation against any assaults from Spain.

WHEREAS I am, tho' unworthy, a member of this house, and zelously desirous to conjoyn my self by consent in all good procedings with the body therof, I have hitherto in this great matter of the subsidy received so small satisfaction for the direction of my judgment, that unless I should manifestly dissent from mine own conscience, which neither this place requireth, nor Christianity alloweth, I cannot consent with the bill therin, which may seem to have had so general and current a consent, as it might seem superfluous to offer to speak to it: and especially at this time, after the engrossing thereof, after the resolution thereon by a great, grave, and wise committee, I may be deemed presumptuous but to speak against this bill: whereby the service of her majesty and the whole realm may be supposed to be hindred; it may be thought impious, it may be thought dangerous. The consent of the greatest part of this house, as I take it, concludeth all the rest at the question, but excludeth none in the arguing. MSS. Burg.

This time, I confess, to be somewhat unseasonably chosen, but yet is now time to speak, or else hereafter for ever to be silent. And therin I do somewhat rely upon the authority of an honorable personage, who, at the putting of this bill to engrosing, affirmed it in his experience not to be unusual to have a bill argued upon between the 3d reading and the question 2 or 3 days.

As for the service of her majesty and my country, unto which two I owe all subjection and duty, I am so far from

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withdrawing either my self or others there from, that my speech shall have none other end, than the advancement thereof; neither, as I hope, shall in that behalf need any other apology than it self.

My meaning is not to dispute whether it be lawful to grant a subsidy or no: for then our Saviour Christ himself would stop my mouth with his answer to the captious questionists, in the xxth of Matthew. For sure, the very impression and superscription of our mony puts us in mind to whom it doth appertain. Neither will I argue whether it be necessary to grant a subsidy or not: but therin content my self with the example of our Saviour, who, in the xviith of Matthew, paid his xxth peny out of his fishes mouth for himself and Peter. Nor yet whether it be convenient to contribute toward the necessary exigences of our lawful princes. For St. Paul teacheth me, in the xiiith to the Romans, that tribute appertaineth unto them of duty, as unto governours sent by God, for the well ordering and guiding of his people.

But the question wherin I endeavour to be resolved is, whether it be necessary or convenient for us at this time to tender unto her majesty such a subsidy, and in such maner and form, as hath been by divers heretofore moved, as the purport of this bill offereth unto us: that is, in brief, a double subsidy to be paid in four years.

And first, for the *necessity* therof, I cannot deny, but if it were a charge imposed upon us by her majestys commandment, or a demand proceding from her majesty by way of request, that I think there is not one among us all, either so disobedient a subject in regard of our duty, or so unthankful a man in respect of the inestimable benefits, which by her and from her we have received, which would not with frank consent, both of voice and heart, most willingly submit himself thereunto, without any unreverend en-
239 quiry into the causes thereof: for it is continually in the mouth of us all, that our lands, goods, and lives are at our princes disposing. And it agreeth very well with that position of the civil law, which saith, *Quod omnia regis sunt.*

But how? *Ita tamen, ut omnium sint. Ad regem enim potestas omnium pertinet; ad singulos proprietas.* So that altho' it be most true, that her majesty hath, over our selves and our goods, *potestatem imperandi*, yet it is as true, that until that power command, (which, no doubt, will not command without very just cause,) every subject hath his own *proprietatem possidendi.* Which power and commandment from her majesty, which we have not yet received, I take it (saving reformation) that wee are freed from the cause of *necessity.*

The danger of invasion considered.

Another cause of *necessity* is the dangerous estate of our commonwealth, in respect of *invasion* by our common and mighty enemies: which reason, because in my hearing it hath been the principal, and almost only persuader of the bill, requireth a more sufficient and exquisite answer than perhaps I shall make unto it. I have before acknowledged it to be a necessary answer to move all to unwonted and extraordinary contribution. And I must herein needs subscribe to a wise and learned man of our age; who saith, that they be *pia, quæ cum civibus imperantur tributa, sine quibus civitas ipsa funditus sit interitura.* But as I do assuredly hope, that our country is at this present in no such desperate and dangerous case; the very teeth and jaws of our mightiest and most malicious enemy have been so lately broken, and the sword of his greatest confederate more lately sheathed in his own bosome: beside the hope which may justly be conceived of the expedition now setting forward[a], for the defeating all their plots, and disappointing all their devices:—as, I say, I do assuredly hope, that our country for these reasons is in no such great danger as it is pretended, so may I constantly affirm, that altho' by way of concession I should grant it to be so, yet the subsidy, required by this bill to be granted, could give little or no relief therunto. For as a pardon comes unprofitably to the offender after his execution, or a potion to a patient after his death or recovery to health; so if the stroke of Gods enemy and ours be likely to light upon us, either this year, as it hath been here affirmed, so the next, as it is in my

[a] Of invading some parts of Spain by sir Fr. Drake and other English.

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small judgment more likely, I doubt not but you will all consent with me, that a subsidy, the first part wherof is not to be paid till the end of three years, (for unto that only my speech hath relation,) can serve neither for pay nor provision in defence therof.

Utilis est medicina suo quæ tempore venit,

saith the poet. And *sapientia sera*, is said to be *proxima stultitiæ.*

Inconveniences of the subsidy.

And thus having briefly set down mine opinion against the necessity of this grant, I will, by your favourable patience, with like brevity declare such *inconveniences*, as I have conceived may ensue thereby. It is not unknown to you all, but most sensibly felt through the whole realm, what charge and expences the commons therof were this last summer driven unto by preparation and provision of armes, horses, apparel, and other necessaries, for their just and natural defence against the pretended invasion: you know, that since that time a payment of the subsidy last granted hath been made unto her majesty. There is none of us ignorant what numbers of privy seals are even now dispersed through the whole realm, to the emptying mens coffers, and impairing of their stocks: with what readiness, duty, and goodwill these things have been and shall be performed by the subjects, no man here may doubt. Now then to bring a new and unaccustomed continuation of payments, one to role in the neck of another, *sicut unda superierit undam*, I know not by what warrant of reason or conscience wee may do it; especially considering, that it is not a matter necessarily imposed upon us, as I said before, but voluntarily to be offered by us. Surely, one speaketh very plainly, and saith, *Asini est clitellam ferre libenter.* But I will, as it becomes me, use more reverence in this honorable place, and say, that I think it not convenient that we should lay burthens on our own shoulders, or put shackles on our own feet.

But it is still urged, that the service of her majesty, and safeguard of our own selves, is provided for hereby. Surely, by your honorable patience, I will attempt to prove, that

by this grant her majestys service shall be rather hindred than forwarded, and our selves rather endangered than secured. It was very gravely and wisely delivered unto us in her majestys presence, at the beginning of this parlament, by my lord chancellor, *Quod tutius fide, quam ferro regnant reges.* And surely if *auro* were put in the place of *ferro*, the sentence were notwithstanding nevertheless true. For it is not the abundance of treasure, nor the multitude of possessions, neither the infinite number of men, which maintain and establish a king in his throne, but the faith, love, loyalty, and contentment of his people and subjects, which as her majesty hath hitherto, from her first auguration, most deservedly had, and that as fully and amply as ever had any prince in Europe; so were it greatly to be lamented, that now through our debates any such discontents should be bred in the minds and hearts of her people; wherby their accustomed affections towards her might receive the least diminution. And surely, whosoever they be, that by new and strange exactions on the people shall go about to fill up the princes coffers, may perhaps please the prince by serving his turn for the time, but shall in the end be found to have don him but bad service. The answer of the emperor Tiberius unto his *questors*, or treasurers, which persuaded him, for the repairing of the treasury, to load the provinces with tribute, is worthy eternal memory; which was, that it was *boni pastoris tondere oves, non autem deglubere.* And the practice of the Romans, while Hanibal besieged their city, is of all nations worthy to be imitated. For being hardly prest by the siege, and their common treasure quite exhausted, the senate took counsil together for the redress of these mischieves; some of them persuading, like Tiberius's treasurers, that the people were to be charged with a subsidy or imposition. But the greater and wiser sort (whose authority also prevailed) would by no means assent therunto; thinking it (especially in that time of extremity) most inconvenient by new taxes and impositions to discontent the people, in whom the strength and defence of their city consisted. And what

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did they? Mary, they decreed that a contribution should be made, by way of a benevolence: and they themselves would first go unto the *triumviros mensarios*, which were officers appointed for that receipt; and there bestow so liberally of their own, that the inferior people should by their example be incited to a large and bountiful contribution. But what followed? The people, as the story saith, came in so fast, and the mony in such abundance, *ut nec triumviri mensarii accipiendo, nec scribæ referendo, sufficerent.* It is written by Livy in the 26 book, and needeth no application. Only this I would wish to be considered, whether if we should by extremity be put to the like shift for a benevolence, before the payment of this latter subsidy, the grant of this would not do greater hurt to that contribution, than it self could do good, when it shall be paid.

I could, with enumeration and amplification of the inconveniences which may grow by this double subsidy, detain you longer than either it is fit for me to speak, or pleasing for you to hear. But I will hasten to an end. It may be objected, that this subsidy cannot be an occasion of any such grievance or discontent as is spoken of; or if it were, that the sharpness therof is well allayed and tempered by the prolonging of the payment. Surely it may be, that to all or the most part of this honorable house, who both in respect of their ability may, and by reason of their liberal
241 education and great wisdom will submit themselves unto it, it is a light and easy burthen, and accounted but for a flea-biting. But unto the people and needy countrymen, to the artificer, whose treasure is always in his hand, (for whom we do sit here more principally than for our selves,) under correction, it cannot be accounted but for a punishment.

Samuel, in the oration which he made unto the Israelites, when they would needs have a king, among other burthens which he told them they should bear under that kind of government, accounteth the payment of the tenth of their seed, their vinyards, and their sheep: which may prove, that then it was reckoned for a pain. And the suits, exclamations, complaints, and lamentations of the commons of this

realm, well known to the most part of this house, which they make either at the accessing or collection of these subsidies, or both, doth sufficiently testify unto us, that they account it now a punishment. And as for the prolonging of the payment, I am so far from thinking that it is any mitigation of the punishment, that I am rather persuaded that it is encreased therby. As it is well said of Seneca in the bestowing of benefits, *Quod bis dat, qui cito dat;* so is it as truly spoken of another in the inflicting of punishment, *Dilatio pœnæ* est *duplicatio pœnæ.* And of another, that the irrevocable sentence of " death being once pronounced, " it is *misericordiæ genus, cito occidere.* Neither have I " heard any great reason why the pains of hell are intoler- " able, but because they are perpetual. For, *Malorum sen-* " *sus accrescit die.* And, *Leve est miserias ferre, perferre* " *grave.*"

Seeing then that it is apparent that this imposition, how much the greater it shall be, by so much the more grievous it will be to the mean, ignorant, and untaught commons of this land, who bend all their thoughts and actions to the procuring and maintaining of their private commodity; and seeing that their long meditation theron will encrease and double this their grief and punishment, and that no man, how well natured or nourtered soever he be, can well content himself with pain and grief; I hope you se as clearly as you hear, that the subsidy required by this bill to be granted, must after breed a discontent in the minds and hearts of her majesty's people. Of which their discontentment, what might ensue and follow, I would be very loth to divine. What if a dearth of victuals? What if restraint of traffic by means of wars? What if therby occasion should be given to seditious and traiterous whisperers to augment and encrease it?

Sure I am, that hereof could follow no good service to her majesty, no great safty to our selves, no benefit to the commonwealth: but we should then all too late cry, Woe be to them that brought the first spark to the kindling of this fire. And it hath often been proved heretofore by ex-

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perience, that mony this sort obtained from the people, hath been spent in greater mesure in the pacifying of them of whom it was collected.

The precedent besides may be dangerous both to our selves and our posterity: for we commonly see, that in all counsels and deliberations, a precedent is a forceable and persuading argument. And it was a wise and true saying, that *diuturnitas temporis efficere potest, ut quod perniciore more et exemplo convaluit, potentius ipsa lege dominetur.* And altho' I have before granted you by way of concession, that her majestys will and commandment is a necessary argument to persuade us to the passing of this bill; yet lest it may be thought of more absolute necessity than perhaps it is requisite it should be, I will set down a precedent or two, wherin in the like cases have in this house been determined heretofore.

In the 39 H. 3. a parlament was summoned; wherin was required an extraordinary reparation of the kings treasury by a subsidy. The commons, because his demand was greater than usually had been paid, would grant no subsidy at all. [This goes no further, though it seems to want something.]

242 Thus have I presumed to deliver my opinion, hoping, that if any thing hath escaped me worthy reprehension, through ignorance, it shall be excused by reason of mine infancy in this practice of speaking: if any part of my speech may receive a double construction, it may be defended by your best interpretation.

Number LIX.

A speech in parliament, anno 1588, *upon a bill against strangers and aliens selling wares by retail.*

MSS. Burg. TO the bill now red, and the matter therin contained, a word or two, and that briefly. This bill, as I conceive, offereth to the consideration of this honorable house a controversy between the natural born subjects of this realm, and a stranger inhabiting among us.

Surely, before I procede any further, I find my self doubly affected and doubly distracted. For on the one side, the very name of my country and nation is so pleasant in mine ears, and so delightful in my heart, that I am compelled to subscribe unto him, who having rehearsed all the degrees of conjunction and society, concludeth thus, that *omne somnium charitates una patria complexa est.* Insomuch, that in this case, wherin my country is a part, and especially that part [a] of my country which as it is the head of the body, so ought it of me, for special respect, to be most honored and loved in this cause, and therefore methinks I might needs judge my self to be no competent judge. But on the other side, when in the person of the stranger I consider the miserable and afflicted state of these poor exiles, who together with their countries have lost all or the greatest comforts of this life; and for want of friends ly subject and exposed to the wrongs and injuries of the malicious and ill affected, (for that the condition of strangers is, that they have *multa hospitia*, but *paucos amicos*;) in these respects I am moved with an extraordinary commiseration of them, and feel in my self a sympathy and fellow-suffering with them.

[a] London.

In the third place, I look on my self, or rather into my self, and as I am of my self, which is nothing, but as I am intended here to be, (which is more than I can be, tho' no more than I ought to be:) *Judicis est in causis verum sequi, seponere affectum, admittere rationem, ex rebus ipsis, non ex personis judicare.* And therefore I pray you, that I may with like brevity lay before you my judgment in the matter, as I have declared mine affection to the parties.

The bill requireth, that it may be enacted, that no *aliens* born, not being denisens, nor having served as apprentices by the space of seven years, should sell any wares by retail. Because it is required, that this be made a law, let us first consider how it may stand with the grounds and foundations of all laws: which are, the laws of nature and the law of

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God. And secondly, with the profit and commodity of the commonwealth.

I will not detain you with *mathematical* or *philosophical* discourses, to shew that the whole earth, being but a point in the center of the world, will admit no division of dominions. For, *Punctum est indivisibile.* And that man, as Plato saith, is no earthly but a heavenly creature. And therefore hath *caput tanquam radicem infixum cœlo.* Neither will I stand upon it, that the residence or continuance of one nation in one place is not of the law of nature, which being in it self immutable, would then admit no such transmi-
243 gration of people, and transplantations of nations, as in daily experience we se. But I will only propound unto you two grounds of nature, as more proper to this purpose. One, that we should give to others the same mesure that we would receive from them: which is the golden rule of justice. And the other, that we ought by all good means, *tum artibus, tum opera, tum facultatibus, devincire hominum inter homines societatem.* And, *Qui civium rationem dicunt esse habendam, externorum negant, hi dirimunt communem humani generis societatem.*

The *law of God* is next; which in infinite places commendeth unto us the good usage and entertainment of strangers. In Deuteronomy, *God loveth the stranger, giving him food and rayment. Therefore love yee the stranger.* In Leviticus, *If a stranger sojourn with you in your land, yee shall not vex him. But the stranger which dwelleth with you shall be as one of your selves, and ye shall love him as your selves: for ye were strangers.* In Ezekiel it appeareth, that the land of promise was by Gods appointment allotted as well to the stranger as to the Israelite. *For they shall part the inheritance with you in the midst of the tribes of Israel,* saith the text. And the commandment which is given for the observation of the sabbath forbids the stranger on that day to labour: wherby it may well be gathered, that at other times it is lawful for him to exercise his lawful trade or vocation.

So that for this point, I may well conclude with Mr. Calvin, who saith, that it is *barbaries et immanitas inhospitalis miseros advenas opprimere, qui in fidem nostram confugiunt.*

It hath been confessed, that the arguments used against this bill do cary with them a great shew of charity, which, say they, being severed from policy, is now no charity, but folly. I will answer, that if it be a good rule and principle in divinity, that in comparison between the laws, moral and ceremonial, *moralia sunt anteponenda ceremoniis;* it ought much more to be overruled in all consultations, that *humana sunt postponenda divinis.* And therfore policy without charity is impiety.

But let us consider how this charity overthroweth our policy. Forsooth it is said generally, by impoverishing the natural subject, and enriching the stranger; by nourishing a scorpion in our bosoms; by taking the childrens bread, and casting it to doggs. And this more particularly, as they say, effected by two means. First, by multitude of *retailers.* For the more men exercise one trade, the less is every one of his gain. And secondly, by the strangers policy: which consisteth either in providing their wares in such sort that they may sell better cheap than the natural subject; or else by persuading our people that they may do so.

Retailers.

To the general accusation, if I should use no other defence but this, that these people, the denisons I mean, (for of them and for them do I only speak,) having renounced their obedience to their natural governour and countries, and subjected themselves, even by their oaths, to the obedience of her majesty, her laws, and authority, are now to be accounted of us, tho' not natural, yet naturalized subjects; tho' not sprung up from our root, yet firmely grafted into our stock and body; tho' not our children by procreation, yet our brethren by adoption: if, I say, I should use no other defence but this, I doubt not but I might, in the opinion of all or the most part of this honorable house, clear them of the envious title of the *rich strangers;* of the

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odious name of the *venomous scorpions;* and of the uncharitable term of *contemptible doggs.*

But because the strength of the general accusation consisteth in the validity of the particular objections, I will, by your good favour, in a word or two, make answer unto them. It cannot be denyed, but that the number of *retailers* by these denizons is somewhat encreased; but yet not so much that the burthen of them is so insupportable as is pretended. For by the confession of their adversaries, they are not in all, denisons and not denisons, in and about this city, of all maner of retaylers, above the number of fifty,
244 or thereabouts. Wherof it is probable, that the denisons (whom only my purpose is to maintain) exceed not the number of thirty. Who being divided into many trades and companies with the infinite numbers of the retailers of all sorts in the city of London and the suburbs therof, cannot in common, or so much impoverish any one trade or company by their number only, as is suggested.

As touching their policy, which consisteth in drawing of customers to their shops or houses, either in selling cheap indeed, or else by persuading us that they sell their wares more cheap than our nation can do; I take (saving reformation) very easy to be answered. For if the first be true, that they do indeed sel better peniworths, then have we no cause to punish, but to cherish them as good members of our commonwealth: which by no means can better be enriched, than by keeping down the prizes of foreign commodities, and enhauncing the value of our own. Beside the benefit of cheapness of foreign commodities by so much exceedeth the benefit of dear prizes. But how much the number of buyers of them excedeth the number of sellers; which is infinite. But if the second be true, that it is but our error to believe that they sell their wares better cheap than our nation doth; then surely, I cannot but think it very great injustice to punish them for a fault committed by us.

It hath been further objected unto them in this house, that by their sparing and frugal living they have been the

better enabled to sell good pennyworths. It seems, we are much streitned for arguments, that are driven to accuse them for their vertues.

This paper seems to be defective, going no further: but at the end are added

Sentences concerning strangers. Taken from scripture and other authors.

Which seem to be collections from this and other speeches made in the house upon the occasion of this bill against the strangers.

God loveth the stranger, giving him food and rayment. Love yee therfore the strangers, &c. *Deut.* x. 18.

If a stranger sojourn with you in your land, ye shall not vex him. But the stranger which dwelleth with you shall be as one of your selves: and you shall love him as your selves. For ye were strangers, &c. *Levit.* xix. 33.

The land of promise was to be divided to strangers, as well as to the Israelites. For they shall be as born among the children. *Ezek.* xlvii. 22.

In the midst of thee have they opprest the stranger. *Ezek.* xxii. 7.

Et advena, qui est intra portas, sabbatum sanctificat; i. e. sacrum otium celebrat. Unde colligitur, licet ipsis operari. [*That is, to follow their work and business among them on other days.*]

In peregrinatione vitam agentibus hoc evenit, ut hospitia multa habeant, nullas amicitias.

Civis est liber homo, qui summæ alterius potestati obligatur.

Sicut servi aut nati sunt aut facti; sic etiam cives aut fiunt aut nascuntur.

Mali, qui peregrinos urbibus uti prohibent, eosque extirminant. Nam esse pro cive, qui civis non sit, rectum est non licere. Usum vero urbis prohibere peregrinos, sane inhumanum. *Cic. Offic.* 3°. 255.

Hospitalitatem ne obliviscamini. Per hanc enim quidam 245
exceperunt angelos præter expectationem. *Petrus.*

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Qui civium rationem dicunt esse habendam, externorum negant, hi dirimunt communem humani generis societatem. *Cic. Offic.* 3°. 212.

Civis natus: civis factus: civis honorarius. *Bodin.* 48.

Optimo jure est, non qui creatur, sed qui nascitur civis. Et ideo præfectus mercatorum Luteciæ est nemo, nisi in urbe natus.

Tarentini principem rogarent, ut ante peregrinos conserentur.

Verum et proprium civis et peregrini discrimen est, quod alter jussa principis respuere potest, alter imperio civili obligatur.

Strangers doubly charged in customs and subsidies. Indued with benefices in times of superstition.

Multo latius officiorum patet, &c.

Privantur honoribus, magistratibus et dignitatibus.

Num etiam ad vitam necessariis privabuntur?

Quid patria carere? Num magnum est malum? Respondet Polynices ex Euripide, Est maximum: et re magis quam dici queat.

Natura patriam nullam cuiquam dedit. *Plutarch.*

Socrates se mundi civem esse dixit.

We shall be more miserable by their departure hence, than they are by the causes of their coming hither.

Number LX.

Articles of agreement between the dean and chapter of Norwich and the patentees; drawn up by the attorney and solicitor; and offered to the dean. To which in these terms he accorded.

MSS. eccl. penes me.

19. Aug. 1587. WHEREAS this day sir Thomas Shirley, kt. for him and other her majestys patentees, and their assignees of the lands, sometime appertaining to the late prior and covent of Norwich, and the now dean of Norwich for himself and the chapter of the same church, did with their learned council on both sides confer and consult together about some reasonable end or order touching the

said lands, and for the better perfecting therof, had, by view and consideration of an order lately drawn, and indifferently set down by master atturney general and master solicitor general for both parties, with their several hands therunto subscribed; Mr. Dean doth now, upon due consideration and through-debating of the cause, not now only, but at divers other times, yield to the said order for himself and the church, in maner and forme following.

First, he thinketh it not convenient to surrender, before they have a new grant from her majesty; both to avoid the clamour of the fermours, and for some other causes. But if her majesty please to make a new lease to the patentees for fourscore and nineteen years, reserving the old rents, which have been heretofore most beneficially reserved for the church, then they will take a new grant from her majesty of the reversion and the rent, which amounteth to a surrender in law: and therewith hold themselves content.

And wheras it is ordered, that so much yearly rent should be reserved for the queen, upon her new erection of the dean and chapter, as was reserved in the former erection; Mr. Dean saith, 39*l.* and other mony of the old rents is already released, 50*l.* now only due to her majesty yearly. And therfore his desire is for the church, that they may be no further charged then for the 50*l.* according to her majestys former patent. 246

Item, Mr. Deans desire is, that the patentees new lease may be of no more lands appertaining to the church, than that which is in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk only, and not in the county and city of Norwich.

By me,
Geo. Gardiner.

Number LXI.

Dr. Gardiner, dean of Norwich, to the lord treasurer; referring the case of their church, against sir Tho. Shirley, and other patentees, to his lordship's orders.

Rt. honorable, my duty in most humble wise remembred.

I HAVE now sent up to attend your honours good plea- MSS. Burg.

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sure both Mr. Castelton and Mr. Suckling, two of our prebendaries, with warrant under our chapter seal, to prosecute the cause of our church; and by the advice of learned counsil, but especially by your honours good means and help, happily to finish the same. The matter is of great importance, and hitherto we have found hard mesure to be offered by the patentees, and some interessed under them. Blame us not, my singular good lord, that we are bold to trouble your honour in this our churches cause; and that we are jealous of other mens dealings in the same.

The bearers hereof will impart unto your honour, that divers parcels of our church lands have been sold away for ever, and mony taken for them; and some one parcell sold to five sundry men; and every man having paid for one and the same interest; some violently entred upon without payment of rent or farm for these two years last past. And one hath paid no farm these six years, even sithen the controversy did begin. Wee have no parcel of lands, no not the houses within our cathedral church, but that they have been offered to sale; or else mony taken before hand for long leases hereafter to be granted, *si Dii volunt.*

Wherefore wee most humbly beseech your good honour, that we may seek for succour under the shadow of your wings, and most honorable protection. We crave that the agreement, wherof her majesty was informed, and wherupon her highness's warrant was granted, may faithfully be performed by the patentees, and those interessed under them. All other matters contained in her majestys warrant, we cannot but like very well of them; and with thankful minds to receive our new foundation and dotation, after that the patentees have fully surrendred their several interests: which as yet they have not don. And that a new lease be made from her majesty to Mr. Fanshaw and Mr. Osborn, of 600*l.* by year, in such order, with such conditions, and to such ends, as in her majestys said warrant is set down and exprest.

The books are sent up, plainly and truly drawn, to be perused and allowed by the learned counsil on both sides. And then we leave the conclusion to your good honours

friendship, favour, and most grave and wise consideration and ordering. And so most humbly taking my leave, and craving pardon for this my too too much boldness, I commit your good honour, with my continual prayers, to the Almighty. From Norwich, the 11th of Novemb. 1588. BOOK II. 247

Your honours, as duty bindeth for ever to command,

George Gardiner.

Number LXII.

A brief declaration how the case standeth between sir Tho. Sherley, kt. and other her majesty's patentees, on the one party, and the fermours of the possessions of the dean and chapter of Norwich on the other party. With the humble suit of sir Tho. Sherley to the lord treasurer, June 10, 1590.

THE dean and chapter of Norwich, an. 23d of her majestys reign, made a lease to her majesty of divers mannours, parcel of their possessions, for the term of one hundred years. CCXL*l.* per ann. MSS. eccl. penes me.

The queens majesty, an. 25. of her reign, did by her letters patents assign over the same lease to Henry Rice, one of her gentlemen ushers.

Sir Thomas Sherley purchased the same lease of Mr. Ryce at a dear rate, and gave CC*l.* to the dean of Norwich: which was before promised to be paid him at such time as her majesty should be pleased to make her before said assignment.

After which the late lord Wentworth passed all the lands and possessions of the said dean and chapter from her majesty, as concealed.

Hereupon sir Tho. Shirley and others, interessed in such leases, under the dean and chapter, finding their leases to be made frustrate, yf the said lord Wentworths title took place, were driven, in saveguard of that which they had disbursed before, to disburse more mony to purchase in the title of the said concealments; which they paid also dearly for.

After this an information of intrusion was exhibited in

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the exchequer in her majestys name, at the suit of sir Tho. Sherley, against one of the fermours of the possessions of the said dean and chapter, for an intrusion, supposed to be before her majestys grant to the said lord Wentworth; purposing thereby to try how the law would stand touching the title of the said concealment.

This suit the lord high treasurer of England thought not fit to be suffered to procede, unless sir Tho. Sherley would become bound to her majesty in a bond of 20000*l*. to stand to the order of the lord treasurer, and the chancellor of th' exchequer for the time being, touching the title of the said lands; howsoever the law should fall out.

Sir Tho. Shirley willingly submitted himself hereunto, and became bound in the said bond which yet resteth of record in full force and vertue.

After which it further pleased the lord treasurer to require her majestys atturney general and her solicitor, to consider of some good course meet to be taken for indifferent ending of the controversy.

Mr. Atturney and Mr. Solicitor herupon took some pains about the cause, and set down under their hands a course which they thought meetest to be taken: which was to this effect, viz. That the lands should be assured by the church and the patentees to her majesty. Then that her majesty
248 might please to lease the same to the use of the patentees for 99 years at the usual rents. And to grant the reversion to the dean and chapter, reserving to her self such rents as were formerly due unto her. And that the two remembrancers of the exchequer should have power to make compositions between the said patentees and other fermours of the said possessions. To which order the dean that then was, and his counsil, did agree.

Wherupon it pleased her majesty by her letters patents, bearing date in May in the 30th year of her reign, to grant a warrant to the lord treasurer of England, and to the chancellor of the exchequer, for the passing of books accordingly, and for the perfect fulfilling of the said order.

Since which time the lord treasurer hath pleased to offer the same end to the dean and chapter, for so much as con-

cerneth them. But they have wilfully refused her gracious meaning therin towards them.

In the mean space the law hath proceded upon the said information of intrusion. And after many days of deliberation and advertisement what could be said on each side, judgment hath passed for the queen.

Then follows sir Tho. Sherley's petition.

Now therefore the humble suit of sir Thomas Sherley is, that seeing he hath always been ready on his part to obey all orders that have been thought fit in the cause; and that the said last order, and her majestys warrant upon it, is most beneficial for the said dean and chapter; that although they do wilfully refuse their own good, it would nevertheless please the lord treasurer to accept his surrender of the said lands according to the said order; and to grant him instead thereof a lease for 99 years, as the said order and warrant importeth.

Number LXIII.

The last will and testament of the most reverend father in God Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York; who died at Southwell the 10th of July, 1588; and was there buried under a fair monument.

IN *Dei noie. Amen.* I, Edwin Sandys, minister of Gods holy word and sacraments, archbishop of York, tho' most unworthy; often minding the frailty and uncertainty of mans life in general, and withal feeling mine own manifold infirmities in particular, both of my years and for my sins; and also remembring, that when the Lord God shall say, *Redde rationem villicationis tuæ*, I among others shall appear before the tribunal seat of Christ, to receive in this body according to that I have don, be it good or evil; I reckon it is in my self a Christian duty, with Ezechias, *disponere domui meæ.* And considering, that as I brought nothing into this world, (for naked I came out of my mothers womb,) so can I cary nothing there out, but naked must I return again, even earth to dust, and carcass to wormes; the way of all flesh: while the Lord God hath lent me lei- MSS. R. T. Bak. S. Th. B.

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sure presently in some health of body and perfect of memory, I humbly thank him for both, even so I discharge my self of these talents which the Lord hath committed unto my charge, and make my last will and testament in such sort as followeth:

First, and above all, my soul and spirit I commend, with David and Stephen, into the merciful hands of my gracious
249 God and loving Father: assuredly believing by faith, and certainly trusting by hope, that he in the fulness of his good time, best known unto him, and least unto me, will receive the same unto himself; not in respect of any my deserts, (for my righteousness is but a very dunghil and defiled cloth,) but for his love, free mercies, and for the alone merits of his only Son, my onely Saviour Jesus Christ: who being without any sin, was made a curse and sacrifice for all my sins, that I might be made the righteousness of God in him, who in his own body bare all my transgressions upon the tree, that by smart of his stripes, and bloud of his wounds, I might be healed. Who hath cancelled upon the cross the whole hand writing that was against me. That I might not only be entred as a servant, or reconciled, as a friend, but adopted as a son, and accepted as an heir with God the Father, and an heir together with Jesus Christ. Who is also made unto me wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption. And as in this faith and full assurance of my perfect redemption by the death and onely deserts of Jesus Christ, the true Lamb of God, and Lion of the tribe of Judah, I have and do live, so in the same firm and stedfast faith and hope I end my sinful life, and gladly yield up withall my soul immortal my mortal body.

2ly, Altho' this body of mine is but a clod of clay and prison of my soul, my will is it shall be buried, neither in superstitious or superfluous maner; yet for that it hath been and is, I trust, not only a vessel of the gospel, but likewise a temple of the Holy Ghost, I require that the same be so decently and conveniently brought to the ground, as appertaineth to a Christian, a servant of Almighty God, and a man of my calling; putting no doubt, but that I shall se my Redeemer with mine own eyes, and be covered

with mine own skin; and that the Lord Jesus shall make this my vile body like unto his glorious body. Wherby he is able to subdue all things to himself. *Reposita est hæc spes in sinu meo.*

3ly, Because I have lived an old man in the ministry of Christ, a faithful disposer of the mysteries of God, and to my power an earnest labourer in the vinyard of the Lord, I testify before God and his angels, and men of this world, I rest resolute to yield up my spirit in that doctrin which I have privately studied and publicly preached, and which is this day maintained in the church of England; both taking the same to be the whole counsil of Gods word, and bread of eternal life, the fountain of living water, the power of God unto salvation to all them that do believe; and beseeching the Lord to turn us unto him, that we may be turned: least if we repent not, the candlestick be removed out of its place, and the gospel of the kingdom, for our unthankfulness, taken from us, and given to a nation that shall bring forth the fruits therof. And further protesting in an upright conscience of mine own, and in the knowledg of the majesty before whom I stand, that in the preaching of the truth of Christ I have not laboured to please men, but studied to serve my Master, who sent me not to flatter either prince or people; but by the law to tell all sorts of their sins; by the Spirit to rebuke the world of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment; by the gospel to testify of the faith which is in Jesus Christ, and him crucified.

4ly, Concerning *rites* and *ceremonies* by political constitution authorized, &c. his judgment and approbation thereof, and of his dislike of other platforms, this next period of the archbishop's will declares. Which I shall not repeat here, having already transcribed it in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift. Concluding that part of his will with these words: Book iii. ch. xxi. p. 287.

" Thus much I thought good to testify concerning these " ecclesiastical matters, to clear me from all suspicion of " double and indirect dealing in the house of God. Wherin, " as touching mine office, I have not halted, but walked

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" sincerely, according to that skill and ability which I re-
" ceived at God's merciful hands." And then it follows,

Lord, as a great sinner, by reason of my frail flesh and infirmities, I fly unto thee for mercy. Lord, forgive me my sins: for I acknowledg my sins. Lord, perform thy promise, and do away all mine iniquities; and hast the coming of thy Christ; and deliver me from this body of sin. *Veni cito, Domine Jesu.* Cloath me with immortality, and give me that promised crown of glory. So be it.

And as concerning these worldly things, which God of his bountiful goodness hath given for our use, thus I, a steward of the same, for a discharge of my duty in that behalf, dispose of them, &c.

Number LXIV.

Benet, a priest, to Philip earl of Arundel; bewailing his false accusation of him, Jan. 23, 1588.

To the right honourable the earl Arundel be these delivered.

Rt. honorable and most noble peare,

MSS. Burg. I MOST humbly upon my knees, before God and all his angels, and before all the world, if need require, with a most penitent, rent, and afflicted conscience and heart, crave mercy and forgiveness for the great offence I have committed against your honour in my late troubles and confessions. So it is, rt. honorable, that being [called] in question about certain supposed offences in the Tower, unto which my answers being not to their contentment, a letter of my own hand, which I did write unto a priest there in defence of my jurisdiction, by him brought in question, was produced. And because therin I derived my authority from the apostolic [see,] I was accounted and termed among them as a dead man, without her majestys special pardon: which was promised upon condition..... (*Pauca sapienti.*) with many other fair speeches and allurements, together with many thundring threats of returning to the Tower, torments, and death itself, if I failed. By which unexpected

letter of mine, with threats mixed with fair promises of life and speedy liberty, together with the great weakness both of body and mind, by the reason of my long and sore imprisonment, was strucken into such an astonishment and mase, that I confessed every thing that seemed to content their humour, which I parseved at the first altogether to tend to the ruine of your honour. But being demaunded, whether you did send a note unto the priests in Colehar-bour, to pray for the good success of the Spanish fleet, I answered, as truth was, that I never knew or was privy to any such note; yet with a most guilty, fearful, unjust, and most tormented conscience, onely for saving of my life and liberty, I confessed that you moved me to say a mass of the Holy Ghost for the good success of the Spanish fleet.

For which unjust confession, or rather accusation, I do again and again, and so to my lifes end, most instantly crave Gods pardon and yours. And for my better satisfaction of this my unjust suggestion, I will, if need require, offer up both life and limne, in avowing my accusation as it is deed, [indeed,] and as I shall answer before Almighty God, before the faces of angels and men, most unjust, and don onely of fear of the Tower, torments, and death. Thus not doubting of your honours gracious pardon and forgive- 251
ness, I will rest my poor afflicted conscience in only Gods mercy. My body and life I freely offer to the world, to dispose as it shall please God. The holy Trinity preserve your honour from peril of soul and body. Amen.

Your honours poor bondman,
William Benet, prieste.

Number LXV.

An licitum sit catholicis in Anglia arma sumere, et aliis modis, reginam et regnum defendere contra Hispanos. Resolved by one Wryght, a priest as it seems, of the college of Doway.

PETIERUNT a me, &c. In English, Some English ca- MSS. Burg.
tholics have desired of me, when they see warrs hang over

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England and Spain, to know to which party they are chiefly bound in conscience to adhere; and specially when it is concerning the queen and kingdom.

Whether they may safely defend the part of England; and by any maner and way, as they are wont to set upon the Spanyards, to offend him and overcome him.

To which request, that we might not be wanting to mine and their duty, I will answer with what brevity, clearness, force of reason and charity I can.

And first be proposed the reason of this doubting. Secondly, some propositions, on which depend the knot and resolution of it.

The reason of doubting is threefold: which reasons are wont to cast a scruple to catholics in this business; and to persuade, that it is by no means lawful to resist the Spanyard in the invasion of England.

First, The Spanyard is sent by the pope, whom catholics are bound in conscience to obey. Therfore he that resisteth the Spanyard opposeth the pope: which is a sin of disobedience.

Secondly, The king of Spain hath suffered many wrongs from the queen of England: therefore he may justly bring war upon her. But no subject can defend a king or kingdom in an unjust war. And then because she hath assisted the rebellious subjects in Flanders against their lawful lord. Then because she invaded, took, possest the town G against justice. Then because she often spoiled the kings Indian treasure, ships, cities, subjects of the king of Spain. Lastly, because England alone almost creates him business in Flanders, France, Portugal, Italy, and in the ocean. Therefore to revenge all these injuries, it is lawful to bring a just war upon her. To which [king] catholics cannot resist without mortal sin.

Thirdly, It was the kings intention to introduce the catholic faith in England. But catholics are bound not to resist him, who endeavours to restore and amplify catholic faith. The major is proved, as well because he is sent by the pope, as because there appeared no other way to restore

the catholic religion. And because in general all catholics do think so.

I. I say, first, that the queen and kingdom of England have suffered very many, and those very grievous wrongs from the king of Spain. First, Because he had detained in Spain many ships and goods of merchants against his faith given, as many merchants worthy of credit have signified to me; who as yet dwell in London, and lament the loss of their goods. 2. It is certain, (as a certain Spanyard, that was present, afterward told me,) that Mendoza, the kings 252
ambassador, procured by all means to intercept the queen travailing between London and Greenwich, and in her boat, (for it was then summer,) to carry her to Dunkirk a prisoner, by a band of soldiers. And in a certain night they prepared all things to finish this business. 3. In a fleet at sea, in the year 88, he invaded the kingdom. 4. He sent into Ireland a band of soldiers to move the subjects against their lady and lawful queen. 5. The Spanyards 1594.
stirred up many to kill, and especially Dr. Lopes, as it clearly appeareth by letters intercepted, and by his own confession.

II. I say, secondly, it is lawful for the queen to require lawful satisfaction for these injuries offered: which if he shall refuse to yield, she may justly declare war against him: the first part is manifest. For if a private man may require from a private man due satisfaction for injury done, why not also a prince? Yea, the king himself is bound in conscience to give satisfaction. *Non enim dimittetur peccatum, nisi restituetur ablatum.* Adde, that the queen is bound in justice to revenge wrongs brought upon her subjects..... The second part is also certain, because there are here causes for declaring war. 1. It is lawful to declare war to recover one's own: as the example of David witnesseth; who, 2 *Reg.* 2. fought with Ishbosheth, the son of Saul, for the kingdom of Israel, granted him by God. Therefore, for the recovery of the goods of the merchants, which the king took away, the queen might bring war upon him. 2. It is lawful to wage war against him that bringeth

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aids to an enemy. Wherefore David fought against Syria of Damascus, because it aided Adar-ezer, king of Zoba, 2 Kings viii. The Spanyard aided the Irish men; wherefore the queen might declare lawful wars upon him. 3. It is lawful to wage wars against a prince that violates his league. The Spanyard hath violated it, as we said before. *Ergo.*

III. I say, thirdly, that it cannot appear that the Spanyard, onely for the restoration of the catholic faith, doth wage war with the English; but upon another pretence, either upon the account of revenge, or for extending his empire. It is proved, 1. By most evident conjecture. For it is certain, that many years are past, wherein the faith of protestants hath taken very deep root. Yet it appears in all that time, that the Spanyard did not so much as think of restoring that antient religion until the English had layd the axe to the root, and had wounded him to the quick by setting upon the Indian fleet, that first he began to think of war. This reason is confirmed hence, that before that time, before the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland in the north had craved aid to restore the faith, his ear was shut: no help was afforded, which without doubt he had afforded, if religion had moved him to wage war. You will say, he was not then ready. But you had better have said, he would not be ready. For to defend his money he could presently be ready; but to defend religion he could not be ready.

Secondly, This assertion is proved *a simili;* because the Spanyard had been contented that the Hollanders should profess any religion, so they refused not to be subject to him. Which is a sign that he was but little solicitous of religion, but much concerning rule. This is so tryed a matter, that the ambassadors of Germany, in the year 91, being sent to make peace betwixt the king and the Hollanders, at Mentz, at Liege, and elsewhere, affirmed for a certain, that the Spanyard would yield in religion, so that they refused not the other conditions of peace.

Thirdly, It is proved by the example of the Indians. By

what title, I pray, do the Spanyards possess the West India? What, because they endeavoured to introduce religion? But it was not lawful for catholics to deprive of his kingdom a lawful lord, tho' an infidel, for the sake of religion, or to throw him out of it. Christ saith, *Give to* 253
Cæsar the things that be Cæsar's, altho' he was an unbeliever. Or was it, because the Indians hindred the preaching of the law of the gospel? But neither by way or means did they attempt preaching from the institution of Christ; but by a fury truly tyrannical and altogether barbarous, as almost all the Indian histories testify. Or perhaps did the pope give him dominion, or the Indian? But by the common doctrine of catholics, neither can he grant it, nor can it be proved that he hath ever granted it any where. As therefore the Spanyards in the lust of ruling invaded the India, took it, possest it; so it is very much to be feared that they think of England. For altho' afterwards, as it were by accident, they pretend religion; yet it was very like that they chiefly intend revenge and dominion.

IV. I say, fourthly, it is against policy, and the quiet of all Christian princes, to permit the Spanyard to invade England. This assertion is explained, and likewise proved. For if he subject England to his yoke, who seeth not that France, Scotland, Denmark, and other adjacent jurisdictions, are placed in extreme danger? For if the least occasion be given to the Spanyard (occasions are easily taken and feigned to conquer kingdoms) of fighting with others, who will restrain his boldness? Who will keep him within his duty? He will girt in France round about. His forces will be invincible by land and sea. Hence will follow that extreme fear, so hated by all princes, and so alien from the best state of a commonwealth. *The lion roareth, who will not fear?* If so great forces be present with the Spanyard, who will dare so much as to whisper [*mussitare*] against him? Wherefore to no Christian prince will there be any security, any tranquillity. All kingdoms, states, commonwealths, shall obey the will of the Spanyard.

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You will say, do we not see the dukes of Italy, of Florence, of Ferrara, of Mantua, the Venetian, the Genoese, the duke of Lorrain, to enjoy the greatest peace, notwithstanding the rule of the Spanyard? 'Tis true they enjoy some kind of peace; but every one seeth how much the dominion of the Spanyards, spreading far and near, displeaseth them; with how great a yoke they are prest; with what compliance they are compelled, tho' unconquered, to yield to the Spanyard. Add, that the Spanyards are employed elsewhere. But if they had peace and rest from war, the Venetians for Bergonium should try what it were to permit the Spaniard so widely to stretch the confines of his empire. The Genoeses for Savona. The duke of Florence for Siena. The duke of Mantua for Mont Ferrat. But let us grant the present king Philip doth not vex them, nor disturb the peace, who can render us secure of his son, of his successor? For it is incumbent upon kings, not only to take care of the present, but also to provide afar off for the future.

V. I say, fifthly, it is against the good of the church to permit the Spaniard to invade England. This assertion is clearly shewn by the former. For if the Spanyard so widely diffuse, if he obey not the church; if he become an heretic, if he rise up against the church and its dominions; if he favour the Moors, [Mauri,] who may defend the church? We know Constantius, the worst son of the best father, introduced Arianism into almost the universal church; banished Liberius, the chief prelate of the church, because there was none that could break his power or resist him. Why should it not happen to the son, grandson, or great grandson of the Spanyard? It is confirmed. For it is known how irreverently the Spanyards deal with the church, when the pope's bulls are sent, which in a manner touch the state of the kingdom. They scarcely hear them, much less obey them. They may pretend the pope is not rightly informed. And so least they might seem to shew themselves rebellious to the church, they receive them; but so dissemble, that they do not obey them at all.

It is confirmed moreover, because there is no body but knoweth how propense the Spanyards are to Mahometism. Buterus delivereth in his relations: In the only kingdom of Valentia were found two millions of families of Moors. Wherefore when the promiscuous common people do so hang towards Mahometism, (of which there will be very many, yea, the greatest part of them, who shall inhabit England,) surely it will be doubtful, least in the place of Lutheranism and Calvinism, they introduce Mahometism, if the kingdom of Spain incline to divisions. Add lastly, that egregious praise of Pius V. pope, concerning the Spanyard; who was wont to say, that the Spanyards were catholics only by permission: for if the pope should deny them chief privileges, many of them, which he granted unwillingly to them, it would be hazardous, least they wholly made a defection from the church.

254 In Hispania.

VI. I say, sixthly, the pope may err in sending the Spanyard into England. It is proved, 1. From the common doctrine of catholics, that the pope may err in all those decrees which do not belong to faith and the measures of the universal church. But the sending of the Spanyards into England doth not belong to measures, nor to the faith of the universal church. *Ergo.* 2. If the Spanyard were averse from the pope, altho' he might command him, yet he would not obey. And yet he is not otherwise bound to obey the pope commanding, than the catholics in England. *Ergo.* Hence it manifestly appeareth, that the Spanyards think that they are not obliged by the pope's decree to invade England.

It is confirmed, because no body is ignorant, that the pope commandeth the Spanyards many things; all which they evade under some dissimulation. Wherefore in this business they think the pope may err. But in this assertion there is no place of doubting left among catholics. For it is matter of fact; and a particular matter concerning the certainty of which there is no testimony of scripture, no tradition, no precept of councils. *Ergo.* Hence it follows that the catholics in England, on whom hangeth so great a dan-

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ger of goods and life, are not obliged to believe, either that the pope sendeth the Spanyard; or altho' he should, that the pope doth not erre herein. When the pope doth not well understand neither the king's intentions, nor the great danger wherein he casteth all the catholics of England, if he should oblige them to defend the part of the Spanyard. For by that means he exposeth all the catholics to manifest danger of death, if they do not take up arms against the Spanyard. For all the protestants will esteem them as betrayers of their country, and to proceed against them. Wherefore if they understand this before the fights, undoubtedly they will destroy all. If the Spanyard doth not obtain the victory, who doth not see how hateful the name of *catholic* will be throughout all England? Who will not esteem him for the pest of his country, enemy of the commonweal, a domestic enemy, a betrayer of his own countrymen? Now it is not to be thought, that the pope instructed of these dangers would call the catholics into so many hazards. For we know he ought to carry the bowels of a father, a pastor, Christ's vicar; not to expose his son, his ships, his subjects, to so many and so great dangers.

You will say, if the thing be so, we must never obey the pope, if he command one king, for the good of the church, to keep another in his duty by war. I answer, that business is difficult; yet this rule may be kept, when the subjects of one king, by an unanimous consent, (that is, the whole community, or the chief heads,) have informed the pope of their state, and affirm the safety of their souls are in extreme jeopardy; and they judge there is no other remedy remaineth; then subjects are bound, after the dangers unfolded, and all the harmes which naturally might occur, to obey the pope. Which was never done in England.

VII. I say, seventhly, it is the greatest doubt, whether the Dutch war, which the Hollander had undertaken against the king, was lawful on the part of the king. The
255 reason is, because it appeareth, that one of the chief causes of that war was the imposition of new taxes or *gabells*,

which the duke of Alva, against all justice, endeavoured to introduce; to wit, a certain tithing of their goods; which now take place in Spain. When therefore such burthens and grievances were contrary to justice and the king's oath, whereby he bound himself to defend their privileges, nor to impose any new yoke upon them without their consent, they might lawfully resist him, and take up armes. It is confirmed hence, because many men of Flanders, learned and religious, do think this very thing. They suppose that war on the part of the subjects was lawful, but unlawful on the king's part. It is confirmed besides, that the same duke d'Alva did unjustly put to death two of their chief counts, Egmond and Horn. To revenge which, an antient cause was given of waging war.

VIII. I say, eighthly, the catholics will not be otherwise afflicted, if the Spanyards invade England, than the protestants would be. It is proved first, from the common condition of war, in which the innocent together with the nocent are punished alike. For when all things are mingled with war, who will discern a catholic from a protestant. The conquest of Antwerp is an example. I have heard myself from very many Dutch catholics, that after the city was taken, all men were punished who appeared for three days in the city of Antwerp, no account at all being had of catholics. For they know there are many, who, to defend their lives and fortunes, assume a shape of what religion you will. They know that politicians wear religion after the manner of garments, which they change again according to time and place. The confirmation of this is, that I have understood from a certain person worthy of credit, who himself heard the duke of Medina Sidonia, general of the whole Spanish fleet, in anno 88, say, that he thought no English man a catholic, but esteemed them all for Lutherans; and so he would indifferently handle all.

This assertion is proved, 2. From two vices, which will rule the Spaniard, having gotten victory. One is insatiable revenge. For it is certain they will not obtain victory without an huge effusion of blood, and the slaughter of their

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The other vice is intolerable lust and heat towards women. What maid will they not violate, because she is a catholic? What husband's bed will they not pollute, because the wife acknowledgeth the pope of Rome?

From these two let a prudent catholic weigh diligently in what place he is put, that his own business be done. If you shall not take armes, you expose your selves to the danger of death, as well on the part of the English, who will reckon you a betrayer of your country, as on the part of the Spanyards, who will kill you as a protestant. You will see your father, your brother, your son, your cousin, your friend, wallowing in his own bloud, breathing out his last in his wounds, taken off by death. You will behold your wife, your mother, your daughter, to be violated, polluted, defiled before your eyes. You that see those enemies ruling over you, with the highest arrogance insulting, affecting you with contumelies; wherefore death it self would be more pleasant to you than your life. If therefore you live or dye, death is every where upon you. Therefore it would be better to endeavour to defend your selves and yours, than to give your selves over voluntarily to death.

256 IX. I say, ninthly, there are many other ways of bringing in the catholic faith into England than by the Spanyards. 1. If the catholics shew themselves faithful sub-

jects to the queen; who knoweth whether she may be converted, and live? who knoweth the mind of the Lord? Truly, she hath received most excellent gifts of nature from God. She is endued with a very good nature and clear wit. When therefore she is certain that all catholics so strenuously will fight for her safety and kingdom, I do not see indeed but so kind a nature, so easy a disposition, so motherly a piety, may at last yield to them the liberty of conscience; as she hath already granted to some; because she very well hath known them to be good subjects. 2. Since the queen doth not dye in England, who therefore succeedeth her shall be certainly a catholic, or will permit us to live catholicly: of which thing many reasons may be produced; as well because it is very uncertain who succeeds, there is none but seeth every one of the pretenders will try all ways to bring the catholics to their sides. Which certainly they will never perform, unless faith be given that they will permit the catholic religion: as because by this means he shall most easily enter into and keep peace with all the Christian princes. Lastly, When it appears to him concerning the fidelity of the catholics; and moreover, a doctrine be established between the protestants, that none is to be punished on that account, because he is a catholic; truly, it will be doubtful to none, but that all catholics will enjoy the greatest peace.

Wherefore, I think, we must yield to the time; and for a time bear the yoke which Christ hath laid upon us with all humility.

Many things offer themselves for this opinion: as, the difference between protestants and puritans. Which contention undoubtedly will be the peace of catholics. The multitude of atheists and politicians, [that is, time-servers,] who by how much the more they infect England with their plague, by so much the straiter league catholics and protestants will be joined. But atheism daily creeps in wider and wider. And when among learned men so many disagreeing opinions daily bud forth about the chief doctrines of faith and the fundamentals of religion, new sects do ever

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and anon arise: that all things are proved by scriptures; that no end is put to controversies, scarce any certainly knoweth to what party to adhere. Hence men, not altogether mad, (tho' all imprudent,) think nothing true, nothing to be believed. A learned protestant being set in the midst between catholics and puritans, if they must incline to one extreme, it is far more probable they will embrace catholicism. For since thence they have been cut off, they do very sharply defend their doctrines against puritans. But that the religion of protestants cannot long stand, arguments are not wanting, and marks manifest enough to prove it; but to be wrapt up in silence.

X. I say, tenthly, he that doubteth of the justice of the war may with a safe conscience fight for the prince. It is a common opinion of the catholics, *Cæi. in summa, verbo* BELLUM. *Sylvest. verbo* BELLUM. 159. *et verbo* CONSCIENTIA. 9. 4. and he asserteth it to be a common opinion of the doctors, &c.

It is proved, 1. Because in doubtful matters the subject ought to presume of the princes justice. Nor is he bound or is able to examine the causes of war, especially when one circumstance changeth the whole cause, and of unjust rendreth it just. For it is known that a prince, being set in a watch tower, seeth very many things which are secret from subjects, who dwell in the vallies.

2. It is confirmed, because a prince is not bound to explain to his soldiers the cause of war. But it is enough that it is decreed in the king's council after a diligent examination of causes. And it is often expedient, that soldiers should not know the causes of war. And so the practice is among all Christian princes: who gather soldiers, not re-
257 lating the cause of the war: yea, oftentimes they know not in what place nor with whom they must fight. 2. The executioner doth not examine the sentence of the judge, whether it be just or unjust; but executeth the act of justice there; supposing the sentence of the judge to be lawful.

3. In doubtful causes the safer part is to be chosen and followed. But if the subject goeth not to war, he exposeth

himself to the danger of betraying the commonweal. Which is a greater evil than to fight against an enemy. *Ergo.*

4. It is the express judgment of St. Aug. lib. 22. contra Faustum, c. 75. where he thus writeth: *Vir justus si forte sub rege, homine et sacrilego, militet, recte potest, illo jubente, bellare, civicæ pacis ordinem servans, cui quid jubetur, vel non esse contra Dei præceptum, certum est, vel utrum sit, certum non est.* Namely, even when he doubteth of it: so that perhaps, when the unrighteousness of governing will make the king guilty, the order of serving will render the soldier innocent.

You will say, he that acteth, doubting of the justice of the war, sinneth, because he exposeth himself to the danger of acting against justice: but he that exposeth himself to the danger of sinning, sinneth. I answer, a speculative doubt is one thing, and a practical another. He that acteth doubting in the first, sinneth not: but he that acteth doubting in the second respect, it is certain he sinneth. For example: I have a sheep: I doubt whether it be mine, or another man's: I seek; I find not who is master of it: but I *speculatively* doubt; and perhaps on the part of the thing it is not mine: yet if I sell it, or kill it, *practically*, I do not err; nor doubt, because I know the condition of the possessor is better. So in the case propounded: the subject doubteth of the princes intention of a just cause of a war; but he knew practically it is lawful in such a case to follow the safer part, and to obey the command of his prince.

I say, lastly, it is lawful for catholics to wage war in England against the Spanyards. It is proved, 1. Because it appeareth from the first assertion, that the Spanyard hath affected England with very many and very great wrongs. Which, it is evident, are sufficient to declare a lawful war, from the second proposition. *Ergo*, if the queen may lawfully declare war, a catholic may safely in conscience obey the prince. 2. The intention of the Spanyard is very suspicious to us, as I shewed in the third proposition; it doth not appear to us that the pope sent him. And if he should

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send him, he might erre in this, when he is not fully informed of the state of England; as it is mentioned in the sixth proposition. Such a conquest also brings more disprofit to the church, to Christian princes, to all the catholics in England, than benefit; as was proved in the 4th, 5th, and 8th propositions. Therefore they may justly defend the queen, the kingdom, and their places, with a defensive war. 3. If the reasons alledged prove not the war to be just absolutely, and on every part; yet they are such as every one may prudently doubt, whether the war be just or no. Therefore then from the tenth assertion it is shewn, that in a doubtful war the subject may and is bound (unless he would be held for a betrayer of his country) to obey his prince. And consequently may bear arms against the Spanyard.

Now it remains that we answer to the arguments propounded in the beginning.

To the first, it appears from the 3d and the 6th assertion, that it appears not to us that he is sent by the pope. Neither, if he were sent, that the pope erreth not in this matter, for reasons contained, viz. that the pope is not rightly instructed concerning the losses which from this invasion of the Spanyards would redound upon the whole church, and especially upon all the catholics in England.

To the second, a solution is in effect had from the 7th proposition. For if the Dutch war were lawful on the part of the subjects, (as was said there,) then the queen might protect innocent subjects against the unjust prince. As Abraham, Gen. 14. justly fought against four kings, who
258 had unjustly spoiled Lot. Josaphat helped Joram against king Messa, 4 Reg. 3. For it is known, that charity so uniteth friends, that they are reputed for one and the same: where he that bringeth a wrong upon one is reputed to bring it upon the other. Hence it cometh to pass, as to do a good work is good, so to help in a good work, as is a just war, is good also.

To the third, it appeareth from the third proposition that the intention of the king is very much suspected by us,

whether he fight for religion or for rule. And tho' it should appear to us, yet the losses which hang over us, and likely most certainly to follow, do far surpass the good things which may be hoped for.

Number LXVI.

Certain lists of the names of all the recusants and priests in England, and beyond the seas, in the year 1587.

FIRST, of the knights and ladies, wives and widows of knights; and then in all the counties distinctly.

KNIGHTS.

Sir Tho. Cornwallis.
Sir John Arundell.
Sir Tho. Tressham.
Sir William Catesbie.
Sir Tho. Fitz-Herbert.
Sir John Southworth.
Sir Tho. Jarret.
Sir George Peckham.
Sir John Cotton, of Cambridgeshire.
Sir Alexander Culpepper.

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LADIES.

Lady Waldgrave, wife to sir William.
Lady Allen of Kent.
Lady Lovel of Norfolk.
Lady Peter of Essex.
Lady Kitson of Henegre.
Lady Throgmorton.
Lady Thesham.
Lady Catesby.
Lady Constable.
Lady Paulet of Hampshire.
Lady Babington of Oxfordshire.
Lady Metham.
Lady Ingleby.
Lady Bapthorp.
Lady Jarret.
Lady Catlyn.
Lady Copley.
Lady Hurleston.
Lady Paulet of Borly.
Lady Stonard.
Lady Eliz. Gage.
Lady Gammage.
Lady Baskerfield.
Lady Gilford.

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BOOK II.

Several gentlemen, whose wives were papists, and their children, in the several counties: and the numbers of them.

In Norfolk	34	In Sussex	5
Suffolk	26	Middlesex, taking in	
Essex	13	without the liber-	
Kent	15	ties	18
Southampton	13	London	19
Surry	7	Barkshire	6

259 The numbers in the other counties inconsiderable. Then follow,

The names of the seminary priests and others, as be or have been in England; as well at liberty as in the prisons; with the places where they frequent and resort.

The nation well stocked with them. For they are in number 109. Whereof in Wisbich, the Counter, the Gatehouse, the Clink, and Marshalsee, 47.

English priests out of the nation, beyond the seas, in number 38. And were these that follow:

At Rome.
Cardinal Allen.
Rob. Parsons.

At Rheimes.
Baily, president.
Dr. Giffard.
Reynolds.
John Wolsley.
Worthington.
Dr. Webb.
Dr. Barret.

At Ewe.
Mann.
Walter Stokes.

At Roan.
Gratly, alias Bruges.
Woodward.
Johnson.

At Roan.
Cletherow.
Bridgwater.
Veal.
Aldridge.
Seth Forster.

At Doway.
Dr. Wryght, alias Dobson.
Dr. Stapleton.

At Paris.
Dr. Nicoldson and his brother.
Darbishire and his brother.
Story.
Gilbert Gifford.
Vincent Warner.
Rob. Tempest.
Blacksmith.

At Paris.
Thomson.
Nelson.
Bishop.
Norris.
Parkins, Jesuit. At Prage.
Dr. Lewis. At Milain.
Father Roberts.
Bosgrave, the Jesuite.
Hutchinson. At Diepe.
Shelborn with Mr. Shelley.

Certificate of seminary priests, the 30th of September, 1588, in their prisons in or about London. This seems to be sent in from the ecclesiastical commission in this dangerous time.

These persons by their own confessions guilty of treason or felony.

All priests.
Jonas Meredith.
John Robinson.
John Wildon.
James Tayler.
Robert Nutter.
John Bickerton.
Will. Claregenett.
John Boulton.

All reconcil'd.
John Cradock.
Thomas Hall.
Edward Tyas.
Rob. Sutton.
Richard Andrew.

These will not take the oath ministred in the leets: nor take the queen's part against the pope's army.

Martin Rainbow.
Lionel Edes, alias Genynge.
William Travers.
Thomas Pencavel.
Peter Pencavel.
Gratian Brown.
Rafe Emersham, a lay Jesuite.
John Williams.
Godfrey Barton: to be re-examined touching Ballard.
Nicolas Marwood; a dangerous person. 260
Edward Chester.
Nicolas Horner.
Richard Webster.

These persons are seminary priests, being taken upon the seas, or in prison, at the time of the statute, and in danger of the law.

John Marsh.
David Kempe.

BOOK II.

John Vivian.
Thomas Layton.
William Parry.
Thomas Haberley.
George Stocker.
Walter Blunt.

These persons were reconciled to the pope of Rome before the statute, and are dangerous persons; refusing to take the queen's part against the pope's army, and refuse to take the oath given in leets: which every subject should take, being above the age of twelve years.

Robert Standen.
Roger Yardley.
Richard Sampson.
Richard Waldern.
Rob. Bellamie.
Thomas Briscoe.

These recusants will not take the queen's part against the pope's army; and yet have taken the oath in the leete.

Rob. Jackson.
Richard Wakefield.
John Bradstock.
John Gray.
Roger Astel.
John Beckensal.
John Launder.
Richard Randal.

These persons are only recusants.

Anthony Snape.
Nicolas Burlace. This gentleman proveth to be committed to some man's house, upon sufficient bonds with sureties, until he recover his health.
Owyn Fletcher; was reconciled ten years past.
Thomas Cavet.
John Tucker.
George Napper.
Francis Erman.
Tho. Edmunds.
Tho. Pett.
John Rayson.
Thomas Richardson.
Stephen Cheston.
Rich. Tremain.
William Lyngyn.
William Ryngsted; reconciled eight years past.
Rich. Daws; reconciled 7 years past.
Steven Valenger.
Tho. Becket; reconciled sixteen years past.
Francis Bastard.
William Green.
Elizabeth Sherwood; her son is a seminary priest.
John Eliot.
William Bray; a common conveyer of priests and

recusants, and of naughty books over the seas; and was taken carrying the earl of Arundel over the seas.

Henry Foxcroft; hath taken the oath in the leet, and the oath of supremacy, and will go to church.

Number LXVII. 261

A paper concerning the superiority of bishops: put into the hands of sir Francis Knolles by some unknown person: and by him delivered to the lord Burghley, Jan. 1588.

HIEROM, upon the Epistle to Titus, chap. 1. declared, that in the antient time of the church an elder and a bishop were all one. And that because it should not be thought he meant a community in name only, and not in charge and authority, adding these words, *Communi presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ regebantur*, he shewed the occasion how it happened afterwards, that one in every church had superiority over the rest of elders. But yet to put men out of doubt that this superiority was not God's institution, he concludeth in this manner; *Sicut ergo presbyteri sciunt se ex ecclesiæ consuetudine ei qui sibi præpositus fuerit esse subjectos; ita episcopi noverint se magis consuetudine, quam dispensationis dominicæ virtute, presbyteris esse majores.* MSS. ecclesiast. penes me.

As much in substance, tho' not so largely, he delivered in an epistle which he writeth to Evagrius. And Cyprian, long before that Jerom lived, in sundry epistles, sheweth that he is of the same judgment.

Such again as before this latter age travailed to discover how unjustly the pope usurped his authority, began at this point, as a necessary foundation to ground the discourse. The book intitled, *Defensorium Pacis*, written in defence of Lewis the emperor against the pope, with sundry other, will witness that I say true.

The learned of this latter time call this superiority in bishops *humanum institutum*, as *Calvin in Institutionibus*,

BOOK II.

Musculus in Loc. Communibus, Beza in Confessionibus, Hemingius in Epistolis, Zanchius in Confessionibus, Antonius Sadelius ad repetita Turriani Sophismata.

Lambertus Danæus, making three sorts of this function of bishops, according to the diversity of times of the church, and naming one sort *divinum*, the other sort *humanum*, the third *satanicum*, he placeth in the second rank the moderate superiority, which the church, to avoid some confusion and schism, and so for necessity sake, was induced to bestow upon one in every church: having before described that to be the divine function which was one with the rest of the elders, and common in one equal authority with them. The third sort he maketh that which exceedeth the bounds of necessity, and destroyeth the policy of the Holy Ghost in church government. Such as the bishops of Rome of long time have usurped.

Number LXVIII.

The examinations of divers persons about the printing-press of Martin Marprelate: and of the books so printed. Feb. 15. 1588. apud Lambhith in com. Surr.

The Epitome.

Sergeant Puckring's MSS.

SIR Rich. Knightly in his examination confessed, that at his house at Fausley, a book called *The Epitome* was printed. The printing press brought to his house there by Jeffs, a tenant of his son. From whence the press was carried to his house at Norton about Christmas last, [1588.] And touching the author of the book, he knoweth not, unless it were Penry. Who came and moved him, that he
262 might have a room in his house, to print a little book to that which he had before made, concerning the unlearned ministry of Wales. He likewise said that Waldgrave was the printer. And further confesseth, that Newman, the cobler, had his livery and conizance, and that Stephen his servant carried the press and letters from Norton to Coventry, to the house of John Hales, esq.

The Supplication.

Mr. Hales being examined saith, that sir R. Knightly shortly after Christmas [88] sent him a letter by Waldgrave, requiring this examinate to suffer this bearer to have room in this examinate's house in Coventry for a time. And the said Hales, upon the receit of that letter, did admit Waldgrave to his house at Coventry, and delivered to him the keys thereof. And was afterwards brought by Penry to the place where the press stood. And after printing received a book, called *The Supplication* for the parliament.

Minerals.

Henry Sharpe deposeth, that the press settled at Hale's house, Waldgrave there printed three books, viz. the *Mineral Conclusions*, the *Supplication* to the parliament, and *Have you any Work for the Cooper?*

Martin Junior and Martin Senior.

Appeareth by Roger Weekston, gentleman, his confession, that his wife moved him, that Hodgkins might do a piece of work in his house; which he saw not, but heard afterwards, that *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior* were printed there in a low parlour of his house.

Udal. Demonstration. Diotrephes.

Henry Sharpe deposed, that Penry (which appears to be a principal dealer in all the acts every where) told him, that Udal was the author of the *Demonstration of Discipline.*

Tomkyns [a printer] also deposed, that he believed Udal was also the author of the dialogues called *Diotrephes*, because in a catalogue of such books, as is said, Udal had made, this examinate saw as well the said dialogue as the *Demonstration* mentioned. And that Udal resorted sundry times to Mrs. Crane's house at Mowsely while Penry and Waldgrave were there.

Stephen Chatfield, vicar of Kingston, deposed, that before the coming forth of the first *Martin*, he saw in Udal's

BOOK II.

study certain written papers, importing such matter as is contained in the libel; and saith further, that about a fortnight before Michaelmas, 88. the said Udal, in conference with this examinate, said, it were best for the bishops not to stop his mouth; for if they did, he would then set himself to writing, and give such a blow, as they never had the like in their lives.

Udal himself confesseth, that some things contained in the first *Martin* proceeded from his report, but saith, he knoweth not how it came in writing. And yet being asked, whether he made not collections of some things that are contained in that book, and whether he did shew those his collections to Mr. Field [a puritan minister] and Mr. Chatfield, or to either of them, saith, that he did. He said further, that he told Mr. Chatfield, that if the bishops restrained him and others from preaching, then they would give them occasion to employ themselves in writing the more against their government.

Henry Sharpe [a bookseller] saith, that Waldgrave printed at Mr. Hale's house, first, the *Mineral Conclusions*, that came forth Febr. the last, [88;] next, *The Supplication*, which came forth in Midlent; and afterward, the
263 book, *Have you any Work*, &c. that came forth about Palm Sunday. And further saith, that of the first sort of books Waldgrave sent to this examinate a thousand to be bound for him; of the second sort, Newman brought him the like number; and of the third, Newman brought him about 700.

And the said Sharpe deposed, that in Easter week last, Waldgrave told him that they all were dispatched; and the mill was not then going: for that was the phrase of their printing. And further said, that he would no longer deal in that course, for that he had gotten Mr. Cartwright's Testament against the Jesuits; which, he said, he would print in Devonshire.

Henry Sharpe deposed, that after Waldgrave departed, Penry procured Hodgkins (now prisoner in the Tower) to supply Waldgrave's place in printing; and saith, that with-

in a fortnight after Midsummer last, this examinate found Hodgkins at work in Weekston's house, printing of *Martin Junior* and *Martin Senior;* and working there privately under the name of an *embroiderer.*

Hodgkins, and Symms, and Tomlyn, Hodgkins men, confess, that beginning to print the book called *More Work for the Cooper*, in Newton Lane, near Manchester, they had printed thereof about six a quire of one side before they were apprehended. They also deposed, that Hodgkins told them, the next book, or the next but one, which they had to print, should be in Latin, [which perhaps was *Disciplina Sacra;*] and that there was another parcel of *More Work*, &c. which should serve them to print another time: for this was but the first part of the said book: and the other part was almost as big again.

Symms deposed, that while Hodgkins, himself, and Tomlyn were coming up to London, Hodgkins told him, that notwithstanding their press and letters were taken, yet, said he, we have, as you know, a press at Mr. Weekston's, and some letters; and also two sorts of letters at a merchant's house in London, which were bought of Waldgrave.

Humfrey Newman [a secret disperser of these books] used to resort to sir Ric. Knightlies house; first in a green coat and a green hat; and within a short time after did wear sir R. Knightlies livery.

Mrs. Crane, called before the commission to be examined upon these matters, refused to answer upon oath to any question, either concerning her self, for that, as she said, she would not be her own hangman; or concerning others, for that she could not in her conscience be an accuser of others.

To this Mrs. Crane's house in London Waldgrave brought a case of letters. And a load of stuff was laid in her house at Mouldsey, (at the request of Penry,) wherein those letters were. While the load of stuff remained at Mrs. Crane's house, Penry and Waldgrave continued thereabouts three weeks after Midsummer, 88. and were there-

BOOK II.

abouts Michaelmas following. And that Mr. Udal, late preacher at Kyngston, resorted there sundry times to the same house; printing, as the examinate saith, some books there.

Number LXIX.

Causes considered in proceeding against Mr. Digby, fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, in order to his deprivation: and moving thereunto. Which were offered by Dr. Whitaker, the master, to the lord Burghley and the archbishop, visitors of that college.

Vehemently suspected upon great presumption to be of corrupt religion.

1. PREACHING at St. Maries, he so commended voluntary poverty, as that Dr. Fulk, preaching in the same place, confuted him shortly after about the same point, being a popish position. 2. He inveighed in open disputation against Calvinism, as against schismaticks. 3. Sir Birch, 264 a known papist, persuaded one Mr. Heyward, a gentleman's son in our house; whom he would have induced to popery, with this reason, among others, that Mr. Digby, and some others of account in our house, were so. 4. Sir Smith (who lately fled from our house for religion) confessed to Mr. Palmer, that he was encouraged in his religion by Mr. Digby and others. 5. The confession of another unto our master, under his hand writing, that Mr. D. was such an one. 6. Mr. Higgins, a senior of our house, reported unto Mr. Palmer, that he moved Mr. Constable, the same Mr. Higgins pupil, to some points of popery. And Mr. Constable confirmed the same unto the said Mr. Palmer of late. 7. He preached out of Esdras, [3. c. 4. 4.] gathering papistical notes: as, that *Eva* should be turned into *Ave*, and such like. 8. In the time of a sermon and communion he went about fishing openly in the backside with a casting net, with some scholars in his company; even then, when charge was given by authority from above, that whosoever did not communicate, his name should be sent up. 9. He useth to speak dangerously and undutifully, and that openly, of the matters in the Low Countries, and of sir Francis

Drake. 10. He liveth familiarly with some known papist in our town, and giveth countenance unto all that are suspected. 11. The common opinion of him abroad doth for the most part condemn him. And divers of our house are ready to depose, that they think him to be a man of corrupt religion.

2. Open contempt of the master, president, and government.

1. By often putting off his punishment, and other things imposed by the master and deans. 2. He willingly brake a decree made by the master and seniors very lately. 3. He cometh not among the seniors at any time, being sent for by the master, but at his mere pleasure. 4. He doth use to blow a horn often in the college in the day time, and hollow after it. 5. He is scandalous in the college by a public challenge in bills set up in divers places, being flatly forbidden to meddle in the matter. 6. He threatned openly to meet the president in the stocks in the hearing of the scholars, then when in the master's absence he supplied his room. 7. He openly cried out against the president at the same time, in the hearing of all the company in the hall, in these words, and in this order, and like one in a rage, beating the table with his hands, repeated them often: *Qui non distinguit, artem destruit, quam tu non habes, Palmere, dialecticam.* 8. He called openly to the scholars, standing round about the fire, and spake thus of the president, (being then also in the room of the master,) because he was not moved with his great words; viz. My masters, mark this man. He hath an Italian trick. He will counterfeit a laughter, when he is most angry. 9. He bragged openly, that he would bring into the hall one that was expelled immediately before, and he would set him down at the table, to see if any man durst do any thing against it. 10. Since his deprivation he chalengeth the right of a fellow, sitting down president, and threatning the officers for denying him his commons. 11. Professing himself to be as much fellow, as the master was master, and more.

For which things, tho' we might and would have proceeded against him, yet it was thought more convenient, in respect of his credit, to deal with him for the breach of sta-

BOOK II.

tute, which is now layd against him, than to have dealt for those crimes, for some causes which we spare to speak of.

265 Number LXX.

Articles framed and propounded to Cutbert Bainbrigg; as collected out of a sermon by him preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge. Of which the vice-chancellor required him to declare under his oath what he spake publicly. With his answers.

MSS. academ. penes me.

THE articles were, 1. That some seek preferment; themselves pay money for it; and pay their money before hand. 2. That there be, that have a bar, that stands between them and the fire; if need shall be, to strike the fire out of their hand which do bring it. And the bar to be your statutes and positive laws. 3. Extremity used, in execution especially. 4. The fire put out, by stopping their mouths that be bringers thereof. 5. If you mind indeed to awake. [As though he had irreverently reflected upon the sleepiness of the doctors at sermons.] 6. Base eloquence. 7. Ceremonies no sooner spoke of, but snatched at.

[Those expressions of *fire* were in allusion to his text, Luke xii. 49. *I am come to send fire on the earth*, &c.]

That which I spake in my sermon touching these several articles was uttered in these words.

To the first I answer; I said, that the excellency of a public function in the church or commonwealth consisted rather in labour and diligence for the common profit, than in pomp and shew. Our Saviour Christ came into the world, not to be ministred unto, but to minister unto others. And if this rule were observed and kept, men would rather with Moses and Jeremiah come away, when they were called, than seek preferment with such desire, and buy it with their money, when it falleth.

Matt. xx. 28.

To the second I answer; That principal word in this sentence which importeth most, namely, this word *your*, I said it not at all. I said, positive laws and statutes had been abused

by men in all ages, to this end, either to be a bar, to keep the fire of the word of God from them, or sometimes to strike it out of his hand that bringeth it. My further explication of my meaning was after this manner, and my words were these concerning this whole matter. "There "is not any man that hath wisdom and the fear of God, "but he knoweth and will acknowledge, that there must "be an order both *in personis, rebus et functionibus*, both "in the church and commonwealth, and will reverence it "with all his heart; being one of the most excellent works "of God, wherein the beams of his wisdome shine most "clearly. And he will acknowledge also the necessity and "excellency of these nerves and sinews of wise and whol-"some positive laws and statutes; whereby societies are "united and knit together, and receive strength and come-"liness, and a dexterity to move unto good things. But "yet I said, the wise and learned knew and would acknow-"ledge, that tho' these laws were good in themselves, yet "imperfect rules of man's obedience; and therefore no "sufficient bar to keep off this fire, the word of God, "which requireth more perfection in men." My reason to prove that they were imperfect rules of mens obedience was this, because we have not only community one with another, but, as St. John saith, *we have fellowship with God the Father, and Christ Jesus;* which must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. Wherein the laws of men, acknowledging their imperfection, give reverence and place to the perfect word of God. BOOK II.

My exhortation, which sheweth my purpose herein, was this, that men, when they are reproved for their sins, should not regard so much how to quit themselves before men, and by positive laws, tho' this sometimes be needful, (if the quality of his fault require such a purgation,) but rather enter into their dark chamber, in the silence of night, when the cogitation of mens hearts ascend, and when their reines chastise them, and try how all things stand in the 266
court of conscience, and by the tryal of this fire, the word of God. Much less should they be means to strike the

BOOK II.

fire out of the hand which bringeth it, and requireth more perfection in man than the law of man can give. Offences indeed against positive laws must be punished, least others, by too much lenity, be encouraged to do evil: but with great regard, especially if he be a minister that offendeth, upon whom many depend. Then a care must be had that the church be not deprived of this excellent treasure of the word, which the Lord hath committed unto him. For the Lord maketh much account of one soul. And how many souls may be won by a few sermons!

To the third I answer; I do not affirm that extremity that was used in executing of laws. It seems, that these that secretly accuse me did take this article out of these words, which I used, speaking of the causes of contention in societies, when young men offending by ignorance, or for want of experience, should hear of their superiors only words of authority, This I will do, because I may do it, either by general laws or local statutes; and never hear this in love, This we ought both to do by the law of God. I said it caused young men to note and reprehend many things in their superiors, which otherwise in charity they should and ought to tolerate and pass over, remembring the great burthen that lyes upon them which are in authority, and have government, tho' it be but over a few; which no man knoweth, but he that standeth under it; and therefore many things should be tolerated in them by love. But I said, this could hardly be performed towards them, when they dealt extremely with others their inferiors. And this I said was the cause of the beginning and continuance of contention.

To the fourth I answer; I had neither these words of *putting out the fire*, nor *stopping their mouths*.

To the fifth I answer; I said thus, directing my speech to the doctors, If you desire indeed (I speak it with reverence) that they should awake from their sleep, (meaning the townsmen,) if you would have them forsake the works of darkness, and that Christ Jesus may be heard, provide that Christ Jesus may speak more often unto them.

To the sixth I answer; These were my words: I said, I did not speak against good eloquence, because of all temporal gifts to men, there were none more excellent in it self, none more profitable to humane society in the church and commonwealth: but against the ridiculous eloquence used of some in these days, which consisteth more in leaping at the letter, than substance of the matter, and which disgraceth the majesty of the word of God. Neither did I speak it, as tho' I should be able to give instruction unto others how they should preach: but they must give me leave to note that which sometime had offended my self. And it might be a note of remembrance to put them in mind of that which a grave and learned father had spoken of the same thing not long before.

To the seventh I answer; I said I could not sufficiently marvail at these men, which hearing ceremonies spoken of generally without distinction, would snatch at the word to make some action of trespass. Whereas the Lord himself had spoken against idle and unprofitable ceremonies in the Psalmes and prophets.

Cuthb. Bainbrigg.

Number LXXI. 267

Francis Johnson's account of his sermon, preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge, Jan. the 6, 1588, *upon* 1 *Pet.* v. 1—4. The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness, &c. *Against which sermon were divers articles framed, and propounded to him. Of which Mr. Vice-chancellor and Dr. Perne, with other heads, required him to deliver under his oath what he spake publicly.*

THE articles. 1. The necessity of elders. 2. This form of government commanded. 3. No other to be allowed of. 4. Neglect hereof cause of ignorance, &c. 5. We have not this discipline; and the reason why. 6. Ministers should keep continually at their charge: university ease, quiet, MSS. acad. penes me.

BOOK II.

wealth, the cause why some do not continue. 7. That there should be equality among ministers and elders: which the popish hierarchy and all of that sort so dislike of. 8. Amaziah forbad Amoz to preach at Bethel. 9. Ours do not exhort to feed, but stay them that would.

That which I spake in my sermon touching these several articles.

1 Pet. v. 1. Jam. v. 14. Acts xiv. 21, 23. & xx. 17. 1 Cor. xii. 28. 1 Thess. v. 12, 14. Heb. xiii. 17, 24.

Touching the first, I did prove by divers reasons, which follow in the answers to the other of the articles, that as the church to whom Peter wrote, and the other churches then fully established, had, for the instructing and governing them, this one uniform and prescript order by the teaching and ruling elders; so also that the same still by the word of God are necessary for the teaching and ecclesiastical governing of the churches of God.

1 Cor. xi. 2. & xii. 28.

Touching the second, upon that place of Paul to the Corinthians, where having spoken of the ordinances appointed to them, and of the officers of the church, and of

1 Cor. xiv. 37.

prophecy, &c. he then concludeth, *If any man think himself to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you are the commandments of the Lord.* Upon this I said, If they be the commandments of the Lord, then, till a repeal be shewed, we are so to hold them.

Touching the third, speaking of elders, I asked, Seeing God hath set these in the church, who hath authority to set them out, or others in? For they were not appointed for a little time only, or a few years, but to continue to the end of the world: which we see in the strait charge which

1 Cor. xii. 28. 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14.

the apostle gives to Timothy: for the keeping of the commandment given him *unrebrakeable, and without spot,* is not unto the time only of peace, or of having Christian magistrates, but until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. And if any ask how Timothy could possibly do this, Paul

2 Tim. ii. 2.

shews in the next Epistle, that *what things he had heard of him, he should deliver the same to faithful men, which were able to teach others also.* Where we see, that the apostle's desire was, that the commandment and charge should be known and obeyed in the ages following. And our Saviour

Christ also plainly requires the same, in that after his commission and charge given to the apostles for teaching, baptizing, and the observation of discipline commanded, he promiseth his presence with them to the end of the world. Now the apostles (as it is said of David) served their time only, and dyed. So that he did not give that commission and charge to the apostles only, but to all his faithful ministers to the end of the world; with whom, obeying this commandment, he promiseth still to be present. BOOK II. Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. Acts xiii. 36.

Touching the fourth, speaking of the necessity of the elders, I said, I doubt not in the fear of God to affirm, that the want of these (want of the ordinary means appointed by God) is the cause of ignorance, atheism, idolatry, profanation of the sabbath, disobedience to superiors, &c. too lamentable experience proves it. 268

Touching the fifth, having proved the more special necessity of teaching elders to be had in several congregations, and that the only means of salvation appointed by God is the word preached, I said, that it would be objected against this, that there are not enough fit and sufficient to this purpose. To which I answered, first, That so many as are fit are not employed. Secondly, I asked where the fault was. Answering, that it was not in the Lord, which is most ready, his church being his city, to set watchmen upon the walls of it: and being his flock, to give pastors to feed it with knowledge and understanding. And indeed shall we think that God is not as able and willing to furnish men with his spirit of wisdome, understanding, and knowledge, for the work of the ministry of the gospel, as he was to furnish Aholiab and Bezaleel for the work of the tabernacle, and Hiram for the temple? Yes, doubtless he is still the same God, able and as willing. But the fault is in our selves. And I think I may in this case say, as Paul saith in another, *We are not kept strait in God, but we are kept strait in our own bowels.* Our hearts are set on the pomp of this world, and on courts. And of this work it is noted as a special furtherance of the tabernacle, and of the wall built about Jerusalem, *their heart was to the work.* Prov. xxix. 16. cum 1 Cor. xiv. 3. Rom. x. 14. Is. lxii. 6. Jer. iii. 15. Exod. xxxv. 30—35. 1 Kings vii. 14. 2 Cor. vi. 12. Exod. xxxvi. 2. 1 Kings vii. 14.

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My exhortation therefore in the Lord is, that all in their places would set their hearts to further this work. And if you do indeed desire that men should be awaked out of their sleep, and stand up from the dead, that *Christ may give them light:* that they should *cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light:* then in the fear of God labour by all means of petition to God, and of supplication to them in authority, that Christ Jesus may be heard in our congregations.

Eph. v. 14. Rom. xiii. 12. Mat. xvii. 5.

Touching the sixth, after proof that the elders were to be with their special flock, and to feed them, over whom the Holy Ghost, by the mediate calling of the church, had made them overseers: because that as Christ had purchased them, so also he would have of the elders, whom he had set over them, an account for their souls. In application I exhorted those that had such special flocks committed to them, and yet lived still among us here, [in the university,] that they would enter into their chambers, and herein examine their hearts before the Lord. And if university ease, quiet, wealth, or any other sinister thing were as dear unto them as father and mother; yet in this case of the glory of God, for the feeding of his people committed to them, to say with Levi, *I know you not.* Yea, if they were as dear as the parts of our own bodies, yet to follow Christ's counsil, rather to cut them off, than with them to be cast into hell-fire.

Acts xx. 28. Heb. xiii. 7. Psalm iv. 4. Deut. xxxiii. 9. Matt. xviii. 8, 9.

Touching the seventh, I said, That if Peter had had such authority as the papists think he had, he might well have used it here, in urging and commanding these elders unto that, unto which as a fellow elder he doth *exhort them. The elders which are among you I exhort:* yea, that he was so far from thinking himself the chief of the apostles, as that here he calleth and accounteth himself a *fellow elder* with the ordinary elders of the several congregations. Yet the pope and the popish hierarchy esteem otherwise both of him, touching his superiority over the rest of the apostles, and of themselves, to be BB. of bishops. But we are to like of a godly equality.

1 Pet. v. 1. Luke xxii. 26.

Touching the eighth and ninth, speaking of that that the apostle Peter exhorted the elders to feed the flock, which depended on them, I shewed, that as it was the duty of all Christians, so also of the ministers of the word of God, to exhort and stir up one another. And that this practice of the apostle did condemn them that are so far from exhorting others to feed, as that they stay those that would feed. 269 The Spirit of God hath noted it, as a thing to be taken heed of, which we read of Amaziah, that he forbade Amoz to prophecy at Bethel. We are rather to follow the example of James, and Cephas, and John; of whom it is set down by the Spirit of God, that they gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas; joyning and strengthning themselves to the work of the ministry. That his own company should preach to the Gentiles, and the other to the circumcision.

1 Thess. v. 11. Acts xx. 17, 28. Amos vii. 12, 13.

Gal. ii. 9.

Number LXXII.

A note of such matters as do appear against Mr. Edward Crofts, upon examination of one Smith, a conjurer, and others after named; concerning the procuring the death of the earl of Leicester by conjuration.

JOHN SMITH examined saith, that at such time as sir James Crofts was committed, this examinant being at Charing Cross, Mr. Crofts desired this examinant to help him, that he might know who were his father's friends. And this examinant bade him set down the names of the council: and Mr. Crofts gave him the names of 8 or 9. And this examinant told him, that the earl of Leicester was his enemy; but whom else he doth not remember. MSS. Burg.

After the earl was gone into the country, one came into Mr. Crofts house, and said, that one of the queen's physicians was come up from the earl, who did report that he was sick. And this examinant said, *Yea, the Lord help him: for he is sick indeed. And now the bear is muzzled,* who was Mr. Crofts' enemy.

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That Pillis his wife did say, that the earl was not dead. No? said this examinate. Then I will be hanged.

That he told George Lewis, that Mr. Crofts and all his kindred were beholden unto him: for their great enemy was dead; meaning the earl of Leicester. Anne Pilly said the same. And further, that when Crofts had given Smith the names of all the council, Smith went up into Mr. Crofts chamber, Mr. Crofts staying beneath. And within a whistle after, Smith came down and said, that the earl of Leicester was sir James Crofts great enemy. That shortly after the earl was gone out of town, Smith said, the bear was muzzled; and holding a glass of water in his hand, said, that if he were by the earl, and yet have a thousand pounds, he could save his life; yet, and yet, and yet. That when it was reported that the earl was dead, she said unto Smith, that the earl was not dead: then let him be hanged. Which speeches did make her verily believe that Smith did kill the earl.

That Mr. Crofts writ certain names, and sent them by her to Smith. And within four or five days after, she fetched the writing from Smith again, and said, that all those whom he had crossed were Mr. Croftes friends, and the rest were his enemies. And that he should make choice of the earl of Ormund, Richard Aubrey, and sir Martin Furbished [Furbisher.] For they would travail for his protection. And next, to deal with the lord chancellor [Hatton.]

One Pulman told George Lewis, that was examined, that Smith willed Crofts to give him the names of all the council, and he would tell him which were his father's friends: which was done. And he pointed out his friends and enemies. After which Mr. Crofts came to Smith, and said, Now Leicester goes a journey into the country. And Smith said, He doth indeed, but shall never return: and said after, that he had muzzled the great bear: and said, that if he might have a 1000*l.* he could help him yet, and yet, and yet. And a little while after he said, that all the world could not help him. And the next news came that he was dead.

And so Pulman said that the said earl was made away by witchcraft.

That Smith called Mr. Crofts a lyar, a forsworn man, and a dissembler, with other shameful words. But Mr. Crofts replied very gently, saying, that his life lay in Smith's hands. And Smith told this examinant [George Lewis] that Mr. Crofts and all his kin were beholden to him: for their great enemy was dead. And the other matter might have been brought to pass, if the party had lived.

Number LXXIII.

The lord treasurer Burghley's letter to Mr. Dyer, the queen's agent in the parts of Germany, signifying the queen's invitation of sir Edward Kelly; labouring his coming into England, to give his service to the queen.

Sir,

AT one time I have received your two letters; the one of the 15th, the other of the 16th. By both which I perceive you hold fast your first opinion of sir Edward Kelly, namely, as you write, for that worthy truth in him at the highest point that hath been before by you reported; and thereto you add in the same letter, that for his perfect love towards her majesty you think there cannot be found better in any man; move me to expect certainly by your means a perfect resolution in sir Edward K. without all scruples to return to his native country; to honour her majesty, as a loyal natural subject, with the fruits of such great knowledge as God hath given him. And thereby to yield her some aid to withstand her enemies, to maintain her crown in glory, and generally to comfort all her good subjects, by making them to live under her majesty in security; yea, in triumph over their enemies. Cott. libr. Titus, B. 2.

And what greater worldly felicity can any man that ever was born in any country deserve to have? And if his knowledge be as certain as you make it, and his dutiful love be thereto joyned, what would you have me think could stay

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him from coming hither, to attain to this felicity in his own country. All other imagined stayes of bruits carried thither of evil speeches here, or of disgraces uttered against him, yea, or of mortal threatnings, as you write, that come hither every fortnight, ought not to stay a man of his valour from the honouring of his sovereign; whom all princes honour; yea, whom the grand seignor, who despiseth others, hath reverence for her princely virtues and royal acts; but to contemne all flying rumours, in respect of the estimation of such a princess as the queen is; of her very divine nature almost ready to reward, yea, to honour knowledge in any person, according to the measure thereof. And such account ought he to make of her majesty's princely assurance, as never was stained with any breach of promise to them that deserved her favour. And if I knew not to whom I did write, that have had so long experience of her rare vertues and most princely condition, I could use many arguments to move any man never to mistrust her favour, her maintenance, and rewarding of any such as should do her any service, according to the value thereof.

And seeing you are fully persuaded of the inestimable value of his service, and by my confident opinion of your wit and affection, I doubt not but you are able to persuade
271 him to remit himself to her majesty's protection against all impediments that seem to arise of light and very false rumours carried thither; the falshood of some of them being by me even at this present discovered, that my lord chancellor shewed me in a letter from you brought with mine. Wherein you writ, that sir Edw. K. is informed that my lord chancellor hath uttered divers reproachful speeches even afore her majesty; whereof my lord is notably wronged. For on my faith I never heard my lord use any evil words of him: and he himself, upon the receit of your letter, hath and doth avow it upon his faith and honour, and so hath protested afore her majesty; and that he never uttered any reproachful words, either afore her majesty or out of her presence. Which also her majesty in my hearing hath confirmed, never to have heard his lordship to have depraved

him. And this report being so notoriously false, I see not but he may mistrust the rest. Tho' I think some may be found in some sort true, by these two sorts of men, as in some part I my self have in way of argument heard uttered. One sort seeming to think the action impossible to perform, which is reported of sir Edw. K. conceive that they which make report of their own excellence by setting transmutation of mettals into gold by him, do notwithstanding contend with the reporters that they are deceived; and so may be to us. Even the wise senate of Venice were the last year notoriously deceived by one that made profession of such a science; yea, that was honoured of the whole state of Venice for the same. And indeed there are many, and not unwise, that do, without malice to sir Edw. K. utter their opinions by speeches in condemnation of him. And yet I am sure, if they shall at any time by demonstration see the effect of his knowledge proved, will honour him, and think that country blessed that have such a member.

There are, I think, some others of another condition, that percase have no dutiful mind towards her majesty and their country, that would not sir Edward Kelly should return to benefit her majesty and the realm; and such cunningly to utter reproachful speeches, both against his person and his knowledge, of set purpose to be heard by his friends here; from whom it is likely such reports be brought. But, Mr. Dyer, against these obstacles one only remedy resteth; which is the princely authority of her majesty, which you may assure him, if he shall return, and yield to her majesty the fruits of that knowledge which you affirm he hath, shall yield to him all kind of contentation for his credit and estimation, and ability to live here in his native country, as far forth as any other prince, to whom he is a stranger by birth, can or will give him.

To conclude with you: if by these and such like reasons you cannot persuade him to come hither, then one of these two things, according to my present opinion, which I have, must needs follow; either that I must certainly think that he cannot perform that which you conceive of him, but

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that by some cunning, or, as they say, *legerdemain*, both you and all others have been deceived, as the wisest in Venice were the last year: or else I must in my heart (which I would be most loth to do) condemn him, as an unnatural born man to his country, and a very disloyal subject to a most vertuous godly lady, his sovereign.

While I was writing this letter, report was brought to London by one Kelly, that once served Mr. Vicechamberlain, and came from Staden, that sir Edw. K. and you were stolen from Prage; which, he saith, was told him by a Scottish man that came from Prage; with much more circumstance, as the bearer hereof, your servant, can at length tell you. But until I was better advised to see the unlikelihood of the report, comparing the same with your last letters, I did stay to end my letter one or two days; but your servant being to return, I did not defer it any longer, having only one thing whereof to remember you, which is, that if you cannot obtain sir Edw. Kellies return personally, yet
272 that you would, for maintenance of your credit, procure some small, tho' very small portion of the powder, to make a demonstration, in her majesty's own sight, of the perfection of his knowledge.

But if I might have my wish, next to his own coming home, I wish he would, in some secret box, send to her majesty for a token some such portion, as might be to her a sum reasonable to defer her charges for this summer for her navy, which we are now preparing to the sea, to withstand the strong navy of Spain, discovered upon the coasts between Britain and Cornwall within these two days. But wishers and woulders were never good housholders. And so I end with my most hearty commendation, hoping to receive some comfortable answer to this long letter. From the court at my house at Theobalds, where her majesty hath been already ever since Monday this of this month, and I think departeth not until Thursday. Which time I could be contented might have been tripled, so I had but one corn of sir Edward Kellies powder.

Number LXXIV.

A letter from an English merchant lately at Prague, to Mr. Edward Wotton, concerning seizing sir Edw. Kelly, and committing him to the castle at Prague, by a special commission from the emperor; with the causes thereof.

——TO Prague I came on the 28th of April, making my journey so as I might fall in with the end of the Leipsig mart—— MSS. Burg.

At my first coming, I was advertised that there were many English in the town. Upon which I meant not to discover my self, till I had sounded out what they were, the state they bear, and what course they took. Word was given me, that one Mr. Dyer was in sir Edward Kellies house, and another page with one of the Lees in the town, and two or three other captains; which departed, as I was enformed, that day to Norinberg: I did think the next day to offer my duty to Mr. Dyer. In mean while happened this alteration. His majesty [the emperor] on the last of April, about twelve of the clock, sent the most part of the gentlemen of his guard, and the other, down from the court castle to sir Edward Kellies house, with commandment to bring him up bound, the cause concealed: the house chosen, as it was thought, that he might be taken at dinner. And because it seemed somewhat a hard proceeding to enter the house of a consillor of estate with the guard alone, they had joyned unto them the captain and lieutenant of the castle, provost of the town, and secretary in the state of Bohemia.

The officers coming in, found him not there; but, as some said, upon intelligence from a secret friend in the court, departed a little before; which, by reason of the little distance between the court and sir Edward's lodgings, (being no further than from Boughton house to the vineyard,) was unprofitable, especially being not able to go. So that some time must be spent in the preparation of an horse or coach. Others said, that he was departed the night before: which indeed was the right truth; tho' done so secretly, as his own family was kept from it. The officers finding not the prin-

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cipal, seized on the accessaries; bound his servants, and led them up to prison in sight of the whole town: sealed up the doors of every chamber: used chief extremity on his brother: not without speech that he was tortured; which yet was false. Mr. Dyer with his servant was commanded to keep the house, until further hearing of his majesty's pleasure. Some say he kept in upon his own wisdom and
273 judgment; which the secretary of Bohemia told me himself. But I dare not affirm it; because I hear of persons in great authority the contrary. It may be, he was only admonished, without commandment or charge: and thence it arose.

His majesty, advertised that he was gone, is said to have cursed in the Dutch manner; gave forth present order to have the highways set: places suspected to harbour him were searched in the town: a post dispatched toward the earl of Rosemberg, his patron, with a letter from the emperor of these contents, that if he came unto him, he should deliver him upon his allegiance to the crown of Bohemia.

The tumult being over, what should be the cause, was the next question. To be weighty and hainous it was conjectured, because it was contrary to the emperor's humour, and course of his house of Austria, to procede in criminal matters either so violently or so generally. That it touched the emperor's own person was manifested by keeping it close, at least by interpretation received no otherwise. The causes given forth were these: some said it was for debt, which, tho' it were probably spoken, because I find the supputation of his debt in the town to arise to 32 thousand dollars, which he oweth to two Colen merchants that trade with jewels; yet did two reasons make evidently against it. First, because he was known to have much more in present money and lands than his debts came unto; and no entry or distrainment heard of upon his unmoveables, which, according to the process of that crown, ought to have been in the case of debt. Secondly, to the emperor he was known to have owed nothing, nor ever to have put him in any charge, save for coals and house-room. And it was not his

majesty's maner to follow the actions of his own subjects, being *princeps* and *procurator* of his people.

Others said, that the duke of Bavaria, exalting the gold-maker of Venice, (whom he executed at Monch the 25. of April,) confessed unto him, that he was sworn in one league unto Mr. Kelly: which the duke signifying unto the emperor, should desire in his letter to have him imprisoned. Of this I can neither find the falshood nor truth.

A third gave forth, that Mr. Dyer had brought unto him the queen's letter to call him home. Which coming to the emperor's ears, and his majesty seeking to hinder it, imprisonment was thought for the present time a good means to stay his departure; and afterwards he might be talked further withal. This I take to have been some of his friends invention, to still the people from speaking the worst of him. Whether Mr. Dyer brought them, or no, I cannot say. The French agent hath affirmed it most constantly unto me; as likewise that the emperor was certified. A doctor's son in the town told me, he knew the queen's hand, and read the letters, having served sir Phylip Sydney sometime in England: by whose means he came to the sight of such things. I dare not hasten to believe it, till I hear further grounds of truth: because, being letters of secresy, Mr. Dyer, a gentleman of rare discretion, would have handled it so as they should not have come forth, at least be known that he did bring them; which might endanger himself. Till certain advice, I will hold the opinion that sir Edward Kelly had at some time or other vaunted at the table, or in his conversation with others, that the queen had sent for him, as he is a man who taketh, as I hear, a pleasure that princes desire him. Howsoever it be, it is like in this case much to hurt him, the emperor being assuredly informed that he is sent for.

The fourth cause alledged was, that he had at his table spoke perillous words against the emperor and the Poples; which is the second family of Bohemia. Which being the old enemies of Rosemberg, and being at this present the principal officers of that state; as one a privy counsillor,

BOOK II. another master of the court, a third land officer, a fourth of them president in the appellation; have prevailed with the emperor to have him imprisoned; so, under pretence of public justice, to revenge their own private quarrel upon
274 the Rossembergs: who have been both the setters up of sir Edward Kelly, and the principal maintainers of him hitherto.

The fifth report was, that his majesty having long had a throbbing of the heart, as it were an hereditary disease from his father, who dyed of it, by which he often falleth into a swound, sir Edward Kelly distilled an oyl for it; which beng sent unto the emperor, and sir Edward's enemies being by, persuaded his majesty that it was appointed to poison him. Proof was made of the force of it; and it wrought the effect of poison. Some said, the throbbing of the heart was given forth for a colour to hide a more infamous disease: which I leave in doubt. The circumstances beat shrewdly about it. For the oyl is said to have had the vertue of effecting in favour, or otherwise, according to the quantity. Which for an inward disease soundeth somewhat unprobably.

The last reason of his imprisonment, which I could by any means learn, was, that his majesty, three days before his departure, should have sent for him, to make proof of his art at the court, which one Scoto, an Italian, had disabled him in. Mr. Kelly returned answer, he was sick; and not long after fled. He was taken on the 2. of May at Sobislaus, twelve miles from Prague, a town belonging to Peter, earl of Rosenburgh, as he was in his journey towards William, earl of Rosenbergh. At first he resisted the officer, making answer, he was a citizen of Bohemia and a counsillor of estate. His flight was objected to him: which he denyed, and called it onely a visiting of his patron the earl; which he might do, either secretly or otherwise. A courier was dispatched in post to the court, to know the emperor's will: who commanded him to be brought to the castle Pirglitz, situate three miles from Prague. Mr. Dyer was, as I take it, on the 11th of May sent for up to

the court, with the secretary and another counsillor, that conducted him in good convenient sort home again. The secretary I spake withal afterwards, who commended him for his grave behaviour and answers, and added this praise of him, that he had so great a grace in court, as *non potuimus ullo modo par referre.* Those were his words.

What will be the conclusion, I know not. The action is *læsæ majestatis:* which the emperor intends. To have him openly executed there is no fear, because the earl of Rosenberg will earnestly interpose himself. And in Bohemia it is rule, that his majesty dares do nothing without the earl's consent, being burgrave of Prague, the immediate person and officer under the crown. If difference should arise between them, the emperor hath cause to think upon his own security, matters going not so, as the people would, in the regiment. Who wait upon such an occasion to work a change in the state. Secretly in the castle it may be done, and the earl not know otherwise than that he liveth, or is dead by disease: almost grown now to be a common practice in the empire, and in the palatine, especially noted that way. This I fear is either done already, or will be done. His servants shall no doubt be set at liberty. One of them, I hear, was racked. Mr. Dyer at his return from the court, where he made his answers before the counsillors, was not fully free, as far as I could hear, by the French agents means.

It was a great cross that kept me from Mr. Dyer, sir Edward Kelly, and the rest of the English: the action being treason drew the whole nation into jealousy. And for my part, I had rather be quiet and still.

THE END OF VOL. III. PART II.

Mir.